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THE

ROMAN

HISTORY:

WITH

NOTES

Hiſtorical, Geographical, and Critical;

AND

Illuſtrated with COPPER PLATES, MAPS, and a great Number of AUTHENTICK MEDALS.

Done into ENGLISH, from the Original FRENCH of

The Rev[d] Fathers CATROU and ROUILLÉ.

VOLUME I.

From the Year of ROME I. to the Year of ROME CCCLXII.

To which is prefix'd,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

LONDON.

Printed by J. BETTENHAM,

For T. WOODWARD at the *Half-Moon* over-againſt St. *Dunſtan's* Church in *Fleetſtreet*, and J. PEELE at *Locke's Head* in *Pater-noſter Row.*

M.DCC.XXVIII.

A. ~~787.~~ 295.

THE

ROMAN HISTORY:

WITH

NOTES

MVSEVM
BRITAN
NICVM

7 Vols

VOLUME I.

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M.DCC.XXXIII.

TO

HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS

FREDERICK LEWIS,

Prince of *Brunſwick Lunenburg*, Duke of *Edinburgh*, Marquiſs of the Iſle of *Ely*, Earl of *Eltham* in the County of *Kent*, Viſcount of *Launceſton* in the County of *Cornwall*, Baron of *Snaudon* in the County of *Caernarvon*, and Knight of the Moſt Noble Order of the Garter.

BRITISH MUSEUM

May it pleaſe YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS,

THE Reputation of the HISTORY of which this Volume is a Part, will, I hope, excuſe the Preſumption of offering it to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS. The Labours of the Two Learned Men concerned in compiling it, have met with a General Applauſe Abroad, and the Reception they will find with YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS, cannot be the leſs favourable, for being introduced in the *Engliſh* Language.

I HAVE

DEDICATION.

I HAVE endeavoured to make the Authors ſpeak it as plainly and intelligibly as I could; and claim little more Merit in the Work, than that of a Faithful Tranſlator. The Firſt-Fruits of my Labours, an Offering due to Our Moſt Excellent QUEEN, from one who had the Honour to attend ſo many Years on Their Moſt Sacred MAJESTIES, and Their ROYAL FAMILY, were Graciouſly Accepted by HER; and I am greatly encouraged to purſue the preſent Laborious Task, by being permitted to take this Opportunity of paying my Duty to YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS.

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS will here ſee the Riſe and Progreſs of the *Roman* Government, the Honour and Bravery of the *Roman* People, the Wiſdom of their Laws, their Love to their Country, and their ſteady Proſecution of Good and Great Deſigns; not limited to the Advantages of a particular Society, but aiming at the Happineſs and Liberties of Mankind. In reading of which, YOU will be very apt to run the Parallel between the *Roman* Nation and Another to which YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS is in an eſpecial Manner related; a Nation which had ſo great a Hand in reſcuing *Europe*, and has ſo long and unweariedly purſued Meaſures to eſtabliſh the Tranquillity and Happineſs of it.

I am, with the greateſt Veneration and Reſpect,

YOUR ROYAL HIGHNESS's

Moſt Devoted, and

Moſt Obedient

Humble Servant,

R. BUNDY.

THE TRANSLATOR's PREFACE.

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THE Subscribers who have honoured this Translation with their Names and Encouragement, will, I doubt not, readily forgive the Delay of the Publication of this Volume, upon being assured, That it has been wholly occasioned by a Desire and Endeavour to improve the Work. Difficulties arising to me, concerning the Propriety of some Passages, and the Order of others, and the Authors being yet living; I could not judge it proper to correct and transpose them, without their Privity and Approbation; much less could I content my self to leave them wholly as they were. A Gentleman, to whom I am much indebted, as will hereafter appear, was pleased, when at *Paris*, to consult the Reverend Fathers *Catrou* and *Rouillé*, who with the Openness of Men of Sense, and the Politeness so natural to Authors of their Nation, not only approved of the Corrections proposed, and furnish'd me with others from their own Observation, but have since, by a Letter hereunto annexed, given both the Sanction of their Authority.

AND I cannot do Justice to their Generosity, without declaring, That there are here some other Alterations, which I had not Time to commu-

nicate to them; and That therefore if in theſe I have been miſtaken, the Errors are chargeable only on my ſelf. They are chiefly in ſuch Paſſages of the Speeches as I thought varied in Senſe or Perſpicuity from the Original Authors, which I made my Rule in the Correction. I have not diſtinguiſhed them, otherwiſe than by referring continually to *Livy* or *Dion. Hallicarnaſſeus*; and the Repetition of theſe References very near one another, will direct the Reader where any Change is made. To which I muſt add, That there are alſo ſome other Miſtakes in the Original (probably Errors of the Preſs) as well as in the Tranſlation; which I have diſcover'd upon the Peruſal of the Work ſince its being printed off, and have placed them among the *Errata*, deſiring they may be corrected. Of this Kind, is the calling the Truce made with the *Sabines*, mentioned *p.* 126. a ſix *Years* Truce; when by the Chronology and Context it appears not to have been more than a Truce for ſix *Months*: The making the *Roman* Cavalry to have been 1800, *p.* 125. contrary to what is expreſly ſaid, *p.* 123. *Note* 63. that *Tarquin* made them but 600; and *p.* 147. that till *Servius Tullius*'s Time the *Romans* had had but ſix *Centuries* of Knights: The Omiſſion of the Subdiviſion of the third *Claſs* into 20 *Centuries*, *p.* 147. which are neceſſary to make up the groſs Sum of 193 *Centuries*, which all the *Claſſes* are ſaid to have contained, *p.* 148: The making *Coriolanus* to have only *eleven Tribes* againſt him, inſtead of *twelve*; contrary to *Note* 85. *p.* 309: The ſaying in the Text, *p.* 324. that the *Romans* directed, *That no Crown ſhould be put on* Fortune's *Head*; whereas it ſeems evident, from the Quotation out of *Tertullian*, in the *Note*, that the Decree was, *That no Crown ſhould be put on the Goddeſs's Head by any Woman who had had two Husbands: Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat, niſi uni-vira:* And their giving *Volſcius* the *Tribune of the People*, *nine* Collegues inſtead of *four*, *p.* 411; the College of *Tribunes* not having been increaſed to *ten*, till afterwards.

THAT there ſhould be ſome ſmall Miſtakes in ſo Great and Laborious a Work, will be leſs Matter of Surprize to Men of Candour and Ingenuity, than that there ſhould be ſo few; and to endeavour to correct them, is by no means aſſuming to my ſelf a Superiority, ſince the Talents neceſſary for it are certainly not the brighteſt.

As to the Subject Matter of this Work, the *Roman* Story, I know no modern Language that can pretend ſo juſt a Claim to record it, as that of a People who have all along retain'd the Character of, I had almoſt ſaid, more than *Roman* Valour; for which a *Roman* Writer gives their Anceſtors the higheſt Encomium, when he ſays of the otherwiſe invincible *Cæſar*,

Territa quæſitis oſtendit terga Britannis.

Lucan. B. 2. l. 572.

LUCAN, tho' a *Pompeian*, does Juſtice to *Cæſar*'s Bravery on other Occaſions; and this Account ſeems ſtrongly confirm'd by the elegant Hiſtorian's own Relation of his Expeditions hither. Whoever conſiders it, will not need the Partiality of a *Briton*, to incline him to believe, that there was more of Truth than Party, in the Poet's Reflection; ſince if

it

it were otherwiſe, it is hard to aſſign a good Reaſon why the ſuppoſed Conqueror, ſoon after his Arrival here, ſhould weigh Anchor, and ſteal off in the Middle * of the Night, after a Battle; or why he ſhould bring with him in his ſecond Expedition, above 700 Ships † more than in his firſt.

BUT whatever Judgment is formed of the Succeſs of this Battle, it is certain the *Roman* Arms brought the whole known World at laſt into Subjection; and as certain, that this Exorbitant Power aroſe from very weak and low Beginnings. The Dawnings of it open themſelves to us in this Volume; where we ſhall ſee a Gang of beggarly and diſorderly Vagabonds firſt form themſelves into the Shape of a Society; and then advance, by continual Labours and Succeſſes, to ſome Extent of Dominion, and more of Power. But they were great in Virtue, if not in Fortune. Conſidered as a People, a Noble Spirit runs thro' them: Magnanimity, Steadineſs, Moderation, Clemency, Gratitude, and Fidelity in Treaties, ſhine eminently in the Governours; an exemplary Love of Purity and Sobriety, in the Governed; and an unbounded Zeal and Affection for the Liberty and Happineſs of their Country, in Both: And it is very eaſy to obſerve here, That whilſt they are actuated by theſe Sublime Princip , they are crowned by the ALMIGHTY with Succeſs.

MUCH, indeed, may be allowed to Labour and Exerciſe; and yet more to Liberty. Their continual Employment in Military Affairs, muſt doubtleſs have inured them to the Hardſhips of War; the Rigour and Habit of their Diſcipline muſt have taught them Skill and Addreſs in it. And it is very evident, that every Increaſe of Liberty inſpired them with new Vigour, and redoubled their Valour; and that as they grew in Freedom, ſo in Dominion. But, after all, it muſt be even Bigottry in Infidelity, to aſcribe their Progreſs in Conqueſt entirely to theſe, independently of HIM *who ruleth over all the Kingdoms of the Earth, and giveth them to whomſoever he will.* In theſe Beginnings of Strength, many Incidents occur, which are not reſolvable into Human Prudence, Policy, Power, or any other Principle, but that of an Over-ruling PROVIDENCE: And in the ſucceeding Volumes of this *Hiſtory*, the Great SUPERINTENDENT of the Univerſe will appear remarkably interpoſing in certain *Criſes*, when *the more Mature State* muſt otherwiſe inevitably have ſunk into Ruin and Oblivion. But to return.

FOR the ſake of the *Engliſh* Reader, I have been more particular in the References than the *French* Edition is, that he might with the more Eaſe have Recourſe to the Original Hiſtorians; and have referred not only to the *Books*, but *Chapters*, of *Livy*, according to Mr. *Hearne*'s Edition at *Oxford*, in ſix Volumes, 8*vo*, 1708; and to the *Pages* of *Dion. Hallicarnaſſeus*, according to the *Frankfort* Edition, 1586. Theſe being the moſt common Editions, are therefore the moſt likely to be in the Hands of the Generality of Readers.

AN *Index* is omitted here, and poſtponed to the laſt Volume, becauſe I think it leſs Trouble to conſult one than many: Tho' indeed I apprehend it will appear to be in a great Meaſure uſeleſs, after the new Method taken in this Work, of digeſting it into *Sections*, and new-model-

* Cæſ. de Bell. Gall. L. 4. c. 26. † Ib. L. 4. c. 22. & L. 5. c 8.

ling the *Contents*, in ſuch a Manner as not only to be more coherent and methodical than the *French*, but alſo more minute and circumſtantial; inſomuch, that they contain all Things material in the whole Hiſtory, give the Reader a View of it in Epitome, and refer him to all the Parts of the Work, where each Particular is mentioned, with great Exactneſs. Nor is this done only in a uſeful, but likewiſe in an agreeable Manner; ſo as not barely to be a Help to the Memory, after peruſing the Work, but an Entertainment to the Mind; by preſenting it with a Summary of every thing eſſential in the Story, (except the Speeches and Battles, which could not be contracted without injuring them,) and that in a new and beautiful Light. For this the Reader is indebted to the Ingenious Gentleman beforementioned: And the ſame Juſtice which obliges me to declare this, lays me under a Neceſſity of declaring likewiſe, That the *Authors Preface*, and ſome few Sheets of the Work, were tranſlated by another Hand; and that I am no otherwiſe concerned in them, than in Reviſing, Methodiſing, and Correcting them, according to the Directions of the Reverend Authors; whoſe Letter beforementioned, as it was ſent directed to the Bookſellers concerned in Publiſhing this Tranſlation, is as follows:

" *A Meſſieurs,*
" *Meſſieurs* WOODWARD & PEELE, *Marchands Libraires à Londres,*

" NOUS apprenons, Meſſieurs, avec plaiſir, que la Traduction de
" notre Hiſtoire Romaine, eſt fort avancée. Vous ne pouvez
" guere avoir de plus habiles & de plus fideles Traducteurs, que les
" Meſſieurs dont vous avez l'ouvrage entre les Mains. Nous *Authorizons*
" les changements que nous les avons priés de faire à Notre Edition
" Françoiſe. Nous ſommes tres ſincerement

" A Paris ce
" 19 Juin, 1727.

" *Vos tres humbles, & tres obeiſſants Serviteurs,*

" CATROU, Jeſuite.

" JUL. ROÜILLÉ, S. J.

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PRE-

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PREFACE.

THE Forwardneſs of the Publick to ſubſcribe for a Compleat *Roman* Hiſtory, upon the very firſt Appearance of the Propoſals, has left us no room to doubt of the Undertaking's being approved of, even while it was uncertain how it would be executed.

HITHERTO the Commonwealth of Letters has been deſtitute of this Aſſiſtance, which, however neceſſary, has been obſtinately refus'd it. The Learned indeed have wearied themſelves in Enquiries concerning the Cuſtoms, Manners, Armies, Government, Laws, and Habits of the *Romans:* No Care has been wanting to collect and publiſh even Matters of the moſt trivial Nature, and which had nothing but their Antiquity to recommend them. This, in a manner, is all the Uſe that has been made by Men of Letters of that prodigious Number of Volumes and *Roman* Antiquities, which now fill the Libraries and Cabinets of the Curious. Few *Roman* Monuments, Statues, Buſts, Bas-reliefs, or Inſcriptions, have eſcaped the Diligence of the Antiquaries, few enigmatical Medals their Penetration. Not one of thoſe Authors, who were happily preſerv'd in the Times of Barbariſm and Devaſtation, has wanted accurate Editors, judicious Commentators, and able Interpreters. A Multitude of Perſons well-skill'd in the *Greek* and *Roman* Languages have undergone a thouſand Fatigues in preparing Materials for an Edifice which no one has attempted to erect. It is true, this ample Proviſion of Matter has encouraged ſome of our beſt Architects to work upon it by Parts. They have built ſome diſtinct *Apartments* of a ſpacious and ſtately *Palace*, and their firſt Eſſays have made us long to ſee the Work compleated. By theſe *Members* we form'd a Judgment of the Uſe and Excellency of an *Entire Body* of the *Roman* Hiſtory. It was a Pleaſure to ſurvey beautiful Portions of a WHOLE, ſo magnificent; and we wiſh'd to ſee them united in one Deſign.

ALL the Monarchies into which *Europe* is divided, have had each its particular Writer, who in one Work has collected the antient Monuments of his Nation. There are complete Hiſtories of *France*, *Spain*, *England*, *Denmark* and *Sweden*: *Rome* alone, the Mother of all theſe Monarchies, has wanted a Pen ſo far intereſted in her Glory, as to trace out a continued Series of her Hiſtory, from the Riſe to the Decline of her Empire. Was it becauſe Memoirs were wanting for ſo glorious an Undertaking? The *Greek* and *Latin* Writers ſeem to have contended who ſhould furniſh us with moſt. I will venture to ſay, it was the abundance of Materials which gave the Diſcouragement; and amidſt a Heap of Riches we were left in Indigence. Perhaps alſo it was thought a Preſumption to make the admirable Productions of ſo many eminent Authors, who have tranſmitted to us the Events of the firſt Ages of *Rome*, ſerve only as Memoirs to a more compleat Work. The Names of *Livy*, *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Polybius*, *Plutarch*, and many others, have made them reſpected to ſo high a Degree, that no one has had the Boldneſs to incorporate them together. As if *Polybius* muſt have proved a bad Allay for *Salluſt*, or *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* for *Livy*. Doubtleſs it could be no Diſadvantage to theſe Authors to be all blended together in one Maſs. Nevertheleſs Writers have hitherto choſen rather to tranſlate and repreſent them juſt as they are, than to ſeparate the precious Pieces of their Spoils in order to connect them together with an artful Hand.

IT was this which made it ſo laborious a Task to get a thorough Knowledge, and form a juſt Idea of the *Roman* Hiſtory. *Livy* alone was by no means ſufficient for this Purpoſe. It was neceſſary to have continual Recourſe to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, and to ſupply the Omiſſions of the one by the more particular and circumſtantial Accounts of the other. From *Plutarch* we were oblig'd to appeal to *Polybius*, and in ſhort, to be inceſſantly running from one Author to another, to ſatisfy the Eagerneſs of our Enquiries. Nor was this the only Difficulty. Oftentimes the Contradictions of different Hiſtorians ſeem'd almoſt irreconcileable, their Deſcriptions were frequently obſcure and perplex'd, their Accounts often maim'd and imperfect. In theſe Caſes, it was needful to ſeek Information elſewhere than in Books; to borrow ocular Inſtruction from Braſs and Marble; or to fill up the Chaſms of one Writer with the Teſtimony of another. Scarce were whole Libraries ſufficient for the Reſolution of one ſingle Doubt. In the mean while, the Pleaſure and Profit of Reading were loſt, and whole Months ſpent, in diſentangling an intricate Point. Inſtruction was not to be acquired, but at a great Expence of Time and Labour; and the Study of the *Roman* Hiſtory was very far from being a uſeful Recreation.

IT is from this endleſs Toil that we have endeavoured to free the Reader. We have taken upon our ſelves alone all the troubleſome and diſagreeable Part, and in ſhort, ſhall leave the Publick little more than the Pleaſure of enjoying the Fruit of our Labours.

OUR chief Application has been to melt down together the moſt precious Metals of Antiquity. They will hereby communicate their Luſtre to each other; and by their Mixture, as by the burning of *Corinth*, will perhaps be form'd a new Metal, leſs valuable indeed than Gold and Silver, but more rare and more fit for Service.

AT worſt, no one of the Writers whom we ſhall bring together, in order to form a complete Body of Hiſtory, will loſe any more of his Beauty than what Tranſlations and Paraphraſes have uſually taken from him. Nay, ſometimes he may gain by the Parallel which may be drawn between him and the following or preceding Author. By bringing them near to each other, their different Beauties will be more conſpicuous; and though we make them all ſpeak in an uniform Stile, it will be eaſy to diſtinguiſh them by their *Turn* of Thought. In the *Greek* Writers we ſhall commonly find more Refinement and Delicacy; in the *Latin*, more Pomp and Majeſty. The Reflections of the former will be more deep and ſolid, the Sentiments of the latter more noble and magnanimous. Thus the Whole united will exhibit a greater Variety, than if we had introduc'd only one Actor upon the Stage. How able ſoever a Writer may be to give a Turn to his Imagination, he often copies himſelf, and, firſt or laſt, never fails to diſcover who he is. In vain he puts on a Diſguiſe, to appear unlike himſelf: His Genius brings him back by degrees to his proper Form. Thus he at length becomes tireſome, and his moſt embelliſh'd Periods fatigue the Mind, for want of being ſufficiently diverſify'd. Is it not poſſible to avoid in ſome meaſure this diſagreeable Circumſtance, by introducing a Plurality of *Characters*? Some ſhall ſpeak after the *Greek* Manner, others after the *Latin*. We ſhall be careful, however, that there be not perceiv'd a ridiculous Variety in this matching of different Colours, nor too much Diſcord in this Conſort of ſeveral Voices. We have reduced our Authors as near to the *French* Model as was poſſible, without making them loſe too much of the Character of their reſpective Countries.

THOUGH we have given the Publick Hopes of a Compleat Hiſtory of *Rome*, from the Eſtabliſhment to the Diſſolution of the Empire, and are preparing for the Execution of ſo vaſt a Deſign; yet we have not hitherto engaged our Word for more than Twelve Volumes, containing only the Succeſſion and Actions of the Kings who preceded the Republick, and of the Conſuls who govern'd it, during the whole Time that it ſubſiſted. We ſhall here therefore give an Account only of that Part of the Hiſtory which we have promiſed, [*the Authorities upon which it is built, and the Method obſerved in compiling it.*]

IN the firſt Ages of *Rome* all will appear marvellous. We ſhould even have exceeded the Bounds of Probability, if we had not, by the Help of the *Greek* Hiſtorians, leſs zealous for the Glory of the *Roman* Name, corrected the inconſiderate Warmth of the *Latins*, in magnifying their firſt Heroes. It is a Fault common to thoſe who go far back to fix the Beginning of their Nation. The Darkneſs of remote Ages favours them; and the paſſionate Deſire they have to embelliſh their Origin, makes them ready to take up with vulgar Traditions. BUT

BUT as we are not ſolicitous to ſet off and adorn a People for whom we have but little Concern, we ſhall paſs over every thing which the *Romans* have borrow'd from Fiction to give a Luſtre to their Founders. We have no Partiality, and ſhall therefore confine ourſelves to Truth.

I. *The Subject Matter of this Hiſtory.*

§ I. *Æneas*, flying from his ruin'd Country, will land in *Italy*, and there ſow the Seeds of the mighty Empire, the Growth and Increaſe of which will be the Subject of our Admiration. This is a Glory which we cou'd not refuſe the *Romans*, becauſe too many Witneſſes concur in their Favour to be rejected. The *Trojan* Prince will find at his Arrival, a Wife and a Crown which ſeem'd to wait for him. After a troubled Reign he will fall in Battle, and leave two Sons to ſucceed him. *Iülus*, born in *Troy*, will relinquiſh his Pretenſions to the Kingdom of *Lavinium*, in Favour of his Brother *Æneas Sylvius*, born in *Italy*. The former will lay the Foundations of the Kingdom of *Alba*, where his Deſcendants will fill the Throne for above four hundred Years. At length, from the *Trojan* Blood of a violated Veſtal, will proceed the Founder of *Rome*. *Romulus*, the lawful Poſſeſſor of an hereditary Scepter, will die without Children, and leave an elective Monarchy to his Succeſſors. After him will appear a pacifick Prince, who will reſtrain by his Wiſdom the too warlike Ardor of the firſt *Romans*. *Numa*, by the Maxims of Religion, will ſoften thoſe Hearts which breath'd nothing but Blood.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS will find the Way to eſtabliſh a juſt Medium between their martial Inclination, and ſuperſtitious Subjection to Laws too burthenſome. He will extend his Dominion by the Conqueſt and Demolition of *Alba*, and will introduce ſome kind of Diſcipline among Troops, which, under *Romulus*, obſerv'd no Order in Fighting.

ANCUS MARCIUS, Grandſon of *Numa Pompilius*, will take the firſt Step towards making *Rome* conſiderable. He will fortify the Walls which his Grandfather had conſecrated by Piety; a neceſſary Precaution for the Security of a City which was then ſetting up to be Miſtreſs of her Neighbours.

IN the Perſon of *the firſt TARQUIN* we ſhall be ſurpriz'd to ſee upon the Throne a Prince of a cultivated Genius. In his Time, a kind of Politeneſs will be introduc'd into *Rome*, and it will in ſome reſpects loſe its firſt Ruſticity, under the Influence of a Prince of *Greek* Extraction. The City will ſee riſing out of its Boſom publick Edifices, ſuch as might be envied even by haughty *Athens*.

TARQUIN the Firſt will be ſucceeded in the Throne by a Philoſopher. *Servius Tullius*, born in Slavery, will by his wiſe Conduct efface the Ignominy of his Birth. By him will be eſtabliſh'd an exact Œconomy in the Government of *Rome*; and the ſeveral Orders in the State, tho' diſtinguiſh'd one from another, will all be united by the Bands of Policy. The tragical End of this laſt of the good Kings of *Rome* will be the Work of an unnatural Daughter, and of an ambitious Pupil.

At length *TARQUIN the Proud* will, by a Depravity of Manners, by Violence and Tyranny, by a haughty Contempt of his People, and by proſcribing his Senators, make the *Romans* jealous of their Liberty. They will treat their King as an Uſurper, take Occaſion from the Violence done to *Lucretia*, to ſhut their Gates againſt their Sovereign and his Offspring, and to change the Monarchy into a Republick.

The Character of the firſt Romans.

ROMULUS, by drawing together within the ſame Walls a Number of ſavage *Banditti*, and of auſtere *Sabines*, will form the principal Character of the Nation, of which he will be the Founder. *Rome*, in its Cradle, will be the Aſylum of all the Profligates in thoſe Parts, and *Tatius* will lead thither a Colony of a People originally *Lacedæmonian*. Thus a ſavage Diſpoſition, and an Auſterity of Manners, will be the Qualities which the firſt *Romans* will derive from the Blood of their Fathers. Hence will proceed thoſe Virtues and Vices which will diſtinguiſh them in all Ages. Their ſavage Diſpoſition will make them intrepid, but untractable; and the rigid Severity of their Manners will render them inflexible, but moroſely virtuous.

Nor will *NUMA* correct the Exceſſes in theſe natural Diſpoſitions: He will only ſuſpend their Effects by the Fear of the Gods. The *Romans* will very ſoon appear again, ſuch as they were by Nature and their firſt Education. The Politeneſs of *the firſt TARQUIN* will gain but little upon their antient Ruſticity; and the prudent Laws of *SERVIUS TULLIUS* will only regulate, not humaniſe the *Romans*. *TARQUIN the Proud* will experience the ſavage and untractable Temper of his People; and the inflexible Conſtancy of *Brutus* will raiſe an inſuperable Obſtacle to his Re-eſtabliſhment upon the Throne. We ſhall find this Character for a long time prevail in almoſt all the Heroes of the preſent Hiſtory. It will continue very near the ſame, till the *Romans*, Maſters of *Greece* and *Aſia*, become at length more civiliz'd, by an Intercourſe with the *Eaſtern* Nations. But then the Conquer'd will, together with their Politeneſs, communicate their Vices to their Conquerors. Happier for the *Romans*, had they continued with thoſe Faults which they had from the Time of their firſt Eſtabliſhment!

First Objection, *concerning the Authorities on which the Hiſtory of the firſt Ages of* Rome *is founded.*

It has been thought that the Hiſtory of theſe earlieſt Ages of *Rome*, ſcarce out of an infant State, is deſtitute of thoſe Marks of Truth by which the Mind is ſatisfied and determined. It is not indeed queſtion'd but that we have ſufficient Vouchers to skreen us from the Suſpicion of Unfaithfulneſs in our Accounts. Every one knows that the Events of the firſt Ages of *Rome* have been tranſmitted to us by a great Number of Writers: And this is enough to ſhelter thoſe from Reproach, who only reſtore to the Publick what they have borrow'd from a Multitude of Hiſtorians, who have been reſpected in all Ages. But Criticiſm looks farther back. It is not we, but our very Authorities, which are taken to Task. Our moſt antient Hiſtorians are taxed with having wanted Memoirs ſufficiently authentick to deſerve entire Credit from the Publick. It is urged, that what was deficient in the moſt antient Monuments of *Rome*, they have ſupplied with Fiction. Nay, the Scepticiſm with Regard to this Hiſtory is brought a great way on this Side

the Kings, and we are told that no Authors are to be relied upon, but ſince the Wars of *Pyrrhus* in *Italy*. The Elegancy of the Diſcourſe, in which this Paradox is advanc'd, may poſſibly have made it liſten'd to with Pleaſure; but it is very hard to give into it, at leaſt in its full Extent: Perhaps nothing more was deſign'd than to preſent us with a Turn of Wit, and an ingenious Problem.

Anſwer. We ſhall allow that ſome fabulous Strokes are interſpers'd among thoſe Truths which are the Groundwork of the *Roman* Hiſtory. But *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* has purg'd his *Roman Antiquities* from almoſt all the *Marvellous Fictions* ſcatter'd among them by ſome *Latin* Writers; ſo that his diſtinguiſhing Judgment has taken away many Occaſions of Clamour from our modern Criticks. What ſtill remains of fabulous in his Works is not ſufficient to make us in general diffident of all he has wrote. Let him have taken never ſo much from *Diocles* or *Antiochus:* Grant that *Livy* has borrow'd a great deal from *Livius Andronicus*, *Nævius* and *Ennius*, thoſe antient Poets and celebrated Annaliſts, more antient even than the celebrated Hiſtorians *Cato the Cenſor*, *Cincius*, *Fabius Pictor*, and the two *Piſo's:* Allow the *Latin* Hiſtorian to have only made a Collection of theſe: Were theſe Springs then entirely infected? Yes, ſay they: they had no Rules whereby to govern their Pens, except ſome vulgar Stories and oral Traditions, and their Invention furniſh'd the reſt. This is the Paradox of which it concerns us to diſcover the Weakneſs. No, *Rome*, from its very Beginning, never wanted Annaliſts who took Care to tranſmit to Poſterity, whatever was moſt memorable, according to the Order of Time [a]. *Numa* eſtabliſhed a *Pontifex Maximus*, or High-Prieſt. It was given in Charge to this chief Miniſter of Religion, to record conciſely all that happen'd to the riſing Nation. And it is reaſonably to be ſuppos'd that he went farther back in his Enquiries than the Epocha of his own Pontificate. But be that as it will; ſince the Reign of *Numa*, at leaſt, the Knowledge of the principal *Facts* relating to the Monarchy was perpetuated, from one *Pontifex* to another, even far into the Times of the Republick; and this Spring never after fail'd. The Antientneſs of the Language, and the Dryneſs of the Stile in theſe firſt Annals, did not deſtroy the Truth of them. And how late ſoever other Annaliſts (ſomewhat more polite) thought of putting into Verſe what they found in the Pontifical Tables, they work'd upon Materials already prepared. Their Vouchers were ocular Witneſſes, and the Writers whom they copied, were Men venerable both by their Rank, and upon the Score of Religion.

[a] Poſt Romuli exceſſum, novello adhuc Romanæ urbis imperio, penes Pontifices ſcribendæ Hiſtoriæ poteſtas fuit. *Vopiſcus in vitâ Taciti Imper.*

[b] Ab initio rerum Romanarum uſque ad P. Mucium, Pontificem maximum, res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat litteris Pontifex maximus, efferebatque in Album, & proponebat tabulam domi, poteſtas ut eſſet populo cognoſcendi; ii, qui *etiam nunc* Annales Maximi nominantur. *Cicer. l. 2. de Orat.*

THIS is no vain Conjecture and Illuſion which we have form'd to ourſelves: A very expreſs Paſſage in *Cicero* will ſerve us for a Proof. [b] *From the Beginning*, ſays he, *of the Eſtabliſhment of* Rome, *even to* Publius Mucius, *the* Pontifex *wrote down the Occurrences of each Year, of which he afterwards made a fair Draught, and cauſed it to be inſcribed in* Tables, *which he ſet to View in his Houſe for the Inſtruction of the People. Theſe* Tables *are yet called the* GREAT ANNALS.

HERE then are Materials for this Hiſtory prepared according to the Order of Time, from the very Beginning of the *Roman* Monarchy. We have here Annals known in *Rome* even in the Time of *Cicero*. Who can warrant that Superſtition had not inſerted among them ſome Fictions? Prieſts, zealous for the Worſhip of the Gods, and whoſe Intereſt it was by falſe Prodigies to deceive the People, may have ſcattered ſuch up and down in their Relations. *Livy* ſuffer'd himſelf to be impos'd upon in this Point. It is at preſent the Province of Criticiſm to diſtinguiſh between Truth and Fiction. But as to the Subſtance of the Narratives in matters of War, Politicks, New Settlements, Treaties with the neighbouring Nations, Erection of Offices, Acts of the Senate, and Decrees of the *Comitia*, what Motive could the High-Prieſts have to be guilty of Forgeries in theſe Reſpects? What a Blemiſh would they have brought, by ſuch a Procedure, upon the Sincerity which ought to be expected in the chief Miniſters of Religion?

THE Ignorance and Barbariſm indeed of the earlieſt Times of *Rome* might poſſibly have made the Accounts of the *Pontifices* inſipid, and their Annals imperfect. Nay, the Conciſeneſs which the firſt Annaliſts affected, might very well have cauſed their Omiſſion of ſome important and concerning Circumſtances. It was certainly this which *Livy* regretted in reference to his firſt five Books; and the Loſs muſt have been very ſenſible to a florid Hiſtorian who aim'd at the Embelliſhment of his Narrations. Neither does he fail to complain of it in the following manner. [c] *I have ſet forth in five Books what paſt among the* Romans, *firſt under the* Kings, *then under the* Conſuls, *afterwards under the* Dictators, Decemvirs *and* Military Tribunes, *both in their foreign Wars, and domeſtick Seditions. But theſe Things are obſcured, not only by their Antiquity, (which makes them, like Objects at a vaſt Diſtance, ſcarce diſcernible,) but by the great Scarcity of Men of Letters, the only faithful Depoſitaries of memorable Actions. Beſides, ſeveral Writings of our* Pontifices, *with other publick and private Monuments, periſh'd in the Flames of* Rome.

IT is true then, by the very Report of the *Latin* Hiſtorian, that there were Annals at *Rome* tranſmitted by the *High-Prieſts*. It is true, that the Scarcity of learned Men was the Cauſe why hiſtorical Monuments were not more numerous, but in ſhort it is likewiſe true, that there were ſome, tho' but few. Many of the Monuments, both publick and private, were indeed intirely deſtroy'd in the burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*; (a deplorable Loſs to Men greedy of Knowledge) but they were not all buried in the Ruins of the City. What few Matters of Fact we have yet remaining in the Hiſtorians, were ſaved from the Fire. Oral Traditions, we allow, wou'd have been ſubject to Errors; but thoſe Writings which ſurviv'd the Flames furniſh'd a Stock of Materials which might be made Uſe of without Danger of being impoſed upon. In the midſt of that Darkneſs thrown over the firſt Ages of *Rome*, there were yet ſome Rays of Light, which ſerv'd to diſcover a Way through the Ruins.

[c] Quæ ab condita urbe Roma, ad captam eamdem urbem, Romani, Regibus primum, Conſulibus deinde, ac Dictatoribus, Decemviriſque, ac Tribunis, Conſularibus, geſſere foris bella, domi ſeditiones, quinque libris expoſui: res cum vetuſtate nimiâ obſcuras, velut quæ magno ex intervallo loci vix cernuntur, tum quod *perraræ* per eadem tempora literæ fuere, una cuſtodia fidelis memoriæ rerum geſtarum; & quod etiam ſi quæ in commentariis Pontificum, aliiſque publicis privatiſque erant monumentis, incenſa urbe *pleraque* interiere. *Livy, B.* 6.

IT

IT is certain, whatever Notion we may form of the Barbarity of the *Gauls*, they were not Deſtroyers altogether void of Pity; they had ſome Religion, and they fear'd the Gods. This was evident, when during the Siege of the *Capitol*, they permitted a pious *Roman* to paſs through their Army to an aſſign'd Place for the Performance of a Sacrifice; and after the Ceremony, without offering him the leaſt Violence, ſuffered him to return through the midſt of them, and enter again the inveſted Citadel. Doubtleſs the Regard they had for the Temples of the *Roman* Deities, even to the ſaving them from the Fire, proceeded from the ſame Reſpect for Religion. And who does not know that theſe Sanctuaries ſerv'd as Archives, in which the *Roman* Monuments were depoſited? *Tacitus*, without deſigning it, has done Juſtice to the Memory of the *Gauls*, and has manifeſtly acknowledg'd their Piety. When he deſcribes the dreadful Loſs the *Romans* ſuſtain'd by *Nero*'s cruel Fire, he takes Notice of the Temples of greateſt Antiquity, which till then ſubſiſted, and were Ornaments to the Capital of the World. That celebrated Annaliſt gives us the following particular Account of them. [d] *It would be no eaſy matter*, ſays he, *to reckon up the great Number of Houſes and Temples devour'd by the Flames. Among others, thoſe Temples which had been raiſed by the Devotion of the remoteſt Times, as that dedicated to the Goddeſs* Lua *by* Servius Tullius; *that with the* Great Altar *which* Evander *the* Arcadian *had conſecrated to* Hercules, *when the latter paſſed through* Italy; *that which* Romulus, *in Performance of his Vow, had built to* JUPITER STATOR; *the Sanctuary of* Veſta; *together with the tutelary Gods of the* Roman *People*; *were entirely conſumed. Then periſhed likewiſe immenſe Riches, the Fruits of our many Victories, and a great Number of ineſtimable Monuments brought from* Greece. *But, which were ſtill more valuable, the antient and authentick Remains of ſome ingenious Writers* (or perhaps Annals) *underwent the ſame Fate. A Loſs which was never compenſated by all the Magnificence with which* Nero *embelliſh'd the City.*

IT is plain then, that the Piety of the *Gauls* had ſpared the Temple built by *Servius Tullius*, the Altar which *Evander* had rais'd to *Hercules* in his Life-time, the Sanctuary which *Romulus* had built in Honour of *Jupiter Stator*, and the antient Productions of the earlieſt Writers of *Rome*. The Deſtruction of theſe was reſerved for the frantick Humour of *Nero*. *Rome* therefore, in the Times of *Livy*, and of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, was not altogether deſtitute of the neceſſary Helps for compiling a Hiſtory of the firſt four Ages.

[d] Domuum & inſularum, & Templorum, quæ amiſſa ſunt numerum inire haud promptum fuerit: ſed vetuſtiſſima Religione, quod Servius Tullius Luæ, & magna ara fanumque, quæ præſenti Herculi Arcas Evander Sacraverat, ædeſque Statoris Jovis vota Romuli Numæque Regia, & delubrum Veſtæ, cum Penatibus populi Romani, exuſta. Jam opes tot victoriis quæſitæ & Græcarum artium decora, exin monumenta ingeniorum antiqua & incorrupta, quamvis in tanta reſurgentis urbis pulchritudine, multa ſeniores, meminerant quæ reparari nequibant. *Cor. Tacit. l.* 15. *Ann.*

Second Objection.

ALL theſe Teſtimonies put together, are ſufficient to diſpel the Prejudices which might ariſe from the falſe Notion of the conſummate Ignorance both of the *Romans*, and of the People bordering upon them. We may truly affirm, that the Reproach of Ignorance in the Art of expreſſing their Thoughts by Characters, has been carried to an Exceſs. It has been inſinuated, that the *Latin* Annaliſts and Hiſtorians cou'd not borrow Matter to fill up the Hiſtory of the firſt Years of *Rome*, either from their Anceſtors, or from the Archives of the neighbouring Towns. We are told, that the Stupidity both of the one and of the

other was ſo great, that they even counted the Years with Nails, which they ſtuck up in the Walls of their Temples and of their Houſes. But is this an inconteſtable Proof that they were yet Strangers to the Art of Writing? It is poſſible the *Romans* had not as yet invented the Numeral Letters; or perhaps they kept up this Cuſtom of marking the Times with Nails, thro' Superſtition. A Cuſtom which doubtleſs had its Riſe in the very Times of the firſt Inhabitants of *Italy*, who were called *Aborigines*. How difficult is it to aboliſh certain Uſages in a State, which are become agreeable to the People, and are coæval with them? When the Vanity, nay, the Ridiculouſneſs of them is ſeen, they are nevertheleſs kept up by a Sort of Veneration for their Antiquity. May we not ſuppoſe this to have been the Caſe of the *Romans*? They continued to fix every Year a Nail in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, even after they had learnt the Uſe of Characters. The Proof of this is indiſputable. For the ſame ſuperſtitious Cuſtom was perpetuated in *Rome* under the Sanction of a Law[e], written upon a Pillar in the ſame Temple of *Jupiter*. Let it not be ſaid that this Law has been conveyed to us only through the corrupt Channel of fabulous Times. The burning of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, and even this Cuſtom, of which Advantage is taken, have they any better Vouchers than the Annaliſts who were before the Time of *Pyrrhus*? And yet no Body diſputes theſe Facts. What Rule then of Criticiſm ſhall we have whereby to give ſome Events of the obſcure Ages the Stamp of Certitude in Preference to others, which our [f] Critick allows are nevertheleſs to be reſpected?

Answered.

[e] Lex vetuſta eſt priſcis literis verbisque ſcripta. *Livy*, *B.* 7.

[f] *The Author of the Paradox beforementioned.*

Third Objection

AND as to the too exact Reſemblance of ſome Incidents in the *Roman* Hiſtory to others in the Hiſtory of *Greece*, which ſeem to have been tranſcrib'd into the former, out of the latter, what Advantage can be taken from thence? It has indeed been ſaid, that the Combat of the *Horatii* with the *Curiatii*, a memorable Adventure in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, too much reſembles an Event which happen'd in *Arcadia*. The Cities of *Tegea* and *Pheneus* reſolved to end their Differences by a Combat of three *Pheneates* born at one Birth, the Sons of *Demoſtratus*, againſt three *Tegeates*, born likewiſe at one Birth, the Sons of *Reximachus*. At the firſt Onſet, two of the *Tegeates* were kill'd; the third, named *Criſtolaus*, counterfeiting Flight, fought his Adverſaries one after another, and left them dead upon the Place. *Demodice*, the Conqueror's Siſter, who had been promiſed in Marriage to one of the *Pheneates*, was ſtabb'd by her Brother, enrag'd at her refuſing to applaud his Victory. We are told, that the Exactneſs of this Parallel diſcovers the Impoſture of the chief *Roman* Hiſtorian, who has thought fit to enrich his Hiſtory with the Spoils of *Greece*.

BUT may it not be here ſaid, that Chance at different Times produces Adventures which very much reſemble one another, and which nevertheleſs are indiſputably genuine? What can be more alike than the tragical Deaths of the celebrated *Marcus Antonius* and the famous *Cicero*? One ſeems to have been copied from the other: They were both dignify'd with the Conſulſhip, both Orators of the firſt Rank, and both loſt their Lives in Times equally tempeſtuous. The do-

Answered.

meſtick Diſſentions, in which they had reſpectively engaged, proved fatal to each. What *Cinna* did againſt *Antonius*, in the War of *Marius*, the Triumvir *Antony* repeated againſt *Cicero:* Theſe two great Men were equally zealous for the Good of their Country, and it coſt them their Lives. The Heads of theſe incomparable Orators were at different Times faſtned to the very Place where their Eloquence had triumph'd; and what is very particular, *Cicero* breaks out into ſuch pathetical Lamentations on the Death of *Antonius* as were afterwards exactly applicable to his own. [g] Antonius's *Head*, ſays he, *who had ſaved the Heads of many Citizens, was fixed on that very* Roſtrum, *where, in his Conſulate, he had defended the Commonwealth with the utmoſt Steadineſs and Conſtancy.* Little did *Cicero* then think that this would one Day be his own Caſe.

[g] Marci Antonii in his ipſis roſtris, in quibus ille rempublicam conſtantiſſime Conſul defenderat, poſitum caput illud fuit, à quo erant multorum civium capita ſervata. *Ciceron. l. 3. de Orat.*

ADVENTURES of this kind, which are repeated after certain Intervals of Time, do not deſtroy one another, nor is their Reſemblance a concluſive Argument againſt their Certainty. This might ſuffice to make us receive the Hiſtory of the firſt Ages of *Rome*, notwithſtanding ſome Paſſages in it which reſemble others, in the *Grecian* Story: But after all, if the Combat of the *Pheneates* and *Tegeates* was equally well atteſted in Hiſtory, with that of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, we ſhould be prejudiced againſt the Accounts of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* and *Livy*. We ſhould then place the Combat of the three *Romans* againſt the three *Albans* amongſt thoſe fabulous Adventures, which we have retrenched from the Body of this Hiſtory. It would be no great Difficulty to us to give up a ſingle Story; but yet we have related this Combat in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*. We were not ignorant of the Pretext which ſome Criticks might take from hence, to diſcredit the particular and circumſtantial Accounts of the firſt Ages of *Rome:* We therefore examined, by the Rules of Criticiſm, whether the Adventure of the *Pheneates* had not been copied from that of the *Horatii*; and we eaſily diſcovered that the Annaliſts of *Rome* were the Originals, and had been tranſlated Paſſage for Paſſage into bad *Greek*. And indeed, what Authorities are cited to give Credit to the Fable of the Sons of *Demoſtratus* and *Reximachus*? There is in truth but one produced, and one whoſe Credit has been always ſuſpected by the Learned. This Story of the *Pheneates* and *Tegeates* is no where to be found but in *the Parallels of* Plutarch. A Name which indeed is venerable; but then no judicious Critick ever aſcrib'd to *Plutarch* ſuch a contemptible Work as that of *the Parallels*. It is only the rude Production of a bad Grammarian, who takes the Liberty of putting upon us Fictions for Realities. This deſpicable Author cites *Apollodorus*, but we would gladly know from which of the Authors of that Name he took his Story; for he ſeems to be an Impoſtor in his Quotation, as well as a Libertine in Fiction. It is alſo pretended, that *Stobæus* adopts this Fable, found in *the Parallels*; but what Authority, among the Learned, can a modern Compiler have, who only heaps Citations together, and that oftentimes with little Judgment? We have read over this *Stobæus*, but could not find out the Place where he relates this Adventure of the *Arcadian*

cadian Brothers: And, after all, if he does relate it, we have Reaſon to believe, that he only tranſcribed it from the wretched Author of *the Parallels*. A Treatiſe which, in ſhort, has ſo little of *Plutarch* in it, that in the Margin of a Manuſcript of this learned Author we have a Remark which clears him from the ſhameful Imputation of having compos'd it.[h]

* As to the Prodigies ſo frequently to be found in the *Roman* Hiſtory, they are no juſt Prejudice againſt the principal Facts which it relates. We have already obſerv'd, that the chief *Pontifs* were the firſt Annaliſts of their Nation; and the Concern which Prieſts have for their Religion might induce them to make their Gods interpoſe in the principal Actions which they related. This is an Abuſe which the Spirit of Superſtition has brought into all the Hiſtories in the World, without Exception; for, not to ſpeak of the *Greek*, are not our Criticks frequently employ'd to purge even modern Hiſtories from a thouſand Prodigies which Credulity has inſerted in them? And are theſe Hiſtories the leſs true, at leaſt with reſpect to the great Events? Nay farther, it is on all hands agreed, that ſince the Wars of *Pyrrhus*, the *Roman* Hiſtorians have been ſincere; and yet how many falſe Miracles have they intermix'd with their Accounts? Is there any thing more ſurprizing in the Apparition of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* after the Battle of *Regillus*, than in the ſame Apparition when the *Romans* made War againſt *Perſes*, or than in the Revelations which *Scipio* had in the *Capitol*? Or has the Story of *Sertorius*'s conſulting with a Hind any more Probability, than that of *Numa*'s Converſations with the Nymph *Egeria*? We muſt therefore either eſtabliſh an univerſal Scepticiſm as to all Hiſtories, or we muſt not disbelieve them, merely on the Account of ſome trifling Incidents which may be eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the reſt.

NEITHER are the contradictory Accounts of the firſt *Roman* Annaliſts any certain Proof that they deſerve no Credit. They agree in the principal Events, and ought it to be any Wonder, that they ſometimes differ in Circumſtances? Oftentimes, with reſpect to things that have happen'd in our Days, and almoſt in our own Sight, we find a Difference in the Accounts given by thoſe who have been Witneſſes. The Particulars of a Battle are not always told the ſame way by thoſe who have ſignaliz'd themſelves in it: The neareſt Objects have different Appearances, according to the Views of thoſe who behold them. Imagination and Prejudices occaſion this Difference, and hence are all thoſe Variations we find in the Writings which have ſerved as Memoirs for the firſt four Centuries of the *Roman* Hiſtory. The Choice we have been oblig'd to make out of theſe different Accounts, has very much encreas'd the Labour of collecting them into one Body: Nay, we have often waver'd about the Choice and Preference; and Criticiſm has determined the Matter. The only Precaution we have taken, has been to relate, at leaſt in the *Notes*, the Variations we found among different Authors, it not being reaſonable to confine the Reader to our own Sentiments. But after all, if the Diſagreement of Authors among themſelves were an undeniable Mark of Falſity in their Writings, what

[h] In the Margin of an antient MS. are theſe Words in *Greek*, *This Book was never the Work of* Plutarch, *an excellent and learned Author, but of ſome vulgar Scribler, ignorant of the Art of Poeſy and Grammar.* *Amyot* upon the Tranſlation of the Book of Parallels.

* Fourth Objection *anſwered.*

Fifth Objection *anſwered.*

History, ancient or modern, would not be liable to Suſpicion? Do the Hiſtorians who have wrote ſince the Wars of *Pyrrhus* always agree among themſelves? No, and yet it's confeſs'd on all Sides that they have been faithful. Let the Reader but caſt an Eye upon our *Notes*, where we have pointed out their Differences, and he will be ſurpriz'd to find as little Harmony among thoſe Authors as among the others. We eaſily overlook this Diſagreement among Writers of the laſt Ages of the Republick, and we make it a Ground of Complaint againſt the Annaliſts of the firſt Ages of *Rome*. So that, upon the whole, it is evident that the firſt *Romans* wanted neither Memoirs for their Hiſtory, nor faithful Vouchers for the principal Events of it: That the pretended Reſemblance between certain Facts in their Annals, and ſome Fables in the *Grecian* Hiſtory, does no Prejudice to that Credit which their Hiſtorians deſerve: And that [neither the Prodigies they mention, nor] the ſlight Contradictions which are among their Writers, do not deſtroy their Sincerity. Thus are diſpers'd thoſe Clouds of Darkneſs which ſome have endeavour'd to ſpread over the Hiſtory of the firſt four Ages of *Rome*. And we ſhall therefore with Boldneſs continue to give a Summary of the Progreſs of the *Roman* Empire, beginning from the Birth of the Republick.

The Subject-Matter of the Hiſtory continued.

AFTER that Revolution which deſtroyed the Monarchy of *Rome*, and ſubſtituted two *Conſuls* in the room of its *Kings*, we ſhall behold this City left intirely to itſelf, and deſtitute of Aſſiſtance from its Allies and Neighbours. The dethroned King will ſtir up againſt it all the Nations round about; he will conduct the formidable *Porſenna* to beſiege it: The rugged Virtue and Conſtancy of the *Romans*, rather than their Valour, will preſerve them from the new Yoke which will threaten them. *Hetruria* will be ſurpriz'd at their inflexible Courage; and from an Enemy become an Admirer. In the mean while *TARQUIN* will engage the *Latins* to take Arms againſt *Rome*; a numerous People againſt one ſingle Town. The War will be long; but glorious Succeſs will attend the weaker Side. In Concluſion, the Republick will humble its Aggreſſors, and force its Enemies to become its Allies.

AFTER this, *Rome* will immediately enlarge its Territory: Its Conqueſts will indeed be ſlow, and its Grandeur attain'd by gentle Degrees; but at length ſo many *Latin* Towns, and ſo many petty Nations will be ſubdued, that the Republick will from that time be Miſtreſs. The *Æqui*, the *Volſci*, the *Faliſci*, and the *Fidenates*, will acknowledge her Superiority. *Hetruria* itſelf will quickly be invaded, and the Surrender of *Veii*, after a ten Years Siege, will open the *Romans* a Way into that ſpacious Country, where they will afterwards extend their Conqueſts.

THE *Gauls* alone will put a Stop to the ſcarce diſcernible Progreſs of the virtuous *Romans*. The gaining of one Battle will put theſe Strangers in Poſſeſſion of the City; and the Flames they kindle will deſtroy almoſt all the Buildings: But yet the Republick will ſubſiſt in a ſmall Remnant of *Romans*, who will take Sanctuary in the *Capitol*. At length a generous *Dictator* will free his Country from theſe *Barbarians*;

rians; and *Rome*, being rebuilt, will by degrees recover its former Luſtre. 'Tis true, the ſevere Blow which the *Romans* will receive from the *Gauls* will make the Nations round about them ſenſible that their Conquerors were not invincible. The *Latins* will revolt, and the *Sabines* break that Alliance they made with *Rome* in its Cradle. It will coſt the *Romans* ſome Blood to re-eſtabliſh themſelves in their antient Superiority; but they will at length prevail, and keep the *Latins* and *Sabines* within the Bounds of their Duty.

NOTWITHSTANDING this little Circle of Conqueſts, the *Romans* will ſtill be confined within very narrow Bounds. A more terrible Enemy than all the reſt will long exerciſe their Virtue. The *Samnites* will reduce *Rome* to the laſt Extremities. *Campania*, by ſubmitting to the *Romans*, will excite the Jealouſy of thoſe warlike Neighbours. The *Samnites* being by the Nature of their Country robuſt, and their Spirits ſavouring both of the Harſhneſs of the Air, which they breathe, and of the Ruggedneſs of thoſe Mountains with which their Country abounds, will not without Difficulty be brought to ſubmit to the Dominion of the *Romans*; nor will they lay aſide all their Pride, even after bowing under that Yoke.

CAMPANIA being ſubdued, and *Samnium* quieted, the Republick will be at Liberty to march an Army into the *Eaſtern* Parts of *Italy*. A vaſt Region of this Continent then bore the Name of *Great Greece*; ſome Colonies of People, originally *Greeks*, were ſettled there; and the Countries beyond the Sea look'd upon all *Italy* as ſubject to the *Greeks*. *Tarentum*, in Times paſt founded by the *Lacedæmonians*, but now ſoftned by Luxury, will provoke the *Romans*: The War which the latter will make upon that effeminate People would ſoon be at an End; but the *Grecian* Colony will ſtir up againſt the *Romans* the beſt General of *Greece*. *Pyrrhus* will paſs the Sea, and lead an Army, compos'd of *Theſſalians*, *Epirotes* and *Macedonians*, to the Succour of *Tarentum*. Elephants train'd up to War will afford a ſtrange Spectacle to a People who had never ſeen them before: The *Romans* will at firſt be terrify'd; but will quickly learn, that the fierceſt Animals are not more formidable than *Pyrrhus* himſelf. This great General will be conſtrain'd to leave *Italy*, and *Tarentum* will remain ſubject to the *Romans*. By this ſingle Victory the Republick will become Miſtreſs of all *Great Greece*, *Lucania*, and *Apulia*. The Country of the *Brutii*, and almoſt all the *Eaſtern* and *Southern* Parts of *Italy*, will ſubmit to her Laws. And then the Conqueſt of *Picenum* and *Hetruria* will be but Sport to thoſe who ſhall have vanquiſh'd *Pyrrhus*.

IN vain was *Sicily* parted from the Continent of *Italy*; the ambitious *Romans* will unite them again by Conqueſt. *Rome* cannot be Miſtreſs of *Meſſana*, without becoming an Enemy to *Carthage*. Then will an Emulation of Glory and Intereſt ſeize the two Republicks; open War will be declar'd between them; but how unequal will be their Strength! The *Romans* will have neither Ships nor Experience in Sea-Fights; their Courage and Conſtancy will ſupply the Want of both.

They will build a Fleet with ſo much Expedition as would make one imagine their Foreſts were of a ſudden transform'd into Galleys. Theſe ſhapeleſs Veſſels will be too heavy for Engagements at Sea; but the *Romans* will ſupply that Defect by Engines of their own Invention. They will find out the Art of grappling with the lighteſt Ships of their Enemies, and, by boarding them, will be able to fight as in a plain Field. By this Means being victorious at Sea as well as at Land, they will triumph over the *Carthaginians* in *Sicily*, and join the Iſlands of *Corſica* and *Sardinia* to this rich Conqueſt.

AFRICA itſelf will then become acceſſible to the new Maſters of *Sicily*; and the *Romans* will there fight Battles, the Succeſs of which will lead them to the very Gates of *Carthage*. Fortune will then abandon them for a ſhort time. Under the Conduct of a *Lacedæmonian* Commander, the *Carthaginians* will have the Advantage. The *Roman* General, vanquiſh'd and taken Priſoner, will depart for *Rome* under Pretence of negotiating his Freedom, and the Exchange of Priſoners. His Virtue or his Rage will prevail in him above his deareſt Intereſts; he will keep his Parole and return to *Carthage*, to reſume his Fetters, and to deliver up himſelf to the moſt cruel Torments. Then will the Animoſity of the two Republicks be increaſed by mutual Barbarities. *Sicily* will once more become the Seat of War. Two Battles gain'd by the *Romans*, one at Sea, and the other at Land, will oblige the *Carthaginians* to ſubmit. A Treaty of Peace, diſadvantagious to the *Africans*, will put an End to this firſt War, but not to their mutual Enmity.

AFTER ſo many ſucceſsful Labours, *Rome* will allow itſelf but ſhort Moments of Reſt. From the Days of *Numa* this will be the firſt time that the Temple of *Janus* will be ſhut; and it will ſoon be open'd again. The Forces of the Republick will not remain unemploy'd. The *Ligurians* on the one Hand, at the Foot of the *Alps*, and the *Illyrians* on the other, upon the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea, will feel the Weight of the *Roman* Arms. It will be hard to vanquiſh the firſt, while they continue cantoned in their Mountains and Foreſts; but they will be drawn down to the Plain, where their Defeat will be follow'd by a Surrender. As for the ſecond, they will pay dearly for the Perfidiouſneſs of their Queen; and inſtead of being ſubject to a female Sovereign, will almoſt ever after obey the *Romans*.

FROM the Foot of the *Alps* to the *Ionian* Sea, there will be nothing left for theſe formidable Conquerors to ſubdue, but *Ciſalpine Gaul*. Some *Gauls* from the other Side of the *Alps* had long been ſettled there, and poſſeſs'd *Inſubria*, and ſeveral other Regions very far beyond the *Po*. The *Roman* Valour had never experienc'd more terrible Enemies. It will however triumph over them: But the vanquiſh'd *Gauls* will again take Courage, and the Preſence of *Hannibal* will renew their former Pride.

THE Conqueror of *Saguntum* and of *Spain*, bound by Oath to be an eternal Enemy to the *Romans*, will march out from the *Pyrenæan* Mountains, and make himſelf a Way over the *Alps*. Four Battles

gain'd by the *Carthaginians* in the Heart of *Italy*, one upon the *Ticin*, another upon the *Trebia*, the third at the Lake *Thraſumenus*, and the fourth near *Cannæ*, will fill the Republick with Terror. By this Means the Conqueſts of the *Romans* will be ſuſpended, and they will confine all their Diligence and Induſtry to the ſaving *Rome* itſelf. This Capital of ſo many Nations would certainly become a Prey to the *Africans*, if their Leader knew how to make the beſt Advantage of his Victory: But his ſtaying at *Capua*, and abandoning himſelf to his Pleaſures, will be more ſerviceable to the *Romans*, than the Valour of their Generals. *Hannibal* will ceaſe to be the greateſt Warrior that ever was, and become an ordinary General: He will be more frequently vanquiſh'd than victorious, and yet will be able to prolong the War in *Italy*, and keep the *Romans* in Exerciſe and Terror for the Space of fourteen Years. Their tottering Republick will have no conſiderable Succeſs but beyond the Seas. *Marcellus* will ſubject to it *Syracuſe* in *Sicily*; and the *Scipio*'s raviſh from the *Carthaginians* that Empire which they had uſurped over *Spain*.

A more favourable Star will then ſhine upon the *Romans*; for young *Scipio*, the Conqueror of the *Spaniards*, will carry the War from *Italy* into *Africa*. The Preſence of *Hannibal* will become neceſſary to his Country: Thither he will fly, deliver *Rome* from a troubleſome Neighbour, and find a Revenger of ravaged *Italy* near *Carthage*. *Scipio* will force the vanquiſh'd *Hannibal* to go and lead an inglorious Life in a foreign Country; and his Departure will leave *Africa* to the Mercy of the *Romans*.

THEN will the Conqueſts of the Republick advance with a ſtill ſwifter Progreſs. *Macedon* will have loſt a great Share of that Courage which diſtinguiſh'd it in the Time of *Alexander the Great*. The King who will govern it at this Time, will bear the Name of *Philip*, the Father of him who conquer'd *Aſia*; but will have neither his Wiſdom nor Valour. This inconſiderate Monarch will enter into Engagements with *Hannibal*, at a Time when the *Carthaginians* make *Italy* tremble; but we ſhall ſee the *Macedonian* pay dearly for his Intrigues againſt the *Romans*. His Fate will follow that of *Hannibal*; and being more than once vanquiſh'd, *Philip* will ſue for Peace, and continue in his own Country; a King in Name, but ſubject to the Republick. By this Means *Rome* will become ſo formidable to all *Greece*, as to be the Arbitreſs of all its Proceedings.

THE Ambition of the *Romans* will no longer keep within Bounds. *Syria* will ſink under the Weight of their Arms. *Antiochus*, the King of that delightful Country of *Aſia*, will take the fugitive *Hannibal* under his Protection, and the Counſels of that irreconcileable Enemy to the *Romans* will ſeduce the effeminate Prince: He will declare himſelf againſt the Allies of *Rome*, and carry the War into *Eubœa*; which would be more terrible to the Republick, if he gave the Command of his Army to the *African* General. But he will put himſelf at the Head of his Troops, and ſuffer the ſame Fate from the *Romans*, which *Xerxes* and *Darius* met with, in their Wars againſt the *Greeks*. He will be

ſtript

ſtript of one Part of his Dominions, and finiſh in Luxury a Reign, which his own Imprudence will render unhappy.

ÆTOLIA will have its Turn: The Misfortunes of *Antiochus* will rebound upon it, and all the Iſles from Mount *Ceraunus* to Cape *Malea*, will be ſubdued to the Republick. *Iſtria*, the Accomplice of *Antiochus*'s Hoſtilities, will be deeply involv'd in his Misfortunes.

GALLO-GRECIA, whether juſtly or unjuſtly engaged in the King of *Syria*'s Wars, will feel the Effects of the *Roman* Vengeance in the very Heart of *Aſia*. It was a Colony of thoſe *Gauls*, who under *Brennus* had formerly imbrued *Greece* in Blood, and profaned the Temples of its Gods. The *Gallo-Greeks*, being vanquiſh'd in ſeveral Battles, will leave their Plains to the *Romans*, and ſeek a Sanctuary in inacceſſible Mountains.

In the mean time *Macedon*, which had been ſubdued in the time of King *Philip*, will riſe again in Arms under his Son *Perſes*. It will ſeem hard to a Nation victorious under *Alexander*, to bear a foreign Yoke. The *Thracians* will join with it, and their ſavage Bravery will be an Aid to the military Skill of the *Macedonians*. But the Barriers, which theſe Confederates will raiſe againſt the *Roman* Valour, will very ſoon be thrown down. The *Romans* will force their Way over Moraſſes and Rocks deem'd unpaſſable. *Perſes* will not dare to give Battle in Perſon; but will abandon his Palace, and take Sanctuary at the Foot of the Altars. His Conqueror will return to *Rome*, and after the Defeat of ſo haughty an Enemy, receive the Honours of the moſt magnificent Triumph that ever was. The unfortunate *Perſes* will involve the rebellious *Illyrium* in his own Ruin; and the Deſtruction of *Scorda*, the Capital of that Kingdom, will be a full Revenge to the *Romans* for the *Illyrian* Perfidiouſneſs.

Notwithstanding the Examples of ſo many Nations ſubdu'd and puniſh'd, *Macedon* will not be terrify'd. An Impoſtor, from among the meaneſt of the People, will aſſume the Name of *Philip*, make himſelf King, enable the *Macedonians* to ſhake off the Yoke of their Maſters, and being more ſucceſsful than the true Kings of his Country, obtain a ſignal Victory over a *Roman Prætor*: But his Proſperity will be ſhort, and he will be vanquiſh'd, in his Turn, by a *Conſul*. However, he will at leaſt have the frivolous Honour of being carried to *Rome*, and led before the Triumphal Chariot of his Conqueror, with all the Equipage of a true King.

The Obſtinacy of the *Carthaginians* will appear equal to the Fury of the *Macedonians*; and the former as well as the latter will riſe in Arms three ſeveral Times. *Rome* will neglect the Puniſhment of other Towns in *Africa*, and diſplay her Vengeance only upon *Carthage*. Never will City ſhew more Warmth in its Defence, or a greater Zeal for its Preſervation; but in the End it will be obliged to yield; and this Rival of the *Roman* Glory will be reduced to a Heap of Rubbiſh. The wiſeſt among the *Romans* will with Reaſon bewail its Fall. The Deſtruction of *Carthage* will be the fatal Period of their declining from that ſtrict Virtue, which made ſo great a Difference between them and

other Nations. Henceforth, their Frugality will be changed into Luxury, their Laborioufneſs into Effeminacy; their Continence into Debauchery, their Juſtice into Avarice, and their Sincerity into Perfidiouſneſs. Some glimmerings of their antient Probity will now and then break forth: but Virtue will no longer be the diſtinguiſhing Character of the whole Nation. *Rome* will however continue to be victorious, and her Power will arrive to ſuch a Height as to be able at pleaſure to ſwallow up all the Kingdoms of the World.

ACHAIA will feel this Change in the *Roman* Morals; for upon a ſlight Pretence *Elis* will be plundered, and *Corinth* reduced to Aſhes, preſerving nothing of its antient Wealth, but a Metal compoſed of different Metals blended together.

THO' *Spain* was quieted by *Scipio*, yet ſeveral of its Cities and Provinces did not ſubmit to the *Roman* Empire; and therefore nothing will ſatisfy *Rome*, but the entire Subjection of that brave Nation. However, its Sovereignty will not be eſtabliſhed but by Violence and Cruelty. *Numantia*, with no other Defence than its Situation, and the inſuperable Valour of its Inhabitants, will occaſion much Reproach to the *Romans*, and coſt them a great deal of Blood. The *Numantins*, when reduced to the moſt dreadful Extremities, will prefer Death to Slavery, and deſtroy themſelves by Poiſon, Fire, and Sword; ſo that of all that valiant People, there will not be one ſingle Captive left to honour the Victor's Triumph.

THE Teſtament of a *Pergamenian* King will call back the *Roman* Arms into *Aſia*. The Republick will there maintain its Rights; but by ways contrary to the Law of Nations and Humanity itſelf. One of her Generals will poiſon the Water of thoſe Springs which ſupply the rebellious Towns: and thus *Rome* will practiſe the blackeſt Treaſons againſt thoſe very People from whom ſhe her ſelf had learned to make uſe of them.

AFRICA at length will raiſe up againſt the prevailing Republick a ſecond *Hannibal*, almoſt as formidable as the firſt for his Valour, and more ſo for his Artifices. *Jugurtha*, an Uſurper of the Kingdom of *Numidia*, and an Ally of the *Romans*, will perceive the Alteration in their Manners, and will maintain his unjuſt Poſſeſſion by Bribery. The Senate of *Rome* will not be able to withſtand his profuſe Preſents. He will be commanded to divide a Crown, for which he would have no Competitor; but he will corrupt with Money the *Roman* Officer, commiſſioned to re-eſtabliſh the rightful Owner in a part of his Dominions. War will be declared againſt him, but he will gain thoſe, by means of their Avarice, whom he could never have conquer'd by Force. Whole Armies of *Romans* will be bought over to favour the Paſſions of the *Numidian*; and deſert the Intereſt of their Country to ſerve him. *Rome* will however, at length, find an Avenger of theſe Affronts. *Metellus*, regardleſs of the *Numidian* Prince, and of all his Offers, will ſack the Town where his Treaſures are depoſited. Driven from *Numidia*, he will be purſued into *Mauritania*, where *Bocchus* will give him Refuge. Then will a Soldier of Fortune lead the worſt Soldiers of the *Roman*

Troops againſt the two *African* Kings, and by Victories obtain'd over them, at length reduce *Jugurtha* to wear the Chains of his Conquerors, and to ſerve for an Ornament to their Triumph.

Nor will the Conqueſts of the *Romans* extend only to the Eaſt and South; their Ambition will carry them even to the Regions of the North. To revenge *Marſeilles* for the Ravages of the *Salyes*, and the *Autunois* for the Depredations of the *Arverni* and *Allobroges*, *Rome* will ſucceſſively march its Armies beyond the *Alps*, and ſo enter *Gaul*, of which *Julius Cæſar* will finiſh the Conqueſt. Victory will follow this great Commander even into *Germany*; nay, the very Ocean will not be able to ſtop the rapid Conqueror; for he will ſubdue the *Britannick* Iſles, and the extreme Rigor of the Clime alone will preſerve from his Yoke the Nations that lie nearer the Pole.

Such will be the inconceivable Progreſs of a Commonwealth which was almoſt cruſh'd in its Birth, and which continually ſtruggled with its ill Fortune, domeſtick Seditions, and the Jealouſy of its Neighbours. The Sight will at firſt View be ſurpriſing, and the Curious will be fond of ſearching into the ſecret Springs of ſuch a ſudden and prodigious Growth. Some will impute it to the Valour of the firſt Inhabitants of *Rome*, and others to the Wiſdom of the Senate. Some again to the rigid Virtue of a People whoſe Probity never fail'd till they became too powerful to need its Aſſiſtance; and others to the great number of their Generals, who by long and neceſſary Service acquired Experience in War. But after all, it will be more judicious to aſcribe it to Providence, and to the Protection of *the Lord of Hoſts*. *Rome* for a long time continued virtuous. Its Probity was not confin'd to the Speculation of a few Philoſophers, who taught ſound Morality, as in *Greece*. The whole Nation, generally ſpeaking, ſteadily purſued the Principles of ſound Reaſon; and, except in religious Worſhip, deviated but little from the Maxims of Natural Wiſdom. [i] And it is not unlikely that Providence (which ſeldom fails to reward the due Exerciſe of Reaſon with temporal Bleſſings) recompenſed in the Children the Probity of their Fathers. It was moreover the Will of Heaven, that the heroick Virtues of the *Romans* ſhould ſerve for Models to all Nations, and even be of uſe to the Profeſſors of the true Religion, who may either be confounded with Shame, when they fall ſhort of them, or heighten their Luſtre by practiſing them upon more ſublime Motives. And the promoting theſe Ends is our principal Aim, in ſetting ſo many memorable Examples before the Publick.

But might it not be alſo ſaid, that the Love which the *Romans* bore to their Country contributed to render them invincible? Their Armies were chiefly compos'd of *Roman* Citizens, who from their Youth had imbibed a tender Affection for their native City. Every Citizen had a Share in the Government of it, and the Liberty which they enjoyed in it attached their Hearts to all its Intereſts. Its Proſperities affected the Welfare of the meaneſt of them. No one believed himſelf excluded from a ſhare in the Reſpect and Submiſſions which Foreign Princes came to pay to the Republick, and every private Man, though

[i] Et iſti (Romani) privata pro re communi, hoc eſt Republicâ, & pro ejus ærario contempſerunt, avaritiæ reſtiterunt .... neque delicto, ſecundum ſuas leges, neque libidini obnoxii. His omnibus, tanquam verâ viâ niſi ſunt ad honores ... imperii ſui leges impoſuerunt in omnibus gentibus .... Non eſt quod de ſummi & veri Dei juſtitiâ conqueranter, accepe-runt mercedem ſuam. *Aug. de Civit. Dei, l. 5. cap. 15.*

a *Plebeian*, had a Vote in the Deciſion of their Fate. Nay, there was not a Citizen of *Rome*, who did not eſteem himſelf equal, if not ſuperior to the greateſt Monarchs. From hence proceeded that Regard for their Country, and thoſe more than human Efforts, to preſerve the Glory, and extend the Dominion of it.

II. *The Authorities upon which this Hiſtory is built.*

§. II. THE Originals from whence we have taken the Materials to compoſe this Hiſtory, are the pureſt Sources of *Greek* and *Roman* Antiquity. How great has our Advantage been, to have the moſt perfect Models continually before our Eyes? When an Hiſtorian works upon meer Annals, which are deſtitute of all Embelliſhment, it is difficult for him to preſerve his Writings from ſomewhat, at leaſt, of the Dryneſs of the Originals. 'Tis a kind of unpoliſh'd Matter, which ſtill retains ſomething of its primitive Roughneſs.

THE Caſe is not the ſame when he comes to work upon Materials, which excellent Artiſts have already taken the Pains to poliſh. Their Example is a Support and an Encouragement, and he who gives them a new Form, has nothing to fear but the not being able to equal thoſe great Maſters. In ſtudying *Livy*, *Plutarch*, *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* and *Polybius*, the Imagination is enlivened, the Mind enlarged, our Thoughts refined, our Sentiments improv'd, and our Emulation excited. It would be a ſhame to creep, when we behold in our Models ſo much Dignity and Grandeur.

Livy.

THE Authors which we have not ſcrupled to compile, and even ſometimes to new model are, as follow. *LIVY* muſt have the firſt Place, for it is upon his Ground that we have built. He has lent us his Field, which we have clear'd and widen'd, and have tranſported thither ſuch Marble as was neceſſary to erect an Edifice more ſpacious than his own. He has often been our only Guide: And indeed his Hiſtory is the only compleat one, from the Foundation of *Rome* to the Re-eſtabliſhment of Monarchical Government under *Julius Cæſar*. What Pomp and Majeſty of Style! what Fire and Eloquence in his Harangues! what lively Colours in his Paintings, and what Variety in his Deſcriptions! It is of little moment to us, that ſome delicate Ears among the *Latins* have found ſomewhat of a *Pataviniy* in his Writings. In this Age it would be difficult to diſcern it. His Omiſſions, Want of Experience in the Art of War, Careleſneſs in Chronology, and his ſubſtituting ſome Names for others, are the only Faults which ought to be objected to him. He affected Brevity, but perhaps was not too conciſe for the Nation whom he deſign'd to inſtruct. As for us indeed, who at this diſtance of Time are at a Loſs for the Cuſtoms and Manners of his Country, he often leaves us in the midſt of Darkneſs, and we have been obliged to have recourſe to better Guides. And though his Credulity ſeems alſo liable to Cenſure; becauſe, being devoted to his Religion, his Reſpect for his Gods made him adopt, for true Miracles, all the wonderful Things reported among the People: Yet his Sincerity was never called in queſtion by any judicious Critick. His Inclination did not make him partial to any of the contending Factions; and though a Friend of *Auguſtus Cæſar*, he was no Flatterer of his Father

Julius.

Julius. He treats of the Civil War in ſuch a manner, as if he lean'd to *Pompey*'s Side; but this was the Effect of his Integrity, for he ſeems to have no Averſion but to the *Gauls*. Theſe indeed he upon all Occaſions leſſens and defames; but this Hatred undoubtedly proceeded from his Love of his Country, to which the *Gauls* had too often prov'd fatal Enemies.

LIVY's Hiſtory would have been ſerviceable to us to the very End of our Work, if by the Negligence of our Fore-fathers we had not loſt an entire Decade; the Abridgments of which ſerve only to make us regret it. Our Comfort is, that we have found in the *Greek* Writers wherewith to repair, at leaſt in part, a Loſs which ſeem'd irreparable. And we ſhall uſe our utmoſt Endeavours, in this Work, not only to reſtore *Livy*, and render him again entire, but even more correct and circumſtantial than before.

Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus.

DIONYSIUS of *Halicarnaſſus* will furniſh us with greater Supplies than any other Writer, towards compleating *Livy*, or rather the Hiſtory of the Republick. The frequent Poverty of the *Latin* Author, whoſe Hiſtory is our main Stock, has obliged us to borrow; and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* has lent us more than any other. No one has penetrated more deeply into the dark Ages which followed the Settlement of *Æneas* in *Italy*, or handled the Hiſtory of the earlieſt Times of *Rome* with a more juſt and critical Exactneſs than he has done. A diffuſive Orator, whoſe Harangues ſhew more Depth of Policy and Philoſophy than either agreeable Smoothneſs or *Enthuſiaſm*. As for his Narrations, they unfold themſelves with Art, tho' ſlowly. In connecting the Circumſtances one with another, he keeps the Mind in Suſpenſe, and even his Digreſſions have Plots, of which the Reader muſt wait the unravelling. This Author's Work would be a Treaſure to the Commonwealth of Learning, had it been tranſmitted to us as entire as it came from his Hands. In him we ſhould have had a ſufficient Voucher of all the Events relating to *Rome*, from its Birth to the firſt *Punick* War: And that Part of him which remains makes us inconſolable for what we have loſt.

Polybius.

POLYBIUS, as an Hiſtorian, was of a quite different Character from *Livy* and *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*; he did not affect the Orator like them. He was a military Man, whom the *Romans* drew from his own Country, where his Merit had made them jealous of him. He left *Achaia* upon its firſt Reduction, and came to *Rome*; not to apply his Mind entirely to Letters, for he ſignalized himſelf by more eſſential Services to the *Romans*. His Ability, both in Council and in War, gain'd him the Confidence of *Scipio Africanus*. He followed the Fortune of his Friend, and was a Witneſs and an Admirer of his Virtues and Exploits. The Hiſtory he has left us ſeems at once to be written by an Eye-witneſs, and by a Soldier, who deſpiſes an affected Politeneſs. Nor does he confine himſelf to a bare Relation of what he ſaw, and of what he did; but makes Reflections upon both, and ſhews more of the Philoſopher in his Writings, than either of the Soldier or the Hiſtorian. If he enlarges upon what paſs'd in all the diſtant Na-

tions of the World, it is to draw hence ſuch Inſtructions as are proper to form the Heart and Mind of his Reader. So great a Man deſerves more diſtinct Commendations than *Livy* vouchſafes to give him. After having frequently pillag'd him, he contents himſelf with ſaying that *POLYBIUS was no contemptible Author*. And yet we cannot think that it was Jealouſy which made *Livy* ſo ſparing in the Praiſes of a Writer who had been ſo uſeful to him: But a plain Hiſtorian, who confines himſelf to Truth, without Ornament, could not be to the Taſte of a Writer, who ſtudied to ſtrew Flowers thoughout all his Narrations.

As for *DIODORUS SICULUS*, we are little obliged to him. If he deſerves Eſteem, it is only for his Zeal to ſerve the Publick by a voluminous Work, which he entitled, *The Univerſal Library*. The weak Writer had not duly meaſured his own Ability. 'Tis true, he travell'd over *Aſia* and *Europe*, in order to be exact in the Situation of thoſe Places which his Hiſtory deſcribes. If his Journeys were chargeable, he expended but little to procure good Memoirs; and we may venture to affirm, that he adopted more unfaithful than true ones: At leaſt, with regard to the *Romans*, he was very indifferently inſtructed in the Affairs of their Republick. He is perpetually confounding the *Conſulſhips*, and changing the *Conſuls* Names. And therefore tho' we have often cited him in our *Notes*, yet it has been chiefly to contradict him. *Diodorus Siculus.*

APPIAN has been of more Service to us than *Diodorus Siculus*. The Account he has given us of the Affairs of *Carthage*, *Syria*, *Parthia*, and *Spain*, of *Hannibal*'s Life and Actions, of the Cuſtoms and Tranſmigration of the *Celtæ*, but eſpecially of the laſt Civil Wars among the *Romans*, do not appear to us contemptible. We have little Regard to the Invectives of the Criticks againſt his inſipid Manner of writing Hiſtory. Let his Stile be as low and languid as you pleaſe; allow that, like the Hornet, he has robb'd the Bees of their Honey; yet theſe Reproaches fall only upon himſelf. We have reap'd Advantage from his Thefts, have endeavour'd to warm the Coldneſs of his Expreſſions, and, in ſhort, are too much obliged to him, to join in with the generality of Criticks in their Cenſures on him. *Appian.*

We reſerve for *DIO CASSIUS* a Place of Diſtinction among the Writers of the Reign of the Emperors. For want of *Livy*, he will be, for a while, our principal Guide; and we will then give an Account of the Aſſiſtance he ſhall have afforded us, of the Supplements we ſhall have made to him, and of the Defects we ſhall have obſerved in him. What a Pity it is to be depriv'd of his Remarks upon the entire Hiſtory of the *Roman* Monarchy and Republick! he had trod the ſame Path in which *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus* had gone before him. Theſe firſt Pieces are buried in a Ruin common to them with many others. However, the Remains we have of him, which treat of the latter Years of the Republick, and the Lives of the firſt Emperors, are very precious Monuments. We have here employ'd one Part of them; the other ſhall be laid by till we come to write at large of the Imperial State. We may venture to affirm beforehand,

that *Dio Caſſius* will ſupport us very much by the Nobleneſs of his Diction, and by the Majeſty of his Speeches. What an Advantage is it to work after a Rival of *Thucydides*, who has almoſt equall'd him in Force and Energy of Style, and ſurpaſs'd him in Perſpicuity?

Plutarch. *PLUTARCH* has acquir'd ſuch an univerſal Reputation, that our Encomiums could add nothing to it. His Works abound with ſo much admirable Learning and Wiſdom, that the Philoſopher, the Stateſman and the Scholar ſeem to outſhine the Hiſtorian. And yet, what can be more engaging than his Lives of the Great Men of *Greece* and *Rome*? What can be more skilful and judicious, than the Manner in which he brings together the Actions of the one and of the other, in order to a Compariſon? As to his *Greeks*, they have no Relation to our Subject, and we have not touch'd upon them. But for the *Romans*, what could we do better than to copy his Pictures of them? And therefore as the Succeſſion of Times has brought them on the Stage, we have with Pleaſure borrow'd *Plutarch*'s Colours, in order to paint them. Our Margins will then be fill'd with his Name. 'Tis true, he has choſen only ſome Pieces of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and thoſe the brighteſt; ſo that when we rejoin to the *Whole* the Parts which he has ſeparated from it, his Embroidery greatly ſurpaſſes the rich Groundwork of the other Writers, and he ſeldom fails to eclipſe them. He is remarkable throughout for ſound Reflections worthy of a Senator, a Conſul, a Courtier, and of *Trajan*'s Preceptor, which he is generally thought to have been. So that it is not at all ſurpriſing, that ſome Authors of low Degree have endeavour'd to gain honour to their Works by paſſing them under his Name. And for our part, we ſhall think it a Recommendation of this Work, that we have here compil'd the Writings of *Plutarch*, and have reſtor'd thoſe Parts of the *Roman* Hiſtory which he had ſever'd from it, to their proper Places.

Zonaras. NOR has even *ZONARAS* been entirely excluded from our Hiſtorical Collections. We have taken but little Notice of the common Prejudices againſt him; nor has either the Age in which he lived, or his Profeſſion, diſcouraged us ſo far as to make us reject his Teſtimony in every thing. In the Reigns of *Alexis* and *John Comnenes*, the Libraries of *Greece* were furniſh'd with excellent Manuſcripts, which Time has ſince deſtroy'd. *Zonaras* made his Collections from them. We judge of his Sincerity by the Authors which remain, and which he has faithfully quoted. He became a Monk out of Piety, but he had ſpent his Youth at Court, and had been Secretary to the Emperors. He took the Opportunity of his Leiſure and Retirement to apply himſelf to uſeful Studies, and to compoſe *an univerſal Hiſtory*. So that where other Writers are at a Loſs, he has often put us in the right Way, in our Purſuit of Truth.

WHAT a Pity it was to have ſo many *Greek* Authors remain in the Duſt of Libraries, to be peruſed only by the ſmall Number of Men who devote themſelves to Letters! They were capable of being agreeably uſeful for the Inſtruction of a more numerous Body than that of the Learned: And we have endeavour'd to make them of general

Uſe. They will appear to Advantage, by the Order wherein we have rang'd them in one continued Hiſtory. This was in ſome Sort to place them in their proper Light; becauſe the particular Pieces of Hiſtory which they have handled, will be render'd more intelligible by the preceding Relations. In a word, their Setting will enhance their Value.

Salluſt.

BUT tho' the ſame may be ſaid of the *Latin* Writers, yet very few of them have been of much Service to us in compoſing the firſt Part of the great Work of which we have given the Plan. *SALLUST* and *Julius Cæſar* are almoſt the only Authors, whoſe Works we have incorporated in the Hiſtory of the *Kings* and *Conſuls*. Nor did they come to our Aſſiſtance, till the laſt Moments of the expiring Republick. But to make amends, what they have contributed towards the general Undertaking, is of a Taſte ſufficiently exquiſite to make all the reſt ſeem inſipid. *Salluſt* had ſuch Talents for Hiſtory, as gain'd him the Reputation of the [k] beſt Hiſtorian among the *Latins*. It muſt be allowed, that he had fewer Faults than *Livy*, the only Rival, who can diſpute with him the firſt Place. After all, is it ſurprizing that the Miſtakes ſhould be fewer, and the Diction more correct, in the ſmall Work of *Salluſt* than in the immenſe Volumes of *Livy*? The one deſcribes what paſſed before his Eyes, the other relates the Hiſtory of Times remote and forgotten. The former had but a ſmall Field to run over, the latter undertook a vaſt Career. Ought it then to be any Wonder, that the one ſhould ſometimes be out of Breath, and the other hardly ever weary? But whether the Preference which is given to *Salluſt* above *Livy*, be juſt or not, they will both contribute great Luſtre to our Hiſtory. We have followed the Steps of *Salluſt* without Heſitation; there was no Danger of going aſtray. Our chief Care has been ſo to copy his Paintings, as ſtill to preſerve ſome Reſemblance of the Originals; for we deſpair'd of being able to excel them. But tho' both his moral and political Maxims are the wiſeſt that can be laid down; yet what a ſtrange Difference was there between this Hiſtorian's Way of thinking, and the private Conduct of his Life! In his Practice, he carried Debauchery to Exceſs, grew infamous by his Incontinence, and was deſervedly expelled the Senate. In his Writings, he is an auſtere Philoſopher, who laments the Decay of the Probity, Continence, and Frugality of former Times. 'By good Fortune we have had nothing to do with him but as an Hiſtorian. *The Conſpiracy of Cataline*, and *the Wars of Jugurtha* in *Numidia* (the only remaining Pieces of that celebrated Writer's many Works) will ſerve greatly to enhance the Value of our Hiſtory of the Republick.

[k] Criſpus, Romanâ primus in Hiſtoriâ *Martial.*

Julius Cæſar.

WE have never look'd upon *the Commentaries of JULIUS CÆSAR* but with a kind of reſpectful Awe. They are finiſhed Pieces, which the moſt able Maſters cannot touch over again without Terror. 'Tis true, the illuſtrious Author wrote *the Gallick War* only with a View to provide Memoirs for ſome other Hiſtorian who ſhould be bold enough to put the laſt Hand to it. But tho' he himſelf conſider'd his Work only as a rough Draught, the moſt famous Writers of After-times have

have thought it too perfect to attempt its Improvement. Where can be greater Purity and Politeneſs of Expreſſion! The Facts are touch'd with a Skill peculiar to the greateſt Maſters. *Cæſar* repreſents Marches, Encampments, Battles, Sieges, Stratagems of War, and Expedients after Defeat, with a certain heroick Simplicity, that ſhews his ſuperior Capacity for Writing, as well as for Military Affairs. 'Tis true, he has artfully ſuppreſſed what might be diſadvantageous to his Reputation. Self-Love made him practiſe this Deceit; but other Authors have not ſpared him, and by their Aſſiſtance we have fill'd up the Vacancies which he deſignedly left in his hiſtorical Memoirs. If we have been more daring than the Antients, in reducing ſuch perfect Commentaries to the Form of a Hiſtory, it was the Nature of our Deſign which compelled us to it.

We ſhall not ſpeak of *Valerius Maximus*, *Macrobius*, *Aulus Gellius*, the two *Plinys*, *Seneca*, or even of *Cicero*, any more than of St. *Auſtin*, or *Paul Oroſius*. Hiſtory was not their Profeſſion: However, they have interſpers'd in their Writings ſome hiſtorical Paſſages which are not to be found elſewhere. Theſe we have carefully collected, and with Pleaſure diſpoſed them in their proper Places, in a Hiſtory which we have endeavour'd to render complete.

As to the Abridgers of the *Roman* Hiſtory, we ſhall hardly vouchſafe to name them here. Nevertheleſs *Florus*, *Aurelius Victor*, *Eutropius*, and ſome others, were not entirely deſtitute of Merit. *Florus* had poetick Fire, and was emphatick. It is eaſy to perceive that he was a *Spaniard*, and probably he was of the Blood of the *Seneca's*. He ſhews more of the Declaimer and Poet, than of the Hiſtorian, is continually in Purſuit of falſe Wit, and never writes in cool Blood. But after all, he ſeems leſs to blame for following the Impetuoſity of his Genius, than for the terrible Miſchief he has done to the Cauſe of Learning. We may perhaps be miſtaken, but we conjecture that he and other ſuch Writers of Compendiums, occaſion'd for a Time the Neglect of more full and circumſtantial Hiſtories of the *Greeks* and *Latins*. That Sloth, which is ſo natural to Men, made them prefer Abridgments of Hiſtories to the Hiſtories themſelves, the reading of which required a long Application. Many ſuperficial Perſons who were unwilling to appear entirely ignorant of Hiſtory, contented themſelves with getting a ſmall Tincture of it from thoſe Authors, who in order to be conciſe, have enervated the whole; that is to ſay, they choſe rather to quench their Thirſt in dirty Puddles, than in the pure Streams of great Rivers. And hence, it may be, proceeded the little Care that was taken, in the Ages of Ignorance, to tranſcribe entire, and tranſmit to us, the Works of ſuch Authors as *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, *Dio Caſſius*, and *Livy*. What a misfortune to ſucceeding Ages, in which the Love of Learning is reviv'd!

III. *The Method obſerved in compiling this Hiſtory. Chronology.*

§. III. An exact Diſtribution of the Times is, as it were, the Light of Hiſtory. Without this, it would be only a Chaos of Facts heap'd together, a lifeleſs Maſs. Nothing but the due ordering and ranging of Things according to the Times, will ſatisfy Men of Solidity. An

exact Chronology is like *Ariadne's* Clue, which conducts our Steps through all the Windings of the Labyrinth. Without this Guide we loſe our Way, or walk at Random, without reaping any Benefit from our Labour. By the Means of certain fix'd Epocha's we perceive the Progreſs of States, the Variations of their Fortune, and the Changes made in their Government. The Mind being thus conducted, the Ideas retain'd from reading are more diſtinct, and more eaſily fix'd in the Memory. We have had one Advantage with reſpect to the *Roman* Hiſtory. We have not been oblig'd to ſettle the Chronology our ſelves, and refer the Facts we have collected to their proper Dates merely by Reaſon and Conjecture. The Care and Enquiries of the Antients have ſpar'd us ſo laborious a Task. Some of them have taken the Pains to give us Liſts of the *Conſuls*, and to trace out the Succeſſion of the Conſulſhips. *The Chronicle of Alexandria*, and the Liſts made by *Caſſiodorus* and *Cuſpinian*, had long ſince furniſh'd ſome Helps towards ranging the principal Events in the Hiſtory of *Rome* in due Order of Time, and *Livy* himſelf had noted the Conſuls almoſt like an Annaliſt; yet after all, theſe conſular Tables, and theſe Annals of the Hiſtorians were but too often defective. Mere Chance at length diſcover'd a Treaſure which had long lain conceal'd under Ground. In the Year 1545 of the Chriſtian *Æra*, and the Pontificate of *Paul* III. ſome Perſons, by digging in the *Roman Forum*, diſcover'd Marbles of infinite Value, with regard to Learning. Cardinal *Alexander Farneſe* eſteemed them as they deſerv'd; caus'd them to be beautify'd, and aſſign'd them an honourable Place upon the *Capitol*. All the Learned of that Time admir'd them; and, if we may ſo ſpeak, legitimated their Antiquity. Copies of them were diſpers'd with Eagerneſs, and they receiv'd all the Explanation which they wanted by large Comments. This Monument was ſometimes call'd the *Capitoline Marbles*, ſometimes the *Conſular Calendars*, and ſometimes the *Triumphal Tables*. In reality, it contains the Succeſſion of the *Conſuls*, *Dictators*, *Military Tribunes*, *Cenſors*, and the other Magiſtrates elected yearly by the *Romans* in their *Comitia*, together with the Triumphs of their Generals. So that by this happy Diſcovery the Chronology of the *Romans* became clear. True it is, that Time, which conſumes every thing, had not entirely ſpared theſe precious Marbles. Some Parts of them were effac'd, but eaſily reſtor'd by the Induſtry of the Learned: And the main Body of this beautiful Monument remains ſound, and throws a wonderful Light upon the whole Series of the *Roman* Hiſtory. In a Word, this *Pharos*, which ſtill ſhines from the Top of the *Capitol*, ſerves to guide our Steps thro' all the Ages of the Commonwealth. After having once fix'd the Date of the Foundation of *Rome*, the Duration of each Reign, and the Beginning of the Republican State, it will be eaſy to reckon the Years of this flouriſhing Empire. It is agreed that, generally ſpeaking, no *Conſul* continued in his Office longer than about a Year. No ſooner therefore do we find upon theſe Marbles an exact Liſt of the *Conſuls*, but we find likewiſe a regular and continued Succeſſion of the Years of the Republick.

Faſti Capitolini.

It ſeems difficult indeed to adjuſt theſe Years preciſely with the Years of the World. It would be an immenſe Labour without Profit. In the firſt Years of the *Roman* Republick, the Time was not preciſely fix'd for aſſembling the *Comitia Centuriata*, for the Election of *Conſuls*. There was no one certain Day, or even Month, appointed for the *Conſuls* elect to enter upon their Office. Several Circumſtances frequently deferr'd the general Aſſemblies of the People. Sometimes the Abſence of a *Conſul*, ſometimes that of a *Dictator*, (whoſe ſix Months were not yet expired) and ſometimes Interregnums, retarded the Elections. And as the Hiſtorians have not been exact in noting theſe Intervals, this leaves us at a Loſs. What ſeems paſt doubt is, that each *Conſul* continued in his Office about a whole Year. Nevertheleſs, the Abdications of ſome, and the untimely depoſing of others, ſometimes ſhorten'd the Duration of theſe Magiſtracies. It is however probable, that their Succeſſors loſt no Part of the Year appointed for their Adminiſtration. So that the original Writers furniſh us with no Expedient to reconcile the conſular Years with the aſtronomical. We have therefore ſubmitted to the Computation of all the Learned; and after their Example, have reckon'd the Years of the Republick by the Changes of the *Conſuls*. We grant that this Chronology may be faulty, if we regard the *Julian* Years. But all Things conſider'd, it is the beſt Meaſure of Time that we could chuſe. We ſhall therefore adhere to the *Capitoline Calendars*; and if we go aſtray in following them, we ſhall have a great many illuſtrious Companions in our Error.

As to the Author of theſe Inſcriptions, which were found at *Rome* near two Centuries ago, and conveyed to the *Capitol*, it would be in vain to attempt to determine who he was. Some aſcribe the Work to *Verrius Flaccus*, others to *Pomponius Atticus*: And the former founded their Opinion upon the following Paſſage in *Suetonius*. [l] *There is a Statue of* Verrius Flaccus *at* Prænеſte, *in the lower Part of the Forum, oppoſite to the Hemicycle; where he expoſed to View the Calendars which he had ranged in Order, and which were engrav'd upon a Wall of Marble.* But who does not ſee that all this was done at *Prænеſte*, and not at *Rome*? It was at *Prænеſte* that a Statue was erected to *Verrius*; it was there that he form'd his Calendars, and caus'd them to be inſcrib'd upon Marble. Nor was it the Names of the Magiſtrates of *Rome* which he caus'd to be engrav'd, but of the Magiſtrates of *Prænеſte*. This was a free Town, and govern'd by its own Laws. It choſe its own *Prætor*, and fill'd up the vacant Places in its Senate, at its own Diſcretion. Beſides, we no where read, that in the *Roman Forum* (all the Parts of which have been ſo carefully deſcribed) there ever was a Hemicycle. So that the Words of *Suetonius* can never be made to favour *Verrius*, but by [m] Alterations and vain Suppoſitions.

POMPONIUS ATTICUS, it is certain, did compoſe ſome *Roman* Annals, not much unlike the *Conſular Calendars*. *Cornelius Nepos*, and *Cicero* both atteſt it. The Words of the former are theſe: [n] Atticus *was a Lover of Antiquity, and was ſo well vers'd in it, that he compriſed the whole in the little Book, wherein he gave a Liſt of our Magiſtrates*

[l] Statuam habet Prænеſte in inferiore fori parte contra Hemicyclum in quo faſtos a ſe ordinatos, & marmoreo parieti incitos publicarat.

[m] It is pretended, that inſtead of *Prænеſte*, we ought to read *ad Veſtæ*; but this without Proof, or any Appearance of Truth.

[n] Antiquitatis Amator (Atticus) quam adeo diligenter habuit cognitam, ut eam totam in eo volumine expoſuerit, quo magiſtratus ordinavit. *Corn. Nep. in vitâ Attici.*

ſtrates according to their Succeſſion. What can more nearly reſemble the *Capitoline Marbles* than this Work? *Cicero*, again, is more expreſs upon the Brevity of theſe Calendars; ° *That Book of* Atticus, ſays he, *contains many Things which were new to me. It explains the Times with ſuch Brevity, that I had a full View of them at once:* And this is the very Character of the *Capitoline Calendars.* Shall we then aſcribe them to *Pomponius Atticus?* ſo great a Name would indeed gain them much Reſpect, and their Authority would then be inconteſtible. But after all, we cannot reaſonably affirm that *Atticus* was the ſole Author of them. It's probable, that he who caus'd them to be engrav'd, and expos'd them to publick View at *Rome*, extracted that exact Liſt of the Kings and Magiſtrates of *Rome*, for ſeven hundred Years, from *Atticus*'s Book, and ſuperadded the Names of thoſe who had govern'd between the Time of that Author's Death, and the Time that he publiſh'd his Calendars, and caus'd them to be inſcrib'd on Marble. Hence may be judged, from how pure a Source we have our Chronology. The *Tables*, from whence we have taken it, underwent the Inſpection and critical Examination of a whole City abounding with learned Men, and were univerſally allow'd to be authentick.

° Nempe cum dicis (librum) quo iſte (Atticus) omnem rerum memoriam breviter complexus eſt. Habuit iſte liber Attici, nova mihi quidem multa, ut explicatis ordinibus temporum, uno in conſpectu omnia viderem. *Cicero in Bruto.*

GEOGRAPHY is another eſſential Part of Hiſtory. Every Hiſtorian who neglects it muſt of Neceſſity be confus'd in his Relations. We have therefore endeavour'd to be exact in the Situation of the Towns, Rivers, Foreſts, Lakes, and Mountains, whither the Courſe of the Events has led us. Our Guides in this were not only the Hiſtorians, (who are ſometimes faulty,) but alſo the moſt eminent Geographers of Antiquity, ſuch as *Ptolomy*, *Mela*, *Pliny*, and *Strabo:* And in doubtful Caſes we have had Recourſe to the Moderns, particularly to *Cluverius*, *Ortelius*, and the Fathers *Briet* and *Kircher.* From all theſe together we have got Maps drawn by a skilful Academiſt. We have very ſeldom made Uſe of the modern Names of Cities, Nations, and Countries, but when we thought them inconteſtible. There are many Nations which have not the ſame Limits at this Day that they had formerly; neither are all the Towns, which have antient Names, unqueſtionably ſituated in the very Places where the Towns of the ſame Names ſtood heretofore. We have therefore choſe rather to deſcribe moſt of the Places mention'd in our Hiſtory by their *Latin* Names. Thus we have choſen to call the People of *Milan*, rather *Inſubres* than *Milaneſe*; and the Inhabitants of *Auvergne*, rather *Arverni*, than *Auvergnacs:* So likewiſe we have called the Rivers *Garillan* and *Teverone*, by their antient Names of *Liris* and *Anio*, without any Alteration. But at the ſame time, we have conſtantly taken Care to reconcile the antient Geography with the modern, in our *Notes*, and to mark the different Limits of the new Nations, and of the old, which retain pretty near their firſt Names. This Precaution was neceſſary, to avoid Confuſion, and to prevent the miſtaking one Country for another. We have increas'd the Number of our Maps, as the Empire increas'd, and have prepared new ones to deſcribe thoſe Conqueſts which the *Romans* will hereafter make in the Sequel of the Hiſtory. Thus the Reader will be able, *Geography.*

able, with one Caſt of an Eye, to run over the ſeveral Countries ſubdued to their Empire in the three Parts of the World.

The Harangues of the Conſuls, &c.

NOTHING is more neceſſary than to prepare the Reader for the great Number of Harangues interſpers'd in the Body of this Hiſtory. We repreſent ſometimes the *Conſuls*, in the Senate, and in the *Roſtrum*; ſometimes the *Tribunes of the People* in the Aſſemblies of the *Comitia*; and ſometimes the *Generals* in their Camps; as ſpeaking in Perſon. It is not in Republicks as in Monarchies. Kings admit to their Council only a few Favourites, who give their Opinions in private, and without Preparations: But in a popular State, where every Citizen has a Right to vote for War or Peace, for the paſſing of Laws, and for the condemning or abſolving Criminals, there Harangues become neceſſary. This being the Caſe of *Rome*, the People there were to be inſtructed in thoſe Matters which were ſubmitted to their Votes; their Minds were to be rouz'd, and their Hearts diſpoſed to ſubmit to Reaſon. The Eloquence of the *Conſuls* and of the *Tribunes* was the Spring which mov'd the undetermin'd Multitude. There was a numerous Audience even in the Senate. Affairs were reported there at one time before three hundred, and afterwards before ſix hundred *Conſcript Fathers*: And the elder Senators had a Right to give their Opinions in long Speeches. *Laſtly*, The Generals in the Field never gave Battle, nor form'd any conſiderable Deſign, without the Conſent of their Troops. The Republican State, and Popular Government were preſerved even in the midſt of Arms. The Soldiers gave their Opinions by their Shouts or by their Silence; and it was for this Reaſon, perhaps, that thoſe invincible Legions commonly oblig'd themſelves either to conquer or die. No great Enterprize was undertaken, but by their Choice; and the Soldiers could not charge any unſeaſonable Step upon the Raſhneſs of their Leaders. It was neceſſary therefore to harangue the Troops, and to lay before them the Reaſons for haſtening or delaying the Engagement. Thus every thing was tranſacted at *Rome* by the way of publick Speeches and Declamations. And upon this Account it is, that all the antient Hiſtorians, eſpecially thoſe who write of the Times of the Republick, have, in their Narrations, introduc'd the Magiſtrates ſpeaking in Perſon. Nay, there is Reaſon to believe, that their Speeches were recorded. They were indeed the very Soul of the *Roman* Politics. In them were ſet forth the Motives which ſhould engage the People or the Senate to form thoſe vaſt Deſigns, which extended the *Roman* Dominions to the Eaſt and Weſt. It is in theſe Harangues that the Reader will find the *Spirit* of the Commonwealth. The Execution of the Enterprizes, Negotiations, Conqueſts and Treaties of the *Roman* People will be but, as it were, the *Body*. We have therefore follow'd the Steps of thoſe Writers who have been our Models: And after their Example, have introduc'd the *Conſuls*, *Senators*, *Tribunes of the People*, and *Generals of Armies*, as ſpeaking in Perſon. This will contribute alſo to enliven our Hiſtory, and make it in ſome meaſure reſemble the Drama, which is leſs tireſome, becauſe the Actors are the only Speakers. However, we have taken Care to

abridge thoſe Harangues, in which the Antients are often tediouſly long; but have endeavour'd, at the ſame time, to preſerve in the Summary we have given of them, every thing eſſential in the Reaſoning, and that profound Wiſdom which reigns in them: and as to the Speeches made by *Generals* in the Heat of Action, we have ſhortned them ſo much, that they will not ſeem improbable.

IT is not uſual to publiſh Hiſtories with *Notes*, or at leaſt to crowd their Margins with ſo great a Number. But tho' no other Hiſtory, perhaps, has need of them, yet they are neceſſary to this which we have undertaken. The Manners, Cuſtoms, Arms, Habits, Kind of Government, Magiſtracies, Engines of War, *&c.* are ſo different from every thing we now ſee or are acquainted with, that it would have been hardly poſſible to give juſt Ideas of them without Explications. Theſe Explications could not have been well brought into the Text. The Hiſtory muſt have been loaded with Digreſſions, which would be apt to diſguſt the Reader, and interrupt his Attention every Moment. The Thread of the moſt beautiful Story would have been often broke, and no Point of Hiſtory would have been brought to its Concluſion, but in a languid Manner. To pleaſe in a Narration, there muſt be a Rapidity; and the Suſpenſion of the Mind ought to be cauſed, only by the skilful interweaving of the ſeveral Facts. Whereas a Multitude of Remarks, tho' never ſo judicious, only ſtop the Courſe of a Narration, without making it more agreeable. It was neceſſary therefore to throw into the *Notes*, that great Number of inſtructive Obſervations, without which the Hiſtory would have been imperfect. It would have been improper, either to omit them entirely, or to inſert them all in the Body of the Diſcourſe. Beſides, a great many learned Men have rais'd abundance of Diſputes upon the ſeveral Events in the Hiſtory we are writing: And we were obliged to inform the Publick of theſe Diſputes, in order to make our Work deſerve the Title of a *Complete Hiſtory*. But this could not have been, if we had not taken Notice of all the Variations of the ſeveral Authors who have tranſmitted to us the ſame Facts. The Hiſtorians do not conſtantly agree, as to all Circumſtances; and yet the Thread of the Diſcourſe wou'd admit of no more than one Way of relating the Event. We have therefore choſen that for the Body of the Hiſtory which to us ſeem'd moſt probable, and have enrich'd our *Notes* with the reſt. By thus taking all poſſible Care not to omit any thing, we have this further Advantage, that we have guarded our ſelves againſt the Criticiſm of Half-Scholars, who, as they commonly read but one Hiſtorian, wou'd think they had a Right to charge us with Falſhood, if we differed in any thing from their Author, and would make a Clamour againſt what they are ignorant of. Our *Notes* will ſerve to pacify them; for they will find that we have not neglected to inſert there thoſe Points which they look upon as eſſential. Laſtly, the Length of ſome of our *Notes* ought not to frighten the Reader. Every intelligent Perſon will perceive that we have taken Pains to be as conciſe as the Matter would bear. We have brought within the Compaſs

Notes.

of a few Lines, Diſſertations with which ſome learned Men have filled large Volumes. But how was it poſſible to ſet forth in two or three Words the different Opinions concerning diſputed Dates, the Value of the *Roman* Coin, the Force and Signification of Laws, the Situation of Places, diſputed among Geographers; and, in ſhort, concerning an infinite Number of Points, the Diſcuſſion of which has, with Difficulty, been compriſed in the many ſucceſſive Volumes publiſh'd under the Title of *Roman Antiquities*? Whoever ſhall conſider it, will find in our *Notes* ſomething more than a bare Summary of that huge Work. We have not made Collections from thence, but have gone to the Fountain-Head. We have ſubjected the Criticks themſelves to Cenſure, and have had the good Fortune to carry our Diſcoveries beyond their Views.

Medals. MEDALS have come naturally into the Deſign of a Complete Hiſtory of the *Roman* Republick, and are one of its neceſſary Ornaments. It is true, we have not inſerted all that are to be found in the Cabinets of the Antiquaries. We have employ'd ſuch only, as may ſerve to inſtruct the Publick with Relation to the Hiſtory, without Regard to the Value of thoſe which their Rarity has made moſt precious; and becauſe Conjecture, which is often arbitrary, ſeem'd to us but an unſure Rule, it is by the Hiſtorians alone that we have explain'd them. Nor let the Reader be ſurpriz'd, that we have preſented him with ſome Medals before the Time that any were ſtruck at *Rome*. We have ſeldom ſhewn any one but by its Reverſe, and when it was proper to inſtruct us in certain Cuſtoms, mentioned in the firſt Years of the *Kings* and *Conſuls*. We have employ'd them only to figure to the Eye, what we could not ſufficiently expreſs in Words. Moreover, it is well known that the Deſcendants of the firſt Heroes of *Rome* did in After-Ages cauſe ſometimes the Heads, and more frequently ſymbolical Repreſentations of the Exploits of their Anceſtors, to be engrav'd: And theſe are the only Medals of which we have given Stamps, in the firſt four Volumes of this Hiſtory.

Copper Plates. As for the other engrav'd Figures interſperſed in our Work, we have taken them from the Collections of the Antiquaries. Our Deſign has not been purely to amuſe and pleaſe the Eye, but to confirm ſome Points of Hiſtory, or to clear up certain obſcure Paſſages, by Monuments borrowed from Antiquity. Our Volumes are likewiſe furniſhed with ſeveral Plans of *Rome*, as this Capital of the World grew larger. In the firſt ſixteen Books we have given a Draught but of one ſingle Battle, becauſe, for more than four hundred Years, the *Romans* were no great Maſters in the Art of War. However, it was neceſſary to give an Idea of their Manner of fighting in thoſe earlieſt Times. When they ſhall become more expert in drawing up and diſpoſing Armies, we ſhall repreſent more of their Battles, and obſerve all their different Ways of marſhalling their Troops.

But notwithſtanding all our Pains, and the Care we have taken to be exact, we are far from expecting entirely to eſcape Cenſure. The *Roman* Hiſtory has, in all Times, been the chief Subject of Criticiſm. In this Field the Learned have fought many Battles To enter Liſts ſo fruitful in Diſſentions, is therefore, in ſome Sort, to proclaim our ſelves Champions ready to fight with all Comers. Nevertheleſs, our Inclination is for Peace. We ſhall challenge no Perſon; and nothing but Neceſſity ſhall force us to defend our ſelves. Nay, we purpoſe to profit, not only by the friendly Advices of ſome, but even by the ill Humour of others. As to our unjuſt Aggreſſors, (if any ſuch ſhall appear,) we ſhall uſe our utmoſt Endeavours to make them ſenſible of the Truth. All that we deſire of them at preſent, is either to ſuſpend their Attacks, or to wait for our Anſwers till we are disburthen'd of the Care of a long Work. It wou'd be very imprudent to let our ſelves be turn'd aſide from our Purpoſe, and to loſe our Time in Refutations.

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THE

BRITISH MUSEUM

THE CONTENTS:

OR,

A New and Connected SUMMARY of the WORK.

BOOK I.

§. 1. THE *Roman* Empire ſurpaſs'd, both in Power and Extent, all the Monarchies which had flouriſh'd before it, and on the Eaſt took in the greater Part of their Conqueſts. On the Weſt it was bounded only by the Ocean; and to the North by thoſe Countries, whoſe chief Defence was Froſt and Snow. On the South, a great Part of *Africa*, ſcarce viſited before, was ſubdu'd by the *Roman* Eagle, which, in a word, ſtretch'd her Wings over the moſt beautiful Regions of the known Hemiſphere.

Rome, in her very Infancy, became an Object of Jealouſy to her Neighbours; but the Neceſſity of Self-Defence, againſt their continued Attacks, giving daily Exerciſe to her unwearied Courage, ſhe at length reduced the Nations which inſulted her, and made her ſelf Miſtreſs of all *Italy*. When ſhe had thus attained to a more mature Age, *Carthage* became her Competitor; and the two Republicks vied for Glory. The Deſtruction of this powerful Rival was follow'd by the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, the hereditary Dominion of *Alexander*; and this rais'd her Ambition to tread in his Steps, and to eſtabliſh her ſelf an Empire in *Aſia*; which, if it proved leſs extenſive than his, was, however, more laſting.

That humble City, founded by *Romulus*, ſo mean and contemptible in its Beginnings, roſe in time to be the Capital of the World. It grew larger by every new Conqueſt, and the Circuit of its Walls was widen'd in Proportion to its Empire. Its Citizens became Maſters of the Fate of Kingdoms; and Cities, which once gave Law to others, courted the Honour of being ſtiled ROMAN, and of enjoying ROMAN Privileges. Kings ſtrove to merit their Alliance and Protection, and readily ſubmitted to the Decrees of their Senate. Both the Eaſtern and Weſtern States being reduced to Provinces, either brought their Tributes to *Rome*, or receiving Governours from thence, enriched with their Spoils thoſe illuſtrious Citizens who from their CAPITOL ſent forth Laws to the Ends of the Earth.

§. 2. After having attain'd to a prodigious Pitch of Grandeur, it is mortifying to look back to an obſcure Beginning, and Endeavours are therefore often uſed on ſuch Occaſions, to ſupply the Defect of Hiſtory by Fiction. However, in the preſent Caſe, the *Romans* cannot, without Injuſtice, be denied the Glory of deſcending from *Trojan* Blood. Too many Hiſtorians, both *Greek* and *Latin*, concur in their Favour, to be rejected.

ÆNEAS, after the Deſtruction of *Troy*, obliges himſelf, by a Treaty with the *Greeks*, to quit *Troas*; but at his Departure leaves there his eldeſt Son, *Aſcanius*, who becomes King of the *Daſcylites*. §. 3. *Æneas* croſſes the *Helleſpont*, arrives in *Thrace*, (where he builds a City, and leaves Part of his Followers,) ſails thence to *Delos*; ſtops in his Voyage at ſeveral other Iſlands of the *Archipelago*; arrives in *Epirus*; croſſes the *Adriatick* Sea; goes aſhore at *Drepanum* in *Sicily*, (where he diſcharges more of his Followers;) croſſes the *Tyrrhene* Sea, and at length finiſhes his tedious Voyages, on the Coaſt of the *Laurentes* in *Italy*. [§. 4. The Origin of the In- ÆNEAS.

habitants of that Country, with a ſhort Account of the *Aborigines*, *Siculi*, *Auſonii*, *Pelaſgi*, *Tyrrheni*, *Evander* the *Arcadian*, *Faunus*, *Hercules*, *Cacus*, *Oenotrus*, and *Italus*.]

LATINUS. §. 5. *Latinus*, King of *Latium*, makes an Alliance with *Æneas*, aſſigns him Lands,
LAVINIA. and gives him his only Daughter *Lavinia* in Marriage, and with her the Right of
TURNUS. Succeſſion to his Crown. §. 6. *Turnus*, enraged at this Marriage, (to which he had aſpired) retires to the *Rutuli*, who are in War with *Latinus*. A Battel is fought, wherein *Latinus* and *Turnus* are both ſlain; upon which *Æneas* gets Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of *Latium*. §. 7. He applies himſelf to regulate the Affairs of Religion; retains the Worſhip of the Gods *Picus* and *Faunus*, (honoured by the *Latins*) and introduces that of the two *Palladiums*, the Goddeſs *Veſta*, *&c.* §. 8. The *Rutuli*, in Conjunction with the *Hetruſci*, and *Mezentius* King of the *Tyrrheni*, renew the War. The two Armies come to an Engagement, in which *Æneas* is forced into
JUPITER the *Numicius*, and there drowned; but the *Trojans* conceal his Body, and he is deified
INDIGES. under the Name of JUPITER INDIGES. §. 9. His Son *Eurileon*, ſurnamed *Aſcanius*,
ASCANIUS. ſucceeds him, and is beſieged in *Lavinium*, by *Mezentius*; but ſallies out, defeats him, and obliges him to ſue for Peace. §. 10. In the mean time, *Lavinia* being left with Child by *Æneas*, and entertaining a ſtrong Jealouſy of the Ambition of her Son-in-law, puts her ſelf under the Care of *Tyrrhenus* (who had been Chief Shepherd to her Father *Latinus*) retires into the Foreſts, and is there peaceably delivered of a Son; who
ÆNEAS from his Birth and Education in the Woods, takes the Surname of SYLVIUS. But
SYLVIUS. as the Queen's Flight, who had diſappeared on a ſudden, occaſions Suſpicions at *Lavinium*, prejudicial to the Reputation of *Aſcanius*, he, to remove them, cauſes diligent Search to be made for *Lavinia*, calms her Fears, and engages her to return to the City, with the young Prince her Son, whom he ever treats as a Brother. Some time after this, he reſigns to him *Lavinium*, as his lawful Inheritance, and founds *Alba Longa*, which he makes the Place of his Reſidence, and Capital of his new Kingdom.
IÜLUS. He dies there, and leaves a Son, named *Iülus*. §. 11. The *Latins* not thinking it for their Intereſt to continue divided under two Governments, reſolve to unite *Alba* and *Lavinium* into one Dominion. *Æneas Sylvius* is elected ſole King; and, to make *Iülus* ſome Amends, he is declared Sovereign in Affairs of Religion. §. 12. *Æneas Sylvius*, after a Reign of 29 Years, dies; and is ſucceeded by his Son *Æneas*, who governs 31 Years: After him, *Latinus* holds the Scepter 51 Years: Then King *Alba* 39: *Capetus* 26: *Capis* 28: *Calpetus* 13: and *Tiborinus* 8. (From this laſt the River *Tyber*, which before was call'd *Albula*, took its Name; he having been forced into it in an Engagement, and there drowned.) *Agrippa* 41: *Alladius* 19: *Aventinus* 37: (He left his Name to the Hill *Aventinus*, where he was interr'd.) *Procas*
NUMITOR. who ſucceeded him, and reigned 23, was the Father of *Numitor* and *Amulius*; which laſt
AMULIUS. dethrones his Brother; and, to ſecure the Crown to himſelf, murders his Brother's only Son, *Egeſtus*, and conſecrates his Daughter, *Rhea Sylvia*, to the Worſhip of *Veſta*. §. 13. *Rhea*, going to fetch Water for the Performance of a Sacrifice to *Mars*, has an Adventure in the Grove where the Temple ſtands, and proves with Child: But whether by the God *Mars* himſelf, or a Lover come thither by Appointment, or by the Violence of the Tyrant, (who took this Method, that he might
ROMULUS have a Pretence to deſtroy her,) is not agreed. She is at length deliver'd of Twin-
and RE- Sons. *Amulius* condemns the *Veſtal* to perpetual Impriſonment; and the Infants to
MUS *born.* be expoſed in a little Skiff upon the *Tyber*. The River at that time overflowed its Banks, and the Skiff being carried to the Extremity of the Flood, ſtrikes againſt a Stone, and turns the Brothers out upon the Strand. 'Tis the general Tradition, that a She-Wolf hearing their Cries, came and ſuckled them; but it is more likely, that *Acca Laurentia*, the Wife of *Fauſtulus*, who found the two Children, and nurſed them, was called by the Nick-name of *Lupa*, or Wolf, for her diſorderly Life; and
FAUSTU- that this gave Riſe to the fabulous Miracle. *Fauſtulus* was Chief of the Shepherds
LUS. belonging to the Court; and as he, probably, was not unacquainted with the Birth of the Twins, was ſuitably careful of their Education. As they grow up, they appear to have ſomething Great in their Mein and Air, which commands Reſpect; and they aſſume an Aſcendant over the other Shepherds, and the Country-People. A Quarrel happening between the Herdſmen of *Amulius*, and thoſe of *Numitor*, (who lives for the moſt part a retired Life in the Country) *Romulus* and *Remus* take the Part of the former, againſt the latter, and ſhed ſome Blood. The injured Party, to be revenged, lay wait to catch the Brothers in an Ambuſh, and on the Feſtival of the
LUPERCA- *Lupercalia*, ſurprize *Remus*, and carry him before *Numitor*, to be ſentenced to Pu-
LIA. niſhment. *Numitor*, whether by Inſtinct or Compaſſion, feels himſelf touched in the Priſoner's Favour, and asks him where he was born, and who were his Parents. The Anſwers of *Remus* bring to his Mind his two Grandſons; and his Anger is entirely changed into Tenderneſs. §. 14. In the mean while, *Romulus*, impatient at the detaining of his Brother, is eager to purſue and attack the Robbers. But *Fauſtulus* diſſuades him from it, and diſcloſes to him his Birth; upon which he reſolves, at any Rate, to free his Grandfather and Mother from Oppreſſion. And while he is aſſembling the Country People, and diſpoſing every thing for the Execution of

his Project, *Numitor* makes the ſame Diſcovery to *Remus*, concerning his Parents, and the Oppreſſion they are under. *Remus* is fired at this Diſcourſe, and is ready for any Enterprize. But he is only required to inform his Brother of his Good Fortune, and to ſend him to *Numitor*'s Houſe. The Shepherd *Fauſtulus* follows *Romulus*, and takes with him the Box, or Skiff, in which the Brothers had been expoſed, to ſhew it to *Numitor*; but having an Air of Concern and Earneſtneſs in his Face, he is ſtopped at the Gate of the City, led before *Amulius*, and examined concerning his Burden. He, without loſing his Preſence of Mind, confeſſes what it is, owns that the Twins are living, but pretends that they are feeding Flocks in a remote Deſert. In the mean while, the Uſurper's Death being reſolved on, *Remus* undertakes to raiſe the City, and *Romulus* to inveſt the King's Palace. The Country People come on the Day appointed, and form themſelves into Companies of an hundred each. Their Enſigns are Bundles of Hay, hanging to the Tops of Poles. [The *Latins* at that time called them *Manipuli*; and from thence came the Name of *Manipulus*, for a Battalion, which at firſt conſiſted of one hundred Soldiers, afterwards of two hundred, and in the Decline of the Empire, of leſs than an hundred.] *Romulus*, with this tumultuous Army, inveſts the Avenues of the Palace, forces the Guard, kills the Tyrant, and reſtores his Grandfather *Numitor* to the Throne. §. 15. The two Brothers, by the Advice of *Numitor*, undertake to found a new Colony, but differ about the Place; *Remus* is for the *Aventine*, and *Romulus* for the *Palatine* Mount; and they have Recourſe to Augury, to terminate the Diſpute. The Day for the Ceremony being come, the Brothers poſt themſelves each upon his Hill; and it is agreed, that whoever ſhall ſee the firſt Flight of Vulturs, or the greateſt Number of them, ſhall gain his Cauſe. *Romulus*, before any appear, ſends word to his Brother that he has ſeen Vulturs. *Remus* had actually ſeen ſix; and runs inſtantly to Mount *Palatine*, to examine the Truth of his Brother's *Auſpices*. The Moment he arrives, twelve Vulturs, by good Fortune, appear to *Romulus*; upon which he cries out, in a Tranſport of Joy, *Be Judge, be Judge your ſelf, of the Truth of what my Meſſengers told you.* However, *Remus* diſcovers the Deceit. The People are divided into two Parties, and from a Diſpute of Words come to Blows. The Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, who had educated the Twin-Brothers, is kill'd in the Skirmiſh; but it is uncertain whether *Remus* was then ſlain. §. 16. *ROME* is founded upon Mount PALATINE, the 21ſt of *April*; being the Feſtival of *Pales*, Goddeſs of Shepherds. It was (according to *Varro*) in the third Year of the ſixth *Olympiad*; i. e. 3301 Years from the Creation, 431 after the taking of *Troy*, and 753 before Chriſt. §. 17. *Fabius* (afterwards called *Celer*) is ſaid to have ſlain *Remus* for leaping over the City-Wall, but *Livy* makes him die by the Hand of *Romulus*. §. 18. *ROME* when it had receiv'd the utmoſt Perfection its Builders could give it, conſiſted only of about 1000 Houſes, all Ground Floors, and without any Ornament. No Regularity or Beauty was conſulted in laying out the Streets. It was, properly ſpeaking, a Village, of which the principal Inhabitants follow'd their own Ploughs. Even *Romulus*'s own Palace was built of Ruſhes, and cover'd with Thatch. Such were the Beginnings of the Capital of the World. §. 19. *Romulus* aſſembles the People, and propoſes to them to chuſe what Form of Government they like beſt. They fix upon Monarchy, and elect him *King*. Before he mounts the Throne, he conſults the Will of the Gods by *Augury*; and from that time it becomes an eſtabliſh'd Cuſtom to have Recourſe to *Augury*, before entring upon any publick Office or Employment. §. 20. The *King* applies himſelf to ſettle Order in his City, and a due Subordination among his Subjects. He himſelf puts on a Garb of Diſtinction; and appoints twelve LICTORS to attend him as his Guards. Several Perſons of a diſtinguiſh'd Birth, having follow'd him to *Rome*, and choſen rather to reſide in the new City than at *Alba*; theſe he chuſes to be the Heads of the Colony, under the Title of SENATORS; and he calls them FATHERS, either becauſe they ſurpaſs the reſt in Age or Wiſdom; or becauſe their Dignity makes them the *Fathers* and *Protectors* of the People. The Children of theſe firſt PATRES or FATHERS, were call'd PATRICIANS. The SENATE conſiſted at firſt but of 100 Perſons, whoſe Office was to adminiſter Juſtice, to take upon them the Care of Religion, and to aſſiſt the *King* with their Counſels. And being thus devoted to *Civil* Affairs, it is probable they were exempted from the Labours of the *Military*.

Manipulus.

ROME *founded.*

Year of *ROME* 1. ROMULUS, 1ſt *King.*

Lictors.

SENATE.

PATRICIANS.

The reſt of the Colony were all called PLEBEIANS; and theſe were divided into two Orders. The richeſt and nobleſt of them were ſtiled PATRONS, and held a middle Rank between the Dignity of the Senators, and the Meanneſs of the Populace. Each of theſe took upon him to protect a certain Number of Families of the loweſt Sort, who were call'd their CLIENTS. His Buſineſs was to draw up their Contracts, to extricate them out of their Difficulties and Perplexities, and to guard their Ignorance againſt the Artfulneſs of the Crafty. On the other hand, the Clients were obliged to contribute jointly towards the Payment of the Portions of their Patrons Daughters, towards paying the Ranſom of their Patrons or their Children, in caſe they were taken in War, and to diſcharge their publick Debts *gratis*, when they

PLEBEIANS.

PATRONS.

CLIENTS.

themſelves were not able to do it. The Patron and Client were mutually diſabled from accuſing or bearing Witneſs againſt each other: And if either was convicted of having violated his Obligations, the Guilt was no leſs than Treaſon, and the Perſon injur'd had Power to put the Offender to Death; which was done by ſacrificing him to *Pluto*, or to the *Manes*. For more than 600 Years, we find neither Jealouſies nor Diſſentions, between the Patrons and their Clients, not even in the Times of the Republick, when the People frequently mutinied againſt the Great and Powerful. Year of *ROME*

TRIBES. §. 21. With Regard to Military Diſcipline, the Colony is divided into three TRIBES, commanded by Officers, called TRIBUNES. Theſe *Tribes* are divided into thirty CURIÆ, (or *Pariſhes*) and theſe latter into DECURIÆ. Each *Curia* and *Decuria* has its own Commander; and theſe Bodies of Militia, ready formed in the ſeveral Quarters of the City, are by their reſpective Captains ſummoned to the Aſſemblies, and commanded in the Field.

TRIBUNES.

CURIÆ.

DECURIÆ. §. 22. *Romulus* makes ſome Regulation in the Affairs of Religion. The principal Miniſters of the Gods are choſen out of the *Patricians*, and the inferior Prieſts out of ſuch Families only as are honourable. Their Age muſt be at leaſt 50 Years, and none but their Wives may perform the Functions of Prieſteſſes. Their Sons and Daughters, to the Age of Puberty, are alone permitted to wait on the Altars. The Boys are call'd CAMILLI, and the Girls CAMILLÆ. When the Prieſt has no Children of his own, he may chuſe the handſomeſt Children in his *Curia* to attend him in the Sacrifices. The Sacerdotal Families being freed from all publick Taxes, and from bearing Arms; and their Employments being for Life, many are ambitious of the Prieſthood: But *Romulus* forbids the ſeeking it by Intrigues, the purchaſing it with Money, and the truſting it to the Hazard of Lots.

CAMILLI.

CAMILLÆ.

CURIONES. Each *Curia* is permitted a free Choice of its CURIO or PRIEST, its ARUSPICES, and its AUGURS. The ſecond of theſe inſpected the Entrails of the Victims; and the laſt foretold future Events by the Flight and Singing of Birds.

ARUSPICES.

AUGURS. §. 23. After this, the King inſtitutes ſome Civil Laws. He particularly confines every Husband to one Wife; and gives Fathers an abſolute Power over the Lives and Liberty of their Children. He forbids his *Romans* to exerciſe any Occupation, but of War or Agriculture: and diſtributes all the Lands of his little Diſtrict among his *Curiæ* in equal Proportions.

§. 24. He augments the Number of his People, by opening an *Aſylum* for fugitive Criminals and Debtors. But his Neighbours refuſe to give their Daughters in Marriage to ſuch a Crew of Vagabonds. He therefore inſtitutes *Games*, (in Honour of *Equeſtrian Neptune*, call'd *Conſus*;) and in the midſt of the Diverſion, the *Romans* carry away by Violence the *Sabine* Women, who are come to be Spectators. But *Romulus* marries them to his Men, in due Form. [Among all thoſe who were ſeiz'd, there was but one married Woman, named *Herſilia*, whom *Romulus* is ſaid, by a *Greek* Hiſtorian, to have made his Wife; but other Writers ſay ſhe was married to *Hoſtus* the Anceſtor of King *Tullus Hoſtilius*.] 2.

CONSUALIA. §. 25. The *Sabines* ſend Envoys to *Rome*, to demand back their Daughters. But *Romulus* is inflexible. During the Conferences, *Acron*, King, or Chief of the Town *Cænina*, takes the Field. *Romulus* marches out to meet him, kills him in ſingle Combat, and ſtrips him of his Armour; purſues the routed *Cæninenſes*, enters their Town with them, razes it, and tranſplants the Inhabitants to *Rome*. He decrees himſelf the Honours of a Triumph, in which he carries the Spoils of *Acron* (call'd OPIMA SPOLIA) on his Shoulders, to a little Temple on the Hill *Saturnius*, (ſince call'd the CAPITOL,) and there depoſits his Trophy, conſecrating it to *Jupiter Feretrius*. 3, 4.

Triumph.

Opima Spolia.

JUPITER FERETRIUS. §. 26. The *Antemnates* and *Cruſtumini*, to revenge the Violence done to their Daughters, make War upon the *Romans*, and are defeated. *Herſilia*, who was of *Antemnæ*, prevails with *Romulus* to have her Countrymen favourably treated; and he, having firſt conſulted with the Senate, determines to tranſplant the Inhabitants of the conquer'd Cities to *Rome*. But before he puts this Deſign in Execution, he ſummons all the Women ſeized at the Sports, who were born in either of the Cities, to appear before him. They are at firſt affrighted; but he makes them a gracious Speech, and declares his Intentions, which remove their Fears, and fill them with unexpected Joy. Several Cities of *Hetruria* ſubmit voluntarily to *Romulus*. *Cœlius*, an *Hetrurian* Leader, brings to *Rome* all the Troops under his Command, and ſettles on a Hill near the City, which from him took the Name of Mount COELIUS. *Romulus* is obliged to enlarge the Compaſs of *Rome*, on Account of the Multitude of new Inhabitants, and to carry its Walls as far as the Hill *Saturnius*, on which a Citadel was built, and committed to the Government of *Tarpeius*. 5.

§. 27. The *Sabines* ſend a ſecond Deputation to *Romulus*, to demand back their Daughters; and upon his Refuſal, begin Hoſtilities, and march towards *Rome* with a great Army of Horſe and Foot, under the Command of their King *Titus Tatius*. By the Treachery of *Tarpeia* they get Poſſeſſion of the Citadel on the Hill *Saturnius*, which from her takes the Name of *Tarpeius*. A pitch'd Battel is fought with various Succeſs. *Romulus* engages in ſingle Combat with a brave *Sabine*, named *Curtius*, and obliges him to leap into a Pool, (made by the overflowing of the *Tyber*,) which was afterwards call'd the *Lake Curtius*. He is afterwards ſtunn'd by a Blow on the Head with a Stone, and carried out of the Field; but coming to himſelf 6, 7, 8.

TITUS TATIUS.

TARPEIA.

again,

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Year of ROME — again, returns to the Battel, encourages his routed Troops, makes a Vow to *Jupiter Stator*, and recovers his Loſs. The Night puts an End to the Engagement. The *Sabine* Women, (who were the Occaſion of the War) at the Perſuaſion of *Herſilia*, negotiate a Peace; which is concluded to the Satisfaction of both Parties. They are to be henceforward but one People, govern'd by the ſame Laws, and living within the ſame Walls; the two Kings, *Romulus* and *Tatius*, are to have equal Authority, the City to be called *Rome*, and the Inhabitants *Quirites*, which was the Name of the Inhabitants of *Cures*, the Capital of *Sabinia*. §. 28. *Romulus* inſtitutes the three Bodies of *Roman* Knights, the *Rhamnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*. §. 29. *Tatius*, in Imitation of *Romulus*, forms a Council of an hundred *Sabine* Senators. The two Councils at firſt aſſemble, each at the Houſe of its reſpective King. But afterwards they make but one Aſſembly; and the Place of their Meeting is thence called COMITIUM. §. 30. Extraordinary Honours are decreed the *Sabine* Women, for their Zeal and Services in making the Union between the two Nations. Particularly, their Children are allow'd to wear the BULLA AUREA, and the Robe call'd PRÆTEXTA. *Romulus* holds his Court on the Hill *Palatinus*, and *Tatius* his on the Hill *Tarpeius*. The *Sabines* ſettle on a Hill called by them *Quirinalis*, either in Memory of their City *Cures*, or in Honour of their God *Quiris*. The Space between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius* becomes a common Market-place for the two united Nations, and is call'd FORUM. §. 31. The *Romans* and *Sabines* live for five Years in perfect Harmony. They adopt each other's Gods; and unanimouſly inſtitute the Feſtival of the MATRONALIA, in Memory of the Peace concluded by the Mediation of the Women. The Conqueſt of *Cameria* is the only military Atchievement under the two Kings. Four thouſand of its Inhabitants are tranſplanted to *Rome*, and incorporated in the *Curiæ*.

JUPITER STATOR. QUIRITES. EQUITES ROMANI. *Comitium.* *Bulla Aurea.* *Prætexta.* *Forum.* MATRONALIA.

§. 32. Some of *Tatius*'s People ravage the Territory of the *Lavinians*, who ſend Envoys to *Rome* to demand Satisfaction. *Romulus* is willing to do Juſtice, and to deliver up the Aggreſſors to the injured Party; but *Tatius* interpoſes. The Envoys are, in their Return home, murder'd by the very Robbers they had complain'd of. Upon this, the *Lavinians* renew their Complaints, and *Romulus* prevails to have honourable Satisfaction given them. 1. The Murderers are yielded to the Diſcretion of the *Lavinians*. 2. The two Kings of *Rome* go to *Lavinium*, to offer an expiatory Sacrifice to the Gods of their Allies. But *Tatius* contrives to have his guilty Friends reſcued out of the Hands of the *Lavinians*; and this enrages the common People to ſo great a Degree, that in the midſt of the expiatory Sacrifice, and at the Foot of the Altar, they kill *Tatius* with the Prieſts Knives, and the Spits for roaſting the Victim. The *Lavinians*, fearing the Reſentment of *Romulus*, deliver up the Aſſaſſins into his Hands; but he ſends them back unpuniſhed. §. 33. *Rome* is afflicted by the Plague. *Cameria* revolts, but is ſubdued; and *Romulus* has the Honour of a ſecond Triumph. The *Fidenates* make War upon the *Romans*, who defeat them, and take *Fidenæ*. The *Veientes* demand it back, as a Town which held of them; and upon *Romulus*'s Refuſal to ſurrender it, lay Siege to it. *Romulus* gains two Victories over them, and takes a vaſt Number of Priſoners, together with their King, who had acted a very weak Part. And the Sale of theſe Priſoners gives Riſe to that Cuſtom among the *Romans*, after a Victory, of dreſſing up an Old Man in a Child's Coat, and crying round him, *Sardians to ſell.* The *Veientes*, to preſerve their City from a Siege, ſend a Deputation to *Rome* to ſue for Peace; and *Romulus* grants them a Truce for an hundred Years, upon their Surrendry of ſeven ſmall Towns on the *Tyber*, ſome Salt-pits near the Mouth of the River, and giving Hoſtages for their Fidelity. He triumphs a third time, on the *Ides of October*, in the ſeventeenth Year of *Rome*. §. 34. *Numitor* dies, by which the Kingdom of *Alba* deſcends to *Romulus*; but he ſuffers the *Albans* to enjoy their Liberty in the Form of a Commonwealth, reſerving to himſelf only the Right of nominating annually a *Dictator* to govern it. But while by his moderate Proceedings he is making himſelf loved as well as feared Abroad, he begins to be only dreaded at Home. He neglects his Senate; affects State; makes himſelf be attended by 300 Troopers call'd CELERES, and by a Company of LICTORS, with *Faſces* and *Axes*, for arbitrary Executions. The People continue to reſpect their King, but the Senate conſpire to deſtroy him. §. 35. *Romulus* having appointed a Review of his Troops on the 7th of *July*, Year of *Rome* 37, is haranguing them, when a ſudden Storm of Hail diſperſes the Soldiers; and the Senators who are about him take that Opportunity to kill him, and conceal his Body. They endeavour to perſuade the People that the King was ſnatch'd up to Heaven during the Tempeſt. But this Stratagem does not ſucceed, nor are the People pacified, till *Julius Proculus* invents a Story, and ſwears to the Truth of it. He aſſembles the *Curiæ*, and tells them, That ROMULUS had appear'd to him, and had promiſed to be their Protecting God, under the Name of QUIRINUS. Upon this, all Suſpicions are laid aſide; and divine Honours are decreed to the new Deity.

9,10,11, 12,13, 14, 15,16, 17, 19, 37.

Celeres. *Lictors with Faſces and Axes.* ROMULUS *ſlain.* QUIRINUS.

BOOK

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BOOK II.

§. 1. ROMULUS dying without Iſſue, the Crown continues elective: But the *Romans* and *Sabines* differ about the Choice of a Succeſſor; and during the 37. 38, 39.

INTERREGNUM. INTERREGNUM, the two hundred Senators take the Sovereignty into their own Hands. They divide themſelves into *Tens*, and each *Ten* has the ſupreme Authority

INTERREX. five Days. However, one only of each *Ten* has the Badges of Sovereignty at a time; and when he has been honour'd with them twelve Hours, reſigns them to another. But the People being diſſatisfy'd with this ſort of Government, put an end to it, and come to an Agreement among themſelves, That the *Romans* ſhall chuſe the *King*, but ſhall be obliged to chuſe him from among the *Sabines*. §. 2. *Numa Pompilius* was an auſtere *Sabine* Philoſopher, who led a ſolitary ſtudious Life; and his frequenting Sacred Groves and Fountains gave Occaſion to invent the Fable of

COMITIA CURIATA. his converſing with the Nymph *Egeria*. This Man is elected *King* by the *Curiæ*, 40. and the Senate approve the Choice. Deputies are ſent to give him Notice of it. He at firſt declines accepting the Throne; but being at length prevail'd upon by the Arguments and Intreaties of the Deputies, join'd with thoſe of his Father and of his Kinſman *Marcius*, he ſets out for *Rome*, and is met by the Senate and People. The *Curiæ* are a ſecond time aſſembled, he is elected a-new by them, and the Senate confirm this ſecond Choice. But before he conſents to be clothed in the Royal Robes.

AUGURY. he inſiſts that the Gods ſhould be conſulted by *Augury*. The King is attended to the Top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, and is there ſeated upon a Stone with his Face to the South, and his Head cover'd with a Veil. The chief of the *Augurs* ſtands behind him, and ſtretching his Right Hand over his Head, turns himſelf to the Eaſt, and prays for him. Then gazing round to diſcover a favourable Omen, he ſees ſome Birds, which are preſumed to be auſpicious: And this is ſufficient. The King comes down from the Hill, with the Acclamations of the People, who are charm'd with

NUMA, 2d *King*. the Modeſty of their new Governor. §. 3. *Numa* diſmiſſes the Guard of 300 41. *Celeres*, and forms a Deſign of moderating the warlike Ardor of the *Romans*, by the Impreſſions of Religion. But tho' he has true Notions of the Deity, and forbids the repreſenting him under the Reſemblance of Man or Beaſt; yet he does not introduce the Worſhip of him, nor aboliſh all the old Superſtitions; but authorizes, for politick Ends, both the *Alban* and *Sabine* Ceremonies, eſtabliſhing Order and Decency in the Obſervance of them. He divides the Miniſters of Religion into eight

CURIONES. *Claſſes*; *Curiones*, *Flamines*, *Celeres*, *Augurs*, *Veſtal Virgins*, *Salii*, *Feciales*, and *Pontifices*.

FLAMINES. The CURIONES were the particular Prieſts of each *Curia*. The FLAMINES (ſo call'd from the Faſhion or Colour of their Caps) were Prieſts, whoſe Miniſtry was confined to ſome particular God, whoſe Name they took, as the *Flamen Dialis*, the *Flamen Martialis*, &c.

CELERES. The CELERES were inferior Miniſters to take care of the Sacrifices, under the Direction of the *Tribunes*, who had commanded them when they were Guards

AUGURS. to *Romulus*. The AUGURS not only foretold future Events by the Flying and Notes of Birds, but had all ſorts of Divination within their Province, except the inſpecting

VESTALS. the Entrails of Victims: for *Numa* inſtituted no bloody Sacrifices. The VESTALS were wholly devoted to the Goddeſs *Veſta*, and were obliged, under the ſevereſt Pe-

SALII. nalty, to keep the ſacred Fire in her Temple perpetually burning. The SALII were the Guardians of the ANCILIA, or the twelve Shields hung up in the Temple of *Mars*. They took their Name from their dancing in the Celebration of the annual Feſtival inſtituted in Memory of a miraculous Shield, which *Numa* pretended fell

FECIALES. down from Heaven. The Buſineſs of the FECIALES was to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries *Rome* receiv'd from her Enemies, to proclaim War againſt them, in caſe of Refuſal; and to take care that all Treaties with the neighbouring Nations were

PONTIFICES. faithfully obſerved. The PONTIFICES were the moſt venerable of all the *Claſſes*, and were the Heads, the Judges, and the Avengers of Religion. They had a Preſident over them, with the Title of PONTIFEX MAXIMUS. *Numa*, to put a check to the haſty Temper of the *Romans*, which often made them engage in Wars upon ſlight

JANUS. Occaſions, dedicates a Temple to *Janus*, the Symbol of Prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and conſiders both the Cauſes and Conſequences of things; and he orders that the Gates of this Temple ſhall be ſhut in Time of Peace, and never

BONA FIDES. opened, but upon a Declaration of War. He erects an Altar to *Bona Fides*, or *Fidelity*; and for the ſecuring of Eſtates, introduces a Sort of Gods call'd *Termini*,

TERMINALIA. or *Bounds*, inſtituting a yearly Feſtival to their Honour, call'd TERMINALIA. §. 4. He diſperſes about the Country, to cultivate it, thoſe of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, who have no Employment, forming them into Bodies of Husbandmen, each under a Head, who has the ſame Authority as an Officer over his Soldiers. But his Maſter-piece of Policy is the diſtributing the *Roman* Citizens into Companies, according to their Trades, granting to each Corporation peculiar Privileges, and a Power of making By-Laws, *&c.* by which Means the *Romans* and *Sabines* loſe their factious Names of Diſtinction, and become throughly united. §. 5. *Numa* reforms the Laws made by *Romulus*, with Relation to the Power of Parents over

Year of their Children. He regulates the Circumſtances of Mourning, and of Funeral Cere-
ROME monies. He enacts certain Laws of Religion, (which ſubſiſted ever after,) and amends the civil Laws, in which he has an eſpecial Regard to the preſerving of Modeſty in Women. §. 6. He reforms the Calendar. §. 7. After a peaceful Reign of
82. 43 Years, *Numa* dies, exceedingly lamented, both by his Subjects, and the neighbouring Nations, leaving Iſſue only one Daughter, named *Pompilia*. He is interr'd at the Foot of Mount *Janiculus*; and his Books, as he had ordered, are buried with him. (*Varro*'s Account of the finding again theſe Books, with St. *Auſtin*'s Conjecture concerning what they contain'd.) §. 8. During a ſhort *Interregnum*, the Senate exerciſe the Sovereign Authority, in the ſame Manner as upon the Death of *Romulus*. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, Grandſon of the famous *Hoſtus*, by the renown'd *Herſilia*,
83. is unanimouſly elected *King* by the People, and accepted by the Senate. He begins his Reign by diſtributing certain Lands, which were the Demeſnes of the Crown, among thoſe of his Subjects who are indigent, and have no Lands of their own. He affects Magnificence, and, being of a warlike Temper, impatiently longs for an Opportunity to open the Temple of *Janus*. §. 9. The People of *Alba*, under the Influence of one *Cœlius* (or *Cluilius*) furniſh *Tullus* with a Pretence to take the Field againſt them; and he artfully contrives to make the *Albans* the Aggreſſors. But the Ardour for fighting is cooled in both Armies, as ſoon as they come in ſight of each other; and both keep within their Entrenchments. The *Albans* at length murmur at their Commander, as the Cauſe of a fruitleſs War; upon which *Cœlius* reſolves to attack the *Romans*: but the next Morning he is found dead in his Tent, in the midſt of his Guards, and without any Signs of Violence; which occaſions various Conjectures. §. 10. Upon *Cœlius*'s Death, *Metius Fuffetius* is ſaluted *Dictator* by the Army. He receives Notice that the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* intend to fall upon both Armies, when they ſhould be weakened by a Battle. He therefore deſires a Conference with *Tullus*, and propoſes a Reconciliation, to which *Tullus* is very well inclined; but in order to make it durable and perfect, propoſes that all, or the chief of the *Alban* Families ſhould remove to *Rome*; or in caſe they were unwilling to leave their own City, that at leaſt one Common Council ſhould be eſtabliſhed to govern both Cities, under the Direction of Him of the two Sovereigns, who ſhould be able to contribute moſt to the publick Good. *Fuffetius* conſults with his Followers, who abſolutely refuſe to leave their native City, but are willing to come to an Union with the *Romans*. The only Difficulty is, to ſettle which City ſhall have the Superiority. *Fuffetius* ſpeaks in Favour of *Alba*, and *Tullus Hoſtilius* in Favour of *Rome*. The latter, in the Cloſe of his Speech, propoſes to terminate the Diſpute by a ſingle Combat between himſelf and *Fuffetius*. But the *Alban* General declines this Offer, and makes a new Propoſal, That three Champions ſhould be choſen out of each Camp, to decide the Difference; and to this *Tullus* agrees. §. 11. The Birth and near Relation of the three *Curiatian* and three *Horatian* Brothers, who notwithſtanding the Ties of Blood, undertake to fight with each other in the Cauſe of their reſpective Countries. They enter the Liſts; but before they engage, the two Kings conclude a formal Treaty, the Ceremonial of which is deſcribed. §. 12. And now the *Alban* and *Roman* Champions advance, with a ſlow Pace, to meet each his Adverſary. But, in the Inſtant, when the People expect to ſee them in a fierce Encounter, they quit their Arms, fly to embrace each other, and water the Ground with their Tears, before they ſtain it with their Blood. The Spectators melt at the moving Sight, and begin to murmur at their *Kings*, who had engaged ſuch tender and generous Friends in a cruel Rivalſhip for Glory. But a new Scene puts an End to their Pity, captivates all their Attention, and employs all their Hopes and Fears. The triple Combat begins; and *Fortune*, for a long time, holds an even Balance. At length, the eldeſt of the *Horatii* receives a mortal Wound, and falls; a ſecond of the *Roman* Heroes has the ſame Fate, and expires upon the Body of his Brother. Conſternation and Deſpair ſpread themſelves thro' the *Roman* Camp. But the three *Alban* Brothers are all wounded, and the remaining *Horatius* is yet unhurt. However, not thinking himſelf able to ſuſtain the Attack of the three *Curiatii* at once, he makes uſe of a Stratagem to ſeparate them. He turns his Back, he flys with Coward-Speed, and bears the Hootings and Reproaches of his Countrymen. The *Alban* Brothers purſue him, but at unequal Diſtances, and as their Wounds will permit. *Horatius* turns ſhort upon the nimbleſt, and ſlays him. He then flies to the next, cuts off his Arm with one Stroke, and runs him thro' the Body. The third is an eaſy Victim for the *Roman* to offer to the Manes of his ſlaughter'd Brothers. Being deſperately wounded, he can ſcarcely ſupport himſelf on his Buckler, and ſeems to offer himſelf willingly to Death. The young Conqueror cries out, *To the Glory of* Rome *I ſacrifice thee*; ſtrikes him on the Throat, and, big with Victory, ſeizes the Spoils of the Vanquiſh'd. The *Roman* Camp rings with Acclamations; and the Superiority of *Rome* is own'd by her Rival. But as the Conqueror is returning to the City in a ſort of Triumph, his Temples encircled with the Crown the *King* had put upon his Head, and his Shoulders loaded with the Spoils of the three *Curiatii*, he ſees, with ſome Surprize, his Siſter,

TULLUS HOSTILIUS, 3d *King*.

HORATII, *and* CURIATII.

Pater Patratus.

at

at a Diſtance, in the Crowd, unattended, and without her Mother. He excuſes, in his own Mind, the uncommon Indecency, by imputing it to her Impatience to ſee a victorious Brother. But the Zeal which had brought her from home, was of another Kind. A ſtronger Paſſion than a Siſter's Love, had engroſs'd all her Care. One of the *Alban* Champions had been her Lover, and was to have been her Husband. All Concern for the Danger of her Brothers, had been loſt in her Anxiety for her dear *Curiatius*; and ſhe had ask'd no News but of his Fate. Upon the firſt Report of his being ſlain, ſhe had ſtolen from her Mother, and come running, like one mad, out of the City; ſhe ſees the Conqueror, bearing in Triumph her Lover's Robe, the military Robe which ſhe and her Mother had wrought with their own Hands; ſhe ſees it ſtain'd with her Lover's Blood, ſhe tears her Hair, ſhe beats her Breaſt, *Barbarian*, ſhe cries, *how couldſt thou dip thy Hands in the Blood of thy Relations, of thoſe very* Curiatii *whom thou haſt ſo often call'd thy Brothers? How cou'dſt thou rob me of a Husband I ſo tenderly lov'd? Horatius* ſtill breathed Blood, and was yet warm with Slaughter; *Go then*, ſays he to his Siſter, *go to thy Lover; unnatural Creature! Is it thus, that thou forgetteſt thy dead Brothers, thy living Brother, and thy Country?* Thus *let every* Roman *periſh, who laments the Death of an Enemy to* Rome! As he utters theſe laſt Words, he ſtabs her with his Sword, and goes on ſtrait to his Father's Houſe. The Father approves of the Action, and refuſes to let his Daughter be buried in the Sepulchre of her Family. But when *Tullus* returns in Triumph to *Rome*, *Horatius* is brought before him to receive Sentence for his Crime. *Tullus* being perplexed, appoints two Commiſſioners, call'd DUUMVIRI, to try the Cauſe as a Crime againſt the State. They being only Judges of the Fact, which was notorious, pronounce him guilty of High Treaſon. He appeals to the People; and the *Curiæ* are aſſembled. Old *Horatius*, the Father, pleads for his Son, who inſtead of ſuffering Death, is only ſentenc'd *to paſs under the Yoke*, an Ignominy with which it was uſual to treat Priſoners of War, who had voluntarily ſurrender'd their Arms. Expiations are appointed, to pacify the Anger of the Gods for the Crime committed. And all the Honour done to *Horatius* for his Victory, is the erecting a ſquare Column in the Middle of the *Forum*, on which the Spoils of the *Curiatii* are hung. §. 13. *Tullus* ſummons 88.
the *Fidenates* to anſwer for their ſuſpicious Behaviour, during his War with the *Albans*. They, being conſcious of Guilt, and in ſecret Intelligence with *Fuffetius*, refuſe to obey; and, in Conjunction with the *Veientes*, take the Field. *Fuffetius*, in Obedience to *Tullus*'s Orders, joins him with the *Alban* Troops; but, the Day before the Battle, informs his principal Officers of his treacherous Intention, which was to ſtand neuter till Fortune had decided the Day, and then to fall upon the worſted Side. Accordingly, juſt before the Action begins, he retires with his Men to a Hill. *Tullus* is apprized of his Deſertion; and in this Diſtreſs privately makes a Vow to add twelve Prieſts to the College of the *Salii*, and to build a Temple to *Fear* and *Paleneſs*. Then telling his Men, that the Motion *Fuffetius* had made was by his Order, he falls upon the Enemy, and gives them an entire Overthrow. *Fuffetius* pours down from his Hill, upon the ſcatter'd Remains of the Vanquiſh'd. *Tullus* conceals his Knowledge of *Fuffetius*'s Treachery; goes privately in the Night to *Rome* to conſult the Senate; detaches *Horatius* with a choſen Band to demoliſh *Alba*; returns to the Camp before Break of Day; orders both the *Roman* and *Alban* Troops to attend him unarm'd (but with private Inſtructions for the *Romans* to bring their Swords under their Cloaths,) makes a Speech to them, in which he lays open the Perfidiouſneſs of *Fuffetius*, and orders him to be faſtened to two Chariots drawn by Horſes, and ſo to be torn aſunder. His chief Accomplices are alſo put to the Sword; but the reſt of the *Alban* Soldiers and Citizens are tranſplanted to *Rome*, and enjoy all the Privileges of Citizens of *Rome*. §. 14. This new Increaſe of Inhabitants obliges *Tullus* to enlarge the Limits of the City. He allots Mount *Cœlius* for the *Albans* to ſettle upon (without excluding them from other Parts of the City) and builds his own Palace there. He gives ſome of the new Citizens Seats in the Senate, promotes others to the Dignity of *Roman* Knights (dividing them into ten Companies) and gains the Hearts of all. The *Fidenates* perſevering in their Revolt, *Tullus* ſpends 89.
the Winter in making Preparations to attack them early in the Spring. They keep 90.
under the Walls of *Fidenæ*, where being beaten, they retire into the City, with a Reſolution to ſuſtain a Siege. *Tullus* blockades it, and by cutting off all Succours and Proviſions from it, reduces the *Fidenates* to ſuch Extremities that they ſurrender at Diſcretion. He puniſhes the Heads of the Revolt, but ſuffers the reſt to continue in their City, under the ſame Form of Government, only in Dependance upon *Rome*. This complete Victory procures *Tullus* the Honours of a Triumph, in which the Spoils of the Enemy are carried as Trophies. §. 15. The *Romans*, fluſh'd with 92.
Succeſs, and ſtrengthened by their Union with the *Albans*, demand Satisfaction of the *Sabines* for the Inſults ſome of her moſt eminent Citizens had formerly ſuffer'd from them at the Temple of the Goddeſs *Feronia*, (i. e. *Flora*, or *Proſerpina*,) which ſtood at the Foot of Mount *Soracte*, upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, and was frequented by both *Sabines* and *Romans*. The *Sabines* can get no Succours, and are forc'd to de-

Year of *ROME*

DUUMVIRI.

Subjugatio.

Year of *ROME*
93. pend on their own Valour. At length, ſo bloody a Battle is fought, that both Armies, terrify'd with the Numbers of their Slain, retire into their own Countries, and attempt nothing more that Campaign. §. 16. The next Year the War is renew'd with greater Fury. The two Armies meet near *Eretum*, a Town about 107 *Stadia* from *Rome*. The Battle is long in Suſpence; but at length *Tullus* makes a Vow to *Saturn* and *Ops*, to inſtitute a Feſtival to their Honour; and this giving his Men new Courage, he obtains a complete Victory. The *Sabines* ſubmit, and the Senate preſcribes the Conditions of a Treaty with them, which were written on Pedeſtals erected in Holy Places, as eternal Monuments of the Superiority of *Rome*. *Tullus* is decreed a third Triumph. SATURNALIA.
94. §. 17. The Ambition of the *Romans* now carry them to make new Pretenſions. They ſummon all the *Latin* Towns, which had been dependent on *Alba*, to ſubmit to the *Roman* Laws. Upon this, an Aſſembly of the *Latin* Nation is held at *Ferentinum*, where it is reſolved not to bow under the Yoke of *Rome*; and two Generals are choſen to command their Forces. However, the *Romans* don't think fit to make War upon them in a regular Way, but after the old manner of Inroads and Incurſions, deſtroying their Harveſt. Only *Medulia*, which had ſub-
101. mitted to *Romulus*, and ſince revolted, was taken by *King Tullus*. §. 18. The *Sabines*, thinking themſelves in a Condition to take Revenge upon *Rome*, invade the *Roman* Territory, and ſpread themſelves all over it in ſmall Parties, to pillage; and the little Oppoſition they meet with, encourages them to think of beſieging *Rome*. But *Tullus* marches againſt them, and once more entirely defeats them near the *Male-*
109. *factors Foreſt*. §. 19. *Tullus* being grown old, falls into Superſtition and Credulity, and being impos'd upon by Stories of Prodigies, and Voices from Heaven, orders expiatory Sacrifices for nine Days, (the uſual time ever after employ'd in Expi-
110. ations, when the People were frightned with Prodigies.) §. 20. *Tullus* in his old Age is ſaid by ſome to have ſtudied Magick in *Numa*'s Books, and to have hid himſelf in a private Place to perform a magical Sacrifice, in order to raiſe *Jupiter Elicius*; but that omitting ſome Part of the neceſſary Ceremonies, the God in a Rage ſet his Palace on Fire by Lightning. The King, his Wife and his Children, all periſh'd in the Flames. But others are of Opinion that *Tullus* died by the Hands of *Ancus Marcius*, his Succeſſor; who, watching an Opportunity when the King and his whole Family were met to perform a domeſtick Sacrifice, went to the Place, firſt ſlew them, and then ſet Fire to the Palace, to conceal his Crime.

BOOK III.

§. 1. THE deceaſed King being look'd upon as a Man ſtruck by the Gods, no ANCUS
114. Honours are done to his Aſhes. After a ſhort *Interregnum*, the People MARCIand Senate unanimouſly chuſe ANCUS MARCIUS (Grandſon of *Numa* by his Daughter US,
Pompilia) to ſucceed *Tullus*. §. 2. The new King begins his Reign, by endea- 4th *King*.
vouring to reſtore *Rome* to the Condition in which *Numa* had left it, to revive Huſbandry, and the neglected Worſhip of the Gods. But the natural Temper of *Ancus* is not pacifick; and his devoting himſelf wholly to Works of Peace, as it is a Force upon Nature, ſo it likewiſe draws upon him the Contempt of the neighbouring Nations: He reſolves therefore to give way to his martial Inclination. §. 3. The *Latins* pretending that their Treaty with the *Romans* was no longer binding, than
117. while King *Tullus* lived, had committed Hoſtilities in the Territory of *Rome*. *Ancus* therefore determines to make War upon them; but out of reſpect to the Laws of *Numa*, obſerves all the Forms appointed to be uſed in declaring War, (which are at large deſcribed; and 'tis obſervable, that the *Kings* did not make uſe of their Names, or Authority, in Treaties, or publick Acts; 'tis always the Senate and People who are mentioned.) *Ancus* raiſes an entirely new Army, marches and ſurprizes *Politorium*, a *Latin* City. He ſheds no Blood, nor deſtroys the City, but tranſplants the Inhabitants to *Rome*; and theſe, with the Inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two other Cities of *Latium*, which he likewiſe took, he ſettles on the Hill *Aventinus*, which he incloſes, and makes a Part of *Rome*, but without conſecrating the Boundaries, as had been cuſtomary. The *Latins* repeople *Politorium*, which obliges *Ancus* to beſiege it again; and upon the ſecond Reduction of it, he demoliſhes it entirely.
118. §. 4. *Ancus* leads his Troops four Years ſucceſſively to the Siege of *Medulia*. At length he takes and plunders it. He then lays a ſecond Siege to *Ficana*, which he had neglected to demoliſh. It is with great difficulty that he becomes Maſter of it, but then deſtroys it with Fire and Sword. The *Latins*, not diſcouraged, take the Field again, and are defeated. They divide their Troops into ſmall Parties, to make Inroads into the *Roman* Territory; and *Ancus*, to oppoſe them, makes the ſame Di-
122. viſion of his Army, which he leaves to the Conduct of *Tarquin*, (a Foreigner lately come from *Hetruria* to make his Fortune) and returns to *Rome*, full of Glory. But whether he was at this time honoured with a Triumph, is uncertain. §. 5. *An-*

cus

cus undertakes to encompaſs the Hill *Janiculus*, (which ſtood on the other Side of the *Tyber*) with a Wall, and to make it a ſort of Citadel for *Rome:* and in order to have a Communication between the City and the new Citadel, he builds the Bridge, *Pons Sublicius.* called *Sublicius*, (the firſt perhaps known in *Italy*) over the *Tyber*, in that Place where it waſhes the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus.* To ſuppreſs the Licentiouſneſs of the People, he next builds a Priſon in the *Roman Forum.* Till his Time, the Innocence of the *Romans* had made them Strangers to Impriſonments. And laſtly, becauſe *Rome* was expoſed to be ſurprized by an Enemy, in thoſe Places where the Country about it was low and flat, he cauſes a wide Ditch to be dug there, which *Foſſa Quiritium.* was ever after called *Foſſa Quiritium*, becauſe all the People were employed to make it. §. 6. *Ancus*, being juſtly provoked by the Ravages of the *Fidenates*, neglects the Formality of firſt ſending a *Fecialis*, marches ſtrait to *Fidenæ*, beſieges it, and takes it by *Sap*, this being the firſt Inſtance we meet with in *Roman* Story, of that kind of Attack. He next marches againſt the *Sabines*, who being defeated (more by the Conduct than Bravery of the *Romans*) ſue for Peace, and obtain it on eaſy Terms. §. 7. The four following Years of Peace *Ancus* employs in building the Port and *Oſtia* built. City of *Oſtia*, in enlarging the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, and in digging Salt-Pits on the Sea-ſhore. The Diſtribution of Salt he made among his Subjects, gave riſe CONGIARIA. to thoſe publick Liberalities, called *Congiaria.* §. 8. *Ancus* twice defeats the *Veientes*, and is decreed a Triumph by the Senate. And the King, to reward the Merit of *Tarquin*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Head of the *Roman* Cavalry, promotes him to the Rank of a *Patrician.* The *Volſci* are next attack'd, and *Velitræ*, their Capital, beſieged by *Ancus.* The Inhabitants, reduced to Extremity, ſend out their old Men as Suppliants, who obtain firſt a Truce, and then a Peace. The King of *Rome* then turns his Arms againſt thoſe of the *Sabines*, who had not yet been conquered. Succeſs attends his Expedition, and he returns victorious to *Rome*, where he paſſes ſome time in Tranquillity. §. 9. *Ancus* is ſaid by *Plutarch* to have died a violent Death; but other Writers make it to have been altogether a natural one. (His Character and Panegyrick.) He leaves two Sons, one a Child in the Cradle, the other near fifteen Years of Age. He had committed the Tuition of both to the ambitious *Tarquin*, little imagining that a Stranger could carry away the Suffrages of the People, in the Election of a King, from his Son. §. 10. *Tarquin* was the Son of *Damaratus*, a Merchant of *Corinth*, who, to ſecure his great Wealth from *Cypſelus* the Tyrant of that Place, had retired with it to *Tarquinia*, one of the moſt famous Cities of *Hetruria.* The *Greek* Merchant married there a Woman of Diſtinction, by whom he had two Sons, *Arunx* and *Lucumo.* The elder died before his Father; and tho' he left his Wife with child, yet his Father not knowing it, and dying ſoon after him, left all his Wealth to *Lucumo.* So that the poſthumous Son of *Arunx*, diſinherited before he was born, took the melancholy Name of *Egerius*, from *egere* TO WANT. *Lucumo* being in Poſſeſſion of all his Fathers immenſe Riches, aſpired to the higheſt Dignities in *Tarquinia*; and his Wife *Tanaquil* was no leſs ambitious to ſee him advanced. But being looked upon as a Stranger in *Hetruria*, he was thereby hindered from riſing to any conſiderable Poſt: and therefore, at the Inſtigation of his Wife, reſolved to remove to *Rome*, where Strangers had been choſen *Kings*, and where Merit was a ſure means to arrive at Honours. He is no ſooner admitted a Citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavours to appear entirely *Roman.* He changes his Names of *Lucumo Damaratus*, for thoſe of *Lucius Tarquinius*; and by his polite Addreſs and Liberalities, quickly becomes popular. He artfully inſinuates himſelf into the King's Favour; and leſt his great Wealth ſhould create Suſpicions, offers to depoſit it in the publick Treaſury, to ſupply the Wants of the City. Beſides all this, he diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his military Exploits, the ſureſt Steps to Greatneſs, and appears to be no leſs able in Council, than formidable in Arms. §. 11. *Tarquin* thinking this a critical time to attempt the Throne, contrives to bring on the Election with the utmoſt Expedition, before the eldeſt of *Ancus*'s Sons ſhould be full fifteen; and to keep him out of the Sight of the People during the *Comitia*, procures him Hunting-Matches in the Country. He then gains the People by Money and Careſſes, and is the firſt who introduces into *Rome* the Cuſtom of asking for Offices, and publickly making Intereſt to gain them. He is choſen *King* by a Majority of Votes, and by the *Roman* People *commanded* (for that was the Term then uſed) to ſit down at the Helm of Affairs. To ſtrengthen his Party in the *Senate*, he creates an hundred new *Senators*, who were called *Senatores Minorum Gentium.* §. 12. Almoſt all the Nations ſubdued by the *Romans*, pretending that their Treaties with them were no longer binding, than during the Lives of thoſe Princes by whom they had been ſubdued, *Tarquin* has inevitable Wars to ſuſtain. The *Latins* are the firſt who attack him, but not the whole Nation of them jointly. *Tarquin* beſieges *Apiolæ*, takes it by a Stratagem, and ſells the Inhabitants for Slaves. The *Cruſtumini*, who had revolted, repent and ſubmit. The King treats them mildly, but ſettles a *Roman* Colony among them. *Nomentum* likewiſe experiences the Clemency of *Tarquin* upon its Submiſſion. *Collatia* being more obſtinate, is not ſo gently treated; the In-

The Firſt TARQUIN, 5th King. *Senatores Minorum Gentium.*

Year of ROME 130. 131. 136. 138. 139. 140. 141.

Year of habitants are disarmed, and taxed, and a Garrison is left in it to keep it in Subjection.
ROME The *King* gives the Sovereignty of this City to *Egerius*, his Brother *Arunx*'s Son, who from thence took the Name of *Collatinus*, which he transmitted to his Posterity.
143. *Corniculum* is besieged next, and after a brave Resistance, is taken by Storm, and re-
144. duced to Ashes. §. 13. *Tarquin*'s Success makes the rest of the *Latin* Cities very uneasy. Several of them unite their Forces to oppose his Progress. But the *King* defeats them in a bloody Battel near *Fidenæ*. He then sollicits the *Latin* Cities, to enter into Alliances with him; to which many of them consent. The *Fidenates* being faithful to his Interest, procure him the Surrendry of several considerable Places;
145. And at length, *Camerium* submits. §. 14. The whole Nation of the *Latins* assemble in a Body at *Ferentinum* (a Place situate at the Foot of the Hill of *Alba*) to deliberate on the Means to stop the Torrent of the *Romans*, which threatened all *Latium*. They agree to bring together all the Forces they can raise, into the Field, and to apply to the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*. *Tarquin* worsts the Confederate Army in two Actions, and then those *Latin* Cities who had refused his Alliance, sue for it, and ob-
150. tain it. §. 15. *Tarquin*, after so many Victories, has the Honour of a Triumph. He applies the Wealth he had brought from the conquered Cities, to the building of a *Circus* for the *Roman* Games (otherwise called *The Great Games.*) §. 16. The twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria* come to a Resolution to make War upon the *Romans*
155. in a National Body. They take the Field, make themselves Masters of *Fidenæ*, and ravage the *Roman* Territory. *Tarquin* not being prepar'd to engage with them, suf-
156. fers them to go on; but the next Year puts himself into a Condition to repair his Losses. He divides his Army into two Bodies. The *Romans* he commands himself, and gives the Command of the Allies to his Cousin *Collatinus*, who by his ill Conduct suffers a Defeat. But *Tarquin* is more successful. He defeats the *Hetrurians* first
157. near *Veii*, and then under the Walls of *Cære*. §. 17. *Fidenæ* being a Key into the *Roman* Dominions, the Conquest of it was of the utmost Importance to the *Romans*. They therefore bend their Forces that Way, and come to a sharp Engagement with the *Hetrurians*, who knew the Consequence of preserving that Post. The latter are defeated. The *Romans* besiege the Place, and take it. All those of the *Fidenates* who are suspected to have betrayed it to the Enemy, are whipped to Death, the rest sent into Banishment, and their Lands distributed by Lot among the *Roman* Sol-
159. diers. *Tarquin* hastens to attack the *Hetrurians* (who were like to be formidable by the Union of all the Forces of the twelve *Lucumonies*) before their whole Strength can get together. He comes up with them near *Eretum*, ten Miles from *Rome*, and gives them an entire Overthrow; for which the Senate decrees the King a Triumph. The *Lucumonies* send an humble Deputation to ask Peace, which *Tarquin* grants, without insisting on any other Condition, than their owning his Sovereignty over them. To this they readily agree, and send him all the Ensigns of Authority they had among them: A Crown of Gold; a Throne of Ivory; a Sceptre with an Eagle on the Top of it; a Tunick embroider'd with Gold, *&c.* *Tarquin* defers the wearing these stately Ornaments, till the People and Senate have consented to it by an express Law; but then employs them in the Decoration of the Triumph which had been decreed him, and never after lays them aside. In this Triumph, he rides in a gilded Chariot, drawn
161. by four Horses. §. 18. *Tarquin* being now at rest from his Wars, turns his Thoughts to the cleansing and beautifying the City. He finishes the Walls of *Rome*, of hewn Stone, makes those famous Common-Sewers, which were one of the Wonders of the World, and adorns the *Forum*, surrounding it with Galleries, in which are Shops for Bankers and Money-Changers, erecting Temples there, Schools for the
168. Youth of both Sexes, and Halls for the Administration of publick Justice. §. 19. *Tarquin* enters into a new War with the *Sabines*, and comes to a Battel with them, which lasts the whole Day; and the Advantage is so equal on both Sides, that the two Armies stand in awe of each other, and retire into their respective Countries, without committing any further Hostilities the rest of the Campaign. §. 20. *Tarquin*, considering that he had often been hindered from sufficiently pursuing the Advantages of a Victory, for want of Horse, resolves to add some new Bodies of *Knights* to those of the first Institution: But as the first Division of the Horse into three *Corps*, had been determined by *Auguries*, the *Augur Navius* opposes the King's Design as irreligious. §. 21. The Story of *Navius*, and of the Flint, cut by a Razor. *Tarquin* lays aside his Design of increasing the Number of the Troops of Horse, but increases the Number of the Soldiers in each Troop; so that the *Roman* Cavalry now amount to six hundred Men. §. 22. With this Reinforcement the King marches out to renew the War with the *Sabines*, who had got Succours from *Hetruria*, and were encamped near *Fidenæ*, by the Place where the *Anio* joins the *Tyber*. The *Hetrurians* were posted on one Bank of the *Tyber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, and they had a Communication by a Bridge of Boats. *Tarquin* contrives to set fire to their Bridge, and in their Surprize and Hurry attacks both Camps. He gains a complete Victory, and burns the Spoils taken from the Enemy, in Honour to *Vulcan*, as he had vowed to do. The *Sabines* being again defeated, sue for Peace; but *Tarquin*

Ludi Circenses.

Circus.

Sella Curulis.

Tunica Palmata.

NAVIUS the *Augur.*

grants

grants them only a ſix Years Truce. §. 23. The Truce being expired, the *Sabines* paſs the *Anio*, and make Incurſions on the *Roman* Lands; but tho' they are equal to their Enemies in Numbers and Bravery, yet the *Romans* defeat them by a Superiority in the Art of War. The *Sabines* impute their ill Succeſs to the Incapacity of their General, and chuſe a more experienced Commander. *Tarquin* takes the Field early, and ſhews himſelf to the Enemy: but the *Sabine* General, not having got together all his Troops, avoids a Battel, and keeps within his Camp, where he is blockaded by *Tarquin*, and reduced to Extremity for Want of Proviſions, but takes the Advantage of a dark ſtormy Night, marches away, and ſo ends the Campaign. §. 24. The *Sabines*, pleas'd with the Conduct of their General, take Courage again, enliſt all their Youth capable of bearing Arms, and form a numerous Army, which they divide into two Bodies. *Tarquin* augments his Forces with Troops from *Latium*, *Hetruria*, and all his Allies, and divides them into three Armies, which were always to encamp near each other. He commands the *Romans* himſelf, puts his Nephew *Arunx* at the Head of the *Hetrurians*, and gives the Command of the *Latins*, and other Allies, to *Servius Tullius*, a Foreigner who had been a Slave, and had but lately obtain'd the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen. The Battel is fought the whole Day, and *Tarquin* obtains the Victory; but not till he has made a Vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent Temple. While he is marching to beſiege the *Sabine* Cities, they ſend Deputies to him to ſue for Peace, offering to give him Poſſeſſion of their fortified Places, and of all their Country, if he will grant them tolerable Conditions. *Tarquin* treats them favourably, and returns to *Rome*, which he enters in Triumph, and in the ſame State as when he triumphed over the *Hetrurians*. §. 25. *Tarquin*, now grown old, thinks only of enjoying the Sweets of Repoſe, but does not forget his Vow to build a Temple to *Jupiter*, *&c.* He levels the Top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, (formerly *Saturnius*) where the Plan of the Temple is marked out, and the Foundations laid. *Navius* the *Augur* having been conſulted about what Part of *Rome Jupiter* would like beſt to be placed in, had declared for the Hill *Tarpeius*: But a new Difficulty now ariſes about removing the Gods who have already got Poſſeſſion of this Hill, without giving them Offence. By the help of *Augury*, it is diſcovered, that they are all willing to be removed, except the God *Terminus*, and the Goddeſs *Youth*, who having no mind to go, were afterwards incloſed within the Walls of the Temple, the *Area* of which is now dedicated by *Navius*. §. 26. *Tarquin*'s two Grandſons being too young to be placed on a Throne, he, in order to preſerve the Crown in his Family, marries his two Daughters to the two Men in *Rome*, who are moſt likely to ſucceed him. The elder he gives to *Servius Tullius*, the younger to *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards deſtroyed the Regal Power. §. 27. While this is doing, *Navius*, the famous *Augur*, diſappears on a ſudden. He is ſuppoſed to be murdered; and the People are very inquiſitive after the Authors of his Death. The Sons of *Ancus Marcius* endeavour to fix the Calumny upon the King, and accuſe him publickly. *Tarquin* attempts in vain to appeaſe the Tumult; *Servius Tullius* is obliged to uſe all his Intereſt to quiet the Rage of the People. But at length the Falſeneſs of the Accuſation is known, and the Sons of *Ancus* are deteſted for having raiſed the Slander. However, *Tarquin* pardons them, in conſideration of the Favours he had received from their Father. §. 28. But he is more ſevere to *Pinaria*, a proſtitute *Veſtal*. He orders her to be buried alive, and the Man who had diſhonoured her, to be whipped to death. Nevertheleſs, he does not loſe his Eſteem for the College of *Veſtals*; but, by adding two to their Number, augments it to ſix. §. 29. The Sons of *Ancus* having, by Management, gain'd over the People to them, think this a favourable Opportunity to attempt the Throne, by the Death of *Tarquin*. They hire two young Men, who dreſs themſelves like Peaſants, with Hatchets on their Shoulders, as if they were Wood-Cutters. Theſe go near the King's Palace, and pretend to have a Quarrel there about ſome Goats. The reſt of the Conſpirators gather about them, under ſhew of endeavouring to end the Diſpute. At length, the Diſputants enter the Palace, and cry out to the *King* for Juſtice; and while *Tarquin* is preparing to hear their ſeveral Pleas, one of them gives him a great Stroke on the Head with his Hatchet. The reſt of the Conſpirators fly, but the Aſſaſſins are ſeized, and confeſs, that they were employ'd by the Sons of *Ancus*. §. 30. Queen *Tanaquil* does not loſe her Preſence of Mind upon this Accident. She clears the Palace of the Crowd, ſhuts her ſelf up in the Apartment of the expiring *King*, with only her Son-in-law *Servius Tullius*, and *Ocriſia* his Mother, and preſſes him to aſcend the Throne, that her Grandchildren may be ſafe under its Protection. She then opens the Window which looks upon the Street, and bids the People be in no Concern; tells them, that *Tarquin* is grievouſly hurt, but not kill'd; and exhorts them to turn their Rage againſt the Sons of *Ancus*. This Stratagem ſucceeds. The Report being ſpread, and believed, that the *King* would ſoon be well again, and appear in publick, the Sons of *Ancus* are terrified, and go into a voluntary Baniſhment. The ſecond Day after the Murder of *Tarquin*, *Servius Tullius* ſits on the Throne in the Royal Robes, is attend-

Year of *ROME*
169.
170.
171.
172.
174.

Year of *ROME* ed by the *Lictors*, and determines Cauſes; but pretends for a long time to act only in the *King's* Name, to whom he promiſes the Suitors to report all difficult Caſes that come before him. He cites the Sons of *Ancus* to appear before his Tribunal; and upon their Non-appearance, they are declared infamous, and their Eſtates confiſcated. *Servius* ſo manages his Affairs, as to gain the Hearts of the *Romans*, by his prudent Adminiſtration; and when he has ſufficiently tried his Talent for Reigning, then the Death of *Tarquin* is publiſhed in the Palace with loud Lamentations. The Senate vote *Servius King*; and upon their Choice alone, without the Concurrence of the People, he appears in publick with a ſtrong Guard, and with all the Marks of Royalty.

BOOK IV.

175. §. 1. SERVIUS *Tullius*, born a Slave in *Tarquin*'s Houſe, was the Son of *Ocriſia*, taken captive at the ſacking of *Corniculum:* but who his Father was, is uncertain; whether one *Tullius*, kill'd at the ſtorming of that City, and who left his Wife with Child; or whether it was ſome Client of *Tarquin*'s; or whether it was *Tarquin* himſelf. However, all Hiſtorians agree that the *King* had the Tenderneſs of a Father for him; and *Tanaquil* was ſo zealous to gain her Slave Reſpect, that ſhe invented a Story of a ſudden Flame, in the Form of a Crown, which ſurrounded his Head when he was a Child, and aſleep. However, notwithſtanding this partial Favour of the King and Queen, it was chiefly by an uniform and wiſe Conduct, that he rais'd himſelf from
176. a State of Slavery to the higheſt Step of Honour. §. 2. As *Servius* look'd upon himſelf indebted to *Fortune* for his Grandeur, he erected an incredible Number of Altars and Temples to her, under various Names. And being reſolved to make *Numa* his Pattern, and apply himſelf to eſtabliſh good Polity in the City, as that ſecond King of *Rome* had done Order in Religion; he, like him, alſo pretended to have private Converſations with a Goddeſs; and *Fortune* was his *Egeria*. §. 3. However, the Beginning of his Reign was not without Diſturbances. The Sons of *Ancus* had a Party among the *Patricians*, who began to deſpiſe the mean Birth of their *King*. *Servius* had aſcended the Throne without the Conſent of the People; and there had been no *Interregnum* as formerly. Complaints of theſe Things are firſt drop'd in private Aſſemblies, but ſoon improv'd into almoſt a general Conſpiracy. The Senators agree that, the firſt time they meet, they will force the *King* to lay aſide his Royalty. *Servius*, in this Emergency, applies himſelf to gain the People, and having the two Grandchildren of the late King by his Side, makes an artful and moving Speech to them, and promiſes to be their Protector againſt the Oppreſſions of their Creditors, and of the Great. Nor are his Promiſes empty Words. He opens Compting-houſes in the
179. *Forum Romanum*, and pays all the Debtors Bills, *&c.* §. 4. But tho' *Servius*'s Inclination is more to Works of Peace than military Exploits, yet he is oblig'd to have a War with the *Veientes*, whom he defeats, and diſtributes their Lands among thoſe of the new *Roman* Citizens who had none of their own. His Victory is follow'd by a Triumph, with all that Pomp and State which the late King had introduced.
183. §. 5. The Senators now finding the People entirely well affected to the King, ſuppreſs their Complaints, leſt if they inſiſted on an *Interregnum*, it ſhould occaſion a legal Election of *Servius* by the *Curiæ*. *Servius* ſees into the Myſtery of their Policy, and reſolves to lay hold on the preſent Juncture, to render his Title to the Throne indiſputable. He aſſembles the People, and in a moving Speech, which draws Tears from their Eyes, ſubmits the Crown abſolutely to their Diſpoſal. When he has done ſpeaking, he comes down haſtily from the *Tribune*, in order to leave the Aſſembly; but they call to him to ſtay, intreat him to be their *King*, and uſe Violence to ſtop him. Some cry out, *Let the* Curiæ *be aſſembled, that we may elect* Servius *without Delay*. Accordingly, a Day is appointed, and he is choſen *King*, with a greater Unanimity than any of his Predeceſſors. §. 6. But the Senate cou'd never be brought to confirm this Election; and their Faction is ſo formidable, that *Ser-*
185. *vius* deliberates with himſelf, whether he ſhou'd not renounce the Dignity conferr'd on him by the People. But *Tanaquil* encourages him, and takes an Oath of him not to do it. This Great Queen and Heroine ſoon after dies; and the King, to immortalize her domeſtick Virtues, the true Glory of a Woman, hangs up her Diſtaff in the Temple of *Hercules*. As *Servius* is now reſolved to continue on the Throne, the rebelli- *M. Palati-*
ous *Hetrurians* furniſh him with an Opportunity to raiſe his Glory. He ſubdues them, *nus.*
187. and obtains the Honour of a ſecond Triumph. §. 7. The Interval of Reſt after *M. Tarpei-*
this Victory, *Servius* dedicates to the enlarging and adorning *Rome*. *Romulus* had *us.*
incloſed at firſt only the Hill *Palatinus*, and afterwards added the Hill *Tarpeius*. To *M. Quiri-*
theſe *Numa* join'd the Hill *Quirinalis*. *Tullus Hoſtilius* took in the Hill *Cœlius*. *An-* *nalis.*
cus Marcus join'd the Hill *Janiculus* to the City by a wooden Bridge. The firſt *Tar-* *M. Cœlius.*
quin only built the Walls of *Rome* of hewn Stone, without enlarging its Bounds; but *M. Janicu-*

SERVIUS TULLIUS, 6th *King.*

Servius *lus.*

M. Eſquilinus. *Servius* incloſes within its Limits the Hills *Eſquilinus* and *Viminalis*. So that *Rome* begins now to be called *Septicollis*. The King likewiſe enlarges the *Pomærium*, and fixes his own Palace on the Hill *Eſquilinus*, in order to draw Inhabitants thither. Year of ROME

M. Viminalis.

§. 8. *Servius* adds a fourth Tribe to the three of *Romulus*'s Diviſion, and calls it *Tribus Eſquilina*. As Taxes were raiſed by laying a certain Sum on each *Tribe*, it was hence that thoſe Taxes were called *Tributes*, and *Contributions*. The King eſtabliſhes great Regularity in levying both the Militia and the Taxes, by obliging each Inhabitant to ſtay in the *Tribe* wherein he was born. He likewiſe makes a Law, That a Piece of Money ſhall be paid to the Temple of the Goddeſs *Libitina*, upon every Death; another to the Temple of *Lucina*, upon every Birth; and another to the Temple of *Youth*, as ſoon as any Perſon was paſt the State of Childhood. By this means the Number of *Roman* Citizens was known, and eſpecially of ſuch as were able to bear Arms. *Servius*, in order to do Honour to his firſt Condition, extends his Care to Slaves, erects little wooden Oratories in all the Croſs-ways, dedicated to the *Dii Compitales*, and commands that Slaves only ſhall be Prieſts to theſe Gods, who have their particular Feſtival, on which Maſters gave their Slaves Reſt from all Labour. §. 9. For Security of thoſe who lived in the Country, and to eſtabliſh equal Order throughout the *Roman* State, *Servius* divides the *Roman* Territory into fifteen *Tribes*, under the ſame Regulations with regard to Taxes, *&c.* as thoſe of the City. He orders, that in each of theſe new *Tribes*, there ſhall be one Place of Refuge, ſituated in a ſteep Place, to ſecure the Effects of the Peaſants upon ſudden Alarms: And this was the Origin of Villages in *Italy*; each of which had its own particular Temple, its tutelary God, and its Magiſtrates. §. 10. *Servius*'s two Wards, *Tarquinius* and *Arunx*, being now advanc'd to the Age of Manhood, he thinks of ſecuring their Fidelity to him by a double Marriage with his two Daughters. The elder of theſe Daughters was of a ſweet and virtuous Diſpoſition; the younger of a violent and vicious one. But tho' the elder of the King's Pupils reſembled in Character the younger of his Daughters, and the elder of his Daughters the younger of his Pupils, yet he thought it was moſt adviſable to match them according to their Ages, that ſo the Mildneſs and Sweetneſs of the elder *Tullia* might reſtrain the Impetuoſity of *Tarquinius*, and the Vivacity of the younger *Tullia* quicken the unambitious Indolence of *Arunx*. §. 11. During the publick Rejoicings for this double Marriage, the *Hetrurians* prepare to make War upon the *Romans* in a National Body. *Servius*, by repeated Victories over them, reduces them to ask Peace, and to ſubmit to him upon the ſame Conditions on which they had ſubmitted to his Predeceſſor: And for this Succeſs he is honour'd with a third Triumph. §. 12. *Servius* being now in full Peace, returns to the Purſuit of his Political Schemes. Taxes had been hitherto levied upon the People at ſo much a Head, without Diſtinction of Rich and Poor; and as both Sorts were equally obliged to ſerve in the Field at their own Expence, it was often very hard upon the poorer Sort. There was likewiſe this farther Inconvenience, That the Indigent, who were eaſily corrupted in the Election of Magiſtrates, Deciſions concerning War and Peace, and in judging Criminals, had equal Authority with the Rich in the *Comitia*, and a greater Weight, as being more numerous. To remedy theſe Evils, *Servius* orders all the *Roman* Citizens to give an Account in Writing of their Names and Ages, with thoſe of their Fathers, Wives, and Children. He further obliges all the Heads of Families to give in upon Oath a juſt Eſtimate of their Effects, and to mention the Places of their Reſidence, whether in Town or Country. Having got Information of theſe Things, he undertakes to eaſe the Poor, by burdening the Rich, and yet to pleaſe the latter, by augmenting their Power. §. 13. To this End, he divides the *Roman* People into ſix *Claſſes*.

LIBITINA.

LUCINA.

JUVENTAS.

DII COMPITALES.

191.

15 *Country Tribes.*

195.

197.

200.

CENSUS.

The firſt *Claſs* conſiſts of thoſe whoſe Eſtates and Effects are worth ten thouſand *Drachmæ*. And this *Claſs* is ſubdivided into fourſcore *Centuries*, or Companies of Foot. To theſe *Servius* adds eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, who being the richeſt of all, are at the Head of this *Claſs*. Nevertheleſs, the Publick ſupply'd them with Horſes, for which a Tax was laid upon Widows, they being exempt from all other Tribute. Till this King's Time, the *Romans* had had but ſix *Centuries* of Knights. *Romulus* had inſtituted only three, and *Tarquin the Firſt* had doubled them. But *Servius* added twelve new *Centuries* to the *Roman* Horſe, and order'd that this conſiderable Body ſhould be at the Head of the rich *Claſs*.

The ſecond *Claſs* comprehended thoſe whoſe Eſtates were valued at 7600 *Drachmæ*. It was ſubdivided into twenty *Centuries*, all Foot. To theſe were added two *Centuries* of Carpenters, Smiths, and other Artificers.

In the third *Claſs*, were thoſe who were eſteem'd worth 5000 *Drachmæ*, and it was ſub-divided into twenty *Centuries*.

The fourth *Claſs* was of thoſe whoſe Effects were rated at the Value of 2500 *Drachmæ*, and was divided into twenty *Centuries*; and in this *Claſs* were included two other *Centuries* of Trumpets and Drums.

The fifth *Claſs* included thoſe only, whoſe whole Subſtance did not amount to more than 1250 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into thirty *Centuries*.

Year of *ROME* The ſixth *Claſs* comprehended all thoſe who were not worth ſo much as the Soldiers of the fifth *Claſs*. They were exempted a great while both from paying Taxes and going to War.

§. 14. Theſe Regulations being made; Levies for the Army were no longer raiſed by *Tribes*, nor were Taxes laid at ſo much a Head, as formerly: All was levied by *Centuries*. And the firſt, which was the rich *Claſs*, being more numerous in *Centuries* than all the reſt together, furniſh'd of conſequence more Men and more Money for the publick Service, than the whole *Roman* State beſides. However, that ſome Amends might be made this *Claſs* for the Weight laid on it, *Servius* gave it almoſt the whole Authority in publick Affairs, by aſſembling the People in *Comitia by Centuries*, inſtead of *Comitia by Curiæ*. For the Majority being reckoned, not by ſingle Perſons, but by *Centuries*; and this *Claſs* containing more *Centuries* than all the other five, had in a manner every thing at their Diſpoſal. §. 15. *Servius* having made this prudent Diviſion of the State into different Orders, reſolves to ſolemnize his new Regulation by ſome publick Act of Religion. He therefore commands all the Citizens comprehended in the new *Cenſus*, to appear under Arms, and according to their *Claſſes*, in the *Campus Martius*, on a Day appointed. A Bull, a Ram, and a Boar-Pig, are offer'd up in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and the whole Ceremony is called *Luſtrum*, from the Goddeſs *Lua*, to whom *Servius* built a Temple. She was invoked in all Expiations, and when People made up their Accounts, and paid their Debts. This *Luſtrum* is to be renewed every five Years immediately after the *Cenſus*. 'Tis probable, that at this time *Servius* coin'd the firſt Money ever known at *Rome*. The Circumſtances of the *Luſtrum* might perhaps lead him to ſtamp the Figures of an Ox, a Ram, and a Boar, on Pieces of Braſs of a certain Weight. It is undoubted, that Money was called *Pecunia*, from the Word *Pecus*, i. e. *Cattle*. §. 16. The *King*, remembering his former ſervile Condition, commiſerates the Caſe of thoſe whom an unſucceſsful War had reduced to Slavery, and who were often Men well born. He judges, that ſuch of theſe unfortunate People, who by long and faithful Services to their Maſters, had deſerved and obtained their Freedom, were much more worthy to be made Citizens of *Rome*, than untractable Vagabonds from foreign Countries, who were uſually admitted without Diſtinction. He gives the *Freed-Men* their Choice therefore, either to return to their own Countries, or continue at *Rome*. Such as chuſe to continue, he divides into four *Tribes*, and ſettles within the City. They are ſtill diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians*, by their old Name of *Liberti*, or *Freed-Men*, but enjoy all the Privileges of other Citizens. The Senate take Offence at this Regard ſhew'd to ſuch mean People; but *Servius*, by a moſt humane and judicious Diſcourſe, entirely appeaſes them, and they paſs his Inſtitution into a Law, which ſubſiſted ever after. §. 17. *Servius*, from a Love of the Publick Good, comes at laſt to reform the Regal Power, and, reſerving only Affairs of State to himſelf, abſolutely transfers the Care of judging in private Cauſes to the Senate. §. 18. Every thing being now regulated, both in City and Country, *Servius* lays a Scheme for ſecuring more effectually the Friendſhip and Fidelity of the *Latins* and *Sabines*, by ſuch ſocial Ties as ſhould be ſtrengthened by Religion. He ſummons the *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities to ſend their Deputies to *Rome*. When they are come, he propoſes to them to build a Temple to *Diana*, at which the *Latins* and *Sabines* ſhould meet every Year, and join with the *Romans* in offering Sacrifice to the Goddeſs; that this Feſtival ſhou'd be follow'd by a Council, at which all Diſputes which had happen'd between the Cities, ſhou'd be amicably determin'd; that there proper Meaſures ſhould be taken to purſue their common Intereſts; and laſtly, that in order to draw the Common People thither, a Fair ſhould be kept, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. To this reaſonable Propoſal the Deputies readily conſented, leaving to the King to chuſe a proper Place where to erect the Sanctuary. *Servius* chuſes the Hill *Aventinus*; the Temple is finiſh'd; Aſſemblies are annually held in it, and in theſe Aſſemblies were thoſe great Deſigns firſt form'd, which gradually prepar'd *Rome* for the Conqueſt of the World. §. 19. The Story of *Antro*, who brought a Cow-calf of a monſtrous Size for a Sacrifice to *Diana Aventina*; and of his being cheated by *Cornelius*, the Prieſt or Guardian of the Temple. §. 20. *Servius Tullius* is now grown old, and the Ambition of the Elder *Tarquin* every Day increaſes, as the King decays. He had already begun to make his Court to the Senate, by joining with it in oppoſing the Meaſures of his Father-in-Law. His Wife endeavours by all the Ways of Sweetneſs and Inſinuation, to moderate and ſoften the haughty Fierceneſs of her Husband; while her younger Siſter, a very Fury of a Woman, is ever preſſing *Arunx*, even to villanous Attempts, in order to reach the Throne. She loudly laments her Fate in being ty'd to ſuch an indolent and droniſh Husband. Similitude of Temper and Manners forms by Degrees a great Intimacy between her and *Tarquin*. At length ſhe propoſes to him nothing leſs than the murdering of her Father, Siſter, and Brother-in-law, that they two may meet and aſcend the Throne together; and their Converſation on this Head ends in their anticipating the Pleaſures of an inceſtuous Marriage. §. 21. While *Ser-*

215. 205. 210. 215.

COMITIA. CENTURIATA. SUOVETAURILIA. LUSTRUM. LUA. *Pecunia.* 4 *new Tribes.* LIBERTI. DIANA AVENTINA.

vius is in Perplexity about the Choice of a Succeſſor, and is deliberating whether he ſhall not reduce the Government to a Commonwealth, *Tarquin* and the younger *Tullia* contrive the Murder, he of his Wife, ſhe of her Husband; and then impudently ask the *King*'s and *Queen*'s Conſent to their Marriage. *Servius* and *Tarquinia*, tho' they don't give it, are ſilent, through too much Indulgence for a Daughter, in whom now is their only Hope of Poſterity. §. 22. Theſe criminal Nuptials are followed by Intrigues againſt the *King*. *Tarquin* gains the *Senate* firſt, and then, by Money, the vile Populace of the ſixth *Claſs*. *Servius*, inform'd of this, has frequent Conferences in private with his Son-in-law and Daughter, to perſuade them by Reaſon, to deſiſt from ſuch Proceedings, and to wait for the Crown till his Death. But *Tarquin* and *Tullia* love violent Meaſures, and to make a noiſe. They deſpiſe the Counſels of the *King*, and reſolve to lay their Pretenſions before the *Senate*. *Servius* ſummons the *Senate*, where *Tarquin* urges his Right of Inheritance to the Throne, and the Injuſtice of *Servius* (who was only his Tutor) in keeping Poſſeſſion of it, when he himſelf was of an Age to govern. To this *Servius* anſwers, That he had not been entruſted with the Government under an Obligation to preſerve the Crown for his Pupils, but to ſecure their Lives againſt the Sons of *Ancus*; who, if there could be an hereditary Right to the Sceptre, had a much better one than the Grandſons of the late *King*, who muſt himſelf have been an Uſurper. He then appeals to the People, and offers to ſubmit to a new Election in the *Comitia*, where his Son-in-law may be his Competitor. §. 23. *Servius* having diſmiſſed the *Senate*, aſſembles the People, and from the TRIBUNE (afterwards call'd the ROSTRA) makes them an Harangue, in which he diſplays his own Merit, and the Injuſtice of his Son-in-law. Upon which the Multitude cry out, *Let* Servius *reign*; *Let* Tarquin *periſh*, *let him die*. This frightens *Tarquin*, and he retires in great haſte to his Houſe. §. 24. And now finding the ill Succeſs of violent Meaſures, he acts a new Part. By Careſſes and Submiſſions, he regains the *King*'s Favour, and lulls him into an agreeable Security. But *Tullia*, who thinks her Husband grown as ſtupid and inſenſible as *Arunx*, upbraids him with Cowardice, and rouzes him up to dare every Crime which can ſerve Ambition. Emboldened by her Sollications, he begins to form a Party, goes from Houſe to Houſe to beg Votes, and makes his own Houſe a *Rendezvous* of Pleaſure for the young Nobility. Gratitude eaſily engages to him the new *Senators*, whom his Grandfather had added to thoſe of the old Inſtitution. Having thus form'd his Party, he chuſes the Time of Harveſt, when moſt of the principal Citizens are in the Country, to put in Practice a Stratagem, which ſurprized the People by its Novelty, and ſucceeded by the Boldneſs of its Execution. He puts on the Royal Robes, cauſes *Faſces* to be carried before him, croſſes the *Roman Forum*, attended by a great Number of his Party, and when he comes to the Gate of the *Senate-Houſe*, ſends Expreſſes to ſummon all the *Senators* in *King Tarquin*'s Name. He then goes on with a grave Pace, and ſeats himſelf on the Royal Throne. When the Aſſembly is form'd, he begins to inveigh againſt his Father-in-law. But while he is ſpeaking, *Servius* enters the *Senate*, falls into a Tranſport of Paſſion, and giving way to the Motions of his Courage, without conſidering his Strength, makes towards the Throne, in order to force *Tarquin* down from it. *Tarquin*, who is more ſtrong and vigorous, deſcends from his Seat, ſeizes the old Man by the Waiſt, and hurrying him through the Hall, throws him headlong from the Top of the Steps into the *Forum*. The *King*, being grievouſly wounded, riſes with Difficulty; his Friends had all deſerted him; only two or three of the People, touched with Compaſſion, lend him their Arms, to lead him to his Palace. But while they are ſlowly dragging him along, the cruel *Tullia* comes haſtily in her Chariot to the *Forum*. She finds her Husband on the Top of the Steps of the *Senate-Houſe*, and tranſported with Joy, ſalutes him *King*; and the *Senators* of *Tarquin*'s Party follow her Example. She then takes her Husband aſide, and ſuggeſts to him the Thought of not leaving his Work imperfect. He immediately diſpatches ſome of his Domeſticks to take away the Remains of the old *King*'s Life. The Body was left extended a-croſs a narrow Street, call'd the *Good Street*, through which *Tullia* was to paſs in her Return home. The Coachman ſeeing it, ſtops his Horſes. *Tullia* asks him, what it is that hinders him to go on: He anſwers with Tears, *Alas! Madam, it is the Body of the* King *your Father. Go on*, replies *Tullia* in a Rage, *and fear not to trample a dead Corpſe under your Horſes Feet.* The Coachman obeys; the Blood of the Father dyes the Chariot-Wheels, and ſpurts upon the Cloaths of the inhuman Daughter. The Street is from that time call'd *the wicked Street*. §. 25. The Character of *Servius Tullius*, who died at the Age of ſeventy four, after having reigned 44 Years. *Tarquin* refuſes to ſuffer Obſequies to be performed for him; ſo that *Tarquinia* conveys the Body of her Husband by Night to his Tomb. The Night following ſhe dies herſelf, but whether for Grief, or by her own Hands, or by the Wickedneſs of *Tullia*, is uncertain. The Veneration the People had for the Memory of *Servius*, ſeems to have placed him among the *Gods*. The Slaves annually celebrated his Feſtival in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*; on the Day he loſt his Life. §. 26. *Tarquin* has no ſooner invaded the Throne, than, for his capricious Humour and arrogant Behaviour, he gets the Surname of *The Proud*.

TARQUIN *the* PROUD, 7th *King*.

Year of *Proud.* He had deſpiſed the Law for *Interregnums*, the Suffrages of the People, and
ROME the Approbation of the *Senate*. Poſſeſſion is his only Title to the Crown, and the whole Method of his Government that of a true Tyrant. He communicates no Affairs of State either to *Senate* or People, and the Privilege of complaining under Oppreſſion is deny'd. Informers are ſcattered throughout the City; and the *King* is the ſole Judge of the Accuſed. Wealth and Merit are unpardonable Crimes, (a convincing Proof of which is given in the Murder of *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, who afterwards deſtroyed the Regal Power, and who now preſerves his
122. Life by counterfeiting Madneſs.) The Flower of the *Senate* go into a voluntary Baniſhment, to avoid the Effects of the *King*'s Cruelty and Avarice. The People, who had rejoiced to ſee the *Senate* humbled, are now in their turn as ill-treated as the *Patricians*, and all the Laws made in their Favour are annulled. No *Cenſus*, no *Luſtrum*, no Diviſion of the Citizens into *Claſſes* and *Centuries:* All Aſſemblies of the People, even for Diverſion and Recreation, are prohibited. §. 27. But *Tarquin* being ſenſible, that all the Orders of Men in the State could not be long under Oppreſſion, without uniting againſt the Oppreſſor, reſolves to gain Foreigners to his Intereſt. He marries his Daughter to *Octavius Mamilius*, a Man of Bravery and Experience in War, and of the moſt conſiderable Intereſt of any among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* procures his Father-in-law many Friends of the chief Perſons of *Latium*; but *Tarquin* is like to loſe them again by his haughty Airs. §. 28. He had invited the *Latins* to meet in a National Aſſembly at *Ferentinum*, on a Day appointed by himſelf. The Deputies come and take their Places in the *Sacred Grove*. There they wait many Hours, but *Tarquin* does not appear. The Aſſembly grow impatient; and *Herdonius*, an enterprizing eloquent Man, who hated *Tarquin*, and was jealous of *Mamilius*, takes this Occaſion to inveigh againſt the *King*. His Speech makes ſome Impreſſion on them, but *Mamilius* appeaſes them, and prevails to have the Council adjourned to the next Day. Then *Tarquin* appears, and having firſt in a cold manner made a frivolous Excuſe for his Abſence, he proceeds to tell the Aſſembly, that his Buſineſs with them, is to demand his Right of commanding the *Latin* Armies, a Right which he derived by Inheritance from his Grandfather. Upon this, a profound Silence enſues, till *Herdonius* ſtepping forth into the midſt of the Aſſembly, makes a bitter Invective againſt *Tarquin*, and repreſents to the *Latins* the fatal Conſequences of admitting his Propoſal. §. 29. *Tarquin* is diſconcerted by the Boldneſs of this Orator, and deſires that the Aſſembly may ſit again the following Day, when he promiſes to give an Anſwer to the Invectives of *Herdonius*. In the mean time, he corrupts ſome of *Herdonius*'s Domeſticks, and engages them to hide a great Quantity of Arms in their Maſter's Baggage. The next Morning he enters the Aſſembly with an Air of Confidence, tells them, that the Malice of *Herdonius* againſt him, is wholly owing to his having refuſed to accept him for a Son-in-law, and accuſes his Adverſary of a Deſign to uſurp a Tyranny over the *Latin* Cities. As a Proof of this, he informs them of the Arms in *Herdonius*'s Baggage. The Accuſed knowing nothing of thoſe Arms, conſents to be adjudg'd guilty, if, upon Examination, the Fact alledged prove true. Upon a Search, the Arms are found in his Bundles, and the innocent *Herdonius* is faſtened to a Hurdle, thrown into a Baſon near the Spring *Ferentinum*, and there drowned. §. 30. But the Death of an Enemy is not the only Advantage *Tarquin* draws from his Villany. The *Latins* look upon him as their Deliverer, renew the Treaty made with *Tarquin the Firſt*; and the *King* of *Rome* is declar'd General of the *Latin* Army. The *Hernici*, and two *Cantons* of the *Volſci*, enter into a League with him upon the ſame Terms. In order to keep theſe Confederates firm to his Intereſt, he erects a new Temple in the midſt of them, to *Jupiter Latialis*. It ſtood on a Hill near the Ruins of *Alba*. There the *Diets* of the united *Cantons* were to aſſemble. Theſe Aſſemblies were call'd *Latia*; and the Day appointed for their annual Meeting, which was the twenty-ſeventh of *April*, was call'd *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Romans*, as the chief Members of the Alliance, always preſided at the Sacrifices and Deliberations. The *Diet* conſiſted of forty ſeven Deputies, who formed that *Latin* Aſſociation, which was always the beſt Part of the *Roman* Strength, and contributed more than all the reſt of *Italy* to the Conqueſt of the Univerſe. Such was the Fruit of *Tarquin*'s Crime.

JUPITER LATIALIS. LATIA. FERIÆ LATINÆ.

224. §. 31. With this Aſſiſtance he reſolves to make War upon the *Volſci*, who had diſdained to enter into Alliance with him. But he does not raiſe his Army upon the Foot of *Servius*'s Diviſion of the *Roman* Soldiery by *Centuries*, nor are the Allies any longer a ſeparate *Corps*. Not having ſufficient Confidence in the Fidelity of his *Romans*, he chuſes only a ſmall Number of them, ſuch as he can moſt depend on, and blends them with the *Latins* in the ſame *Legions*. The Inhabitants of *Sueſſa Pometia*, one of the moſt flouriſhing Cities of the *Volſci*, having committed Rapines on the *Latins*, *Tarquin* takes hold of this Pretence to make War upon them. He defeats their Army, takes their City by Storm, and gives the Plunder of it as free Booty to the Soldiers, reſerving only the tenth Part of the Spoil towards the Expence of finiſhing
227. the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. He then turns his Arms againſt the *Sabines*, who had divided all their Forces into two Bodies, and poſted them, one near *Eretum*, the other

other near *Fidenæ*. By his maſterly Conduct, he entirely defeats both Armies, and makes the whole *Sabine* Nation tributary. And it is probable, that the *King* at this time decreed himſelf two Triumphs, one for his Victory over the *Volſci*, the other for having ſubdued the *Sabines*. Year of *ROME*

CLOACÆ and CIRCUS MAXIMUS finiſhed.

Tarquin, upon his Return to *Rome*, ſets the People at work to finiſh the *Common Sewers*, and the *Great Circus*. He thought an idle Populace, who did not love their Prince, dangerous. The Artificers are therefore taken out of their Shops, and obliged to painful Drudgeries, with ſhort Allowance: But by theſe vexatious Methods, he brings to Perfection thoſe two Structures of his Grandfather. 230.

In the mean while, a great Number of diſcontented *Patricians*, who fly from their own City, take Refuge at *Gabii*, a City of *Latium*, and the Inhabitants being touch'd with Compaſſion to ſee ſo many illuſtrious Perſons under Perſecution, reſolve to make War upon the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* being inform'd of it, begins by fortifying the City with a prodigious Bulwark (much boaſted of in After-ages) on the Side of *Gabii*. This War between *Tarquin* and the *Gabini* laſted ſeven Years, with various Succeſs; but the Inroads and Devaſtations made on both Sides, being a Hindrance to all ſowing and reaping, produce at length a Scarcity. The Famine is chiefly felt at *Rome*, where complaints are made by the People, that they ſuffer'd not by any Hatred of their Neighbours to *them*, but to the *King*, and they demand either a Peace or Proviſions. And theſe Murmurings are encourag'd by the Emiſſaries of the Exiles at *Gabii*. 235.

§. 32. *Tarquin* being much perplex'd by theſe Clamours, which tended to a general Sedition, his Son *Sextus* propoſes and puts in Practice an Expedient as diſhonourable as artful, for reducing *Gabii*. He pretends to be upon very ill Terms with his Father, and inveighs againſt him in publick, as a Tyrant, who had no Compaſſion even for his own Children. The King orders him to be beaten publickly as a Rebel. This Diſcontent of the Son, and Barbarity of the Father, is publiſh'd at *Gabii* by truſty Perſons ſent thither on purpoſe, who by artful Management make the *Gabini* very deſirous to have *Sextus* among them. A ſecret Negotiation is ſet on Foot for this Purpoſe, and *Sextus* conſents, upon their ſolemn Promiſe never to deliver him to his Father, upon any Pretence. §. 33. When he is come to *Gabii*, his whole Talk, both in publick and private, turns upon the Tyranny of the *King* of *Rome*; and he ſuits his Actions to his Diſcourſe. No Enemy of *Rome* is more active and vigorous. He frequently makes Inroads on the *Roman* Lands, and comes back loaded with Spoil; his Father contriving to gain him Honour, by always ſending weak Parties to oppoſe him, which muſt infallibly be worſted. He comes at length to ſuch a degree of Credit among the *Gabini*, that he is choſen General of their Army, and is as much Maſter in *Gabii* as *Tarquin* is in *Rome*. And now *Sextus* having full Power, diſpatches a Slave to his Father, to enquire what he ſhould do. The *King*, unwilling to ſend an Anſwer either in Writing or by Word of Mouth, takes the Slave into a Garden, and there, as if for Amuſement, ſtrikes off the Heads of all the talleſt Poppies. This done, he ſends back the Meſſenger. §. 34. *Sextus* underſtands the Hint, aſſembles the *Gabini*, and pretends to have diſcovered a Plot to deliver him up to his Father. The People in a Rage preſs him to declare the Conſpirators, and with much difficulty they, as it were, extort from him the Name of *Antiſtius Petro*, a Man whoſe Merit had made him the moſt conſiderable Perſon in his Country. *Antiſtius* deſpiſes the Accuſation; but *Sextus* had bribed his Servants, (in the ſame manner as *Tarquin* had formerly done thoſe of *Herdonius*) to convey among his Papers ſome Letters from the *King* of *Rome*; which being produced and read, the Populace, without further Examination, immediately ſtone him; and to *Sextus* is committed the Care of diſcovering his Accomplices, and appointing their Puniſhment. §. 35. Upon this he orders the City-Gates to be ſhut, and ſends Officers into every Quarter of it, to cut off the Heads of all the eminent Men, and Flower of the Nobility, without Mercy. In the midſt of the Deſolation and Confuſion cauſed by this dreadful Maſſacre, he opens the Gates to his Father, to whom he had given timely notice of his Deſign, and *Tarquin* enters the City with all the Pride of a Conqueror. The *Gabini* fall into the loweſt Depths of Deſpair, to ſee themſelves ſo totally at the Mercy of the Tyrant, and there is no Evil which they don't expect to ſuffer. But he conſults good Policy, grants them Life, Liberty, Eſtates, and even enters into a Treaty with the City, which is written upon a Shield made of the Hide of a Bull that had been ſacrificed in Ratification of it. He leaves *Sextus* in *Gabii*, making him *King* of the Place. For it was another Part of his refined Politicks, to get rid of his Sons. And accordingly he ſends his Son *Titus* to *Signia*, which was only a Camp, to build a City there, and his Son *Arunx* to build the Walls of *Circœum*, a Promontory on the Shore of the *Tyrrhene* Sea. His fourth Son, *Lucius*, was probably too young to give him Umbrage. §. 36. *Tarquin* now enjoyed a profound Peace at *Rome*. The *Romans* were become accuſtom'd to the Yoke of an imperious Maſter; and the Weight of Oppreſſion made them ſilent. It was at this time that an unknown Woman appeared at Court, loaded with nine Volumes, which ſhe offered to ſell, but at a very conſiderable Price. *Tarquin* refuſes to give it, upon which ſhe withdraws, burns three of the nine, then returns to

Year of *ROME* Court, and demands the ſame Price for the remaining ſix. This makes her look'd upon as mad, and ſhe is driven away with Scorn. But having burnt the half of what were left, ſhe comes a third time, and demands the ſame Price for the three, which ſhe had asked for the whole nine. The Novelty of this Proceeding makes *Tarquin* curious; he conſults the *Augurs*, who examine the Books, find them to be the Oracles of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, and declare them to be an invaluable Treaſure. The Woman is paid the Sum demanded, and then diſappears, after having adviſed the *Romans* to preſerve her Books with Care. They ſoon began to be religiouſly reſpected. *Tarquin* appointed two Perſons of Diſtinction, called at firſt *Duumviri*, to be Guardians of them. When the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was built, they were locked up there in a Vault, and were afterwards burnt with the Temple it ſelf. SYBIL'S BOOKS.

It was in this *Tarquin*'s Time likewiſe, that the written *Civil Law* had its Riſe among the *Romans*. One *Papirius*, a *Senator*, collected all the Laws made by the *Kings*, into one *Code*, which was call'd the *Papirian* Law. *Lex Papiria.*

242. §. 37. *Rome* continuing in profound Peace, *Tarquin* lays hold of the Opportunity to carry on the magnificent Work his Grandfather had begun, the Temple of the *Capitol*. A Deſcription of this magnificent Structure is given at large. CAPITOL. §. 38. While *Tarquin* is thus employed, a cruel Plague ravages *Rome*, and this with ſome other extraordinary Events make ſuch an Impreſſion upon the *King*'s Mind, that he reſolves to ſend his Sons *Titus* and *Arunx*,, to conſult the Oracle of *Delphos*. But the Subject of the Embaſſy is kept a Secret, and entruſted only to them. The Princes prepare magnificent Preſents for *Apollo*; and *Junius Brutus* (the pretended Madman) being to attend them, reſolves to carry his Offering too. But his Preſent for the God, being an Elder-ſtick, is Matter of Diverſion to the whole Court. However, as he knew that the Gods of thoſe Times, or their Miniſters, were much affected with valuable Offerings, he has the Precaution to incloſe a Rod of Gold in his Stick, without any body's Knowledge. And thus it was a true Emblem of his own Mind and Conduct, who under a contemptible Outſide, conceal'd the richeſt Gifts of Nature. The Anſwer of the Oracle was probably, That there ſhould quickly be a new Reign at *Rome*; becauſe it is ſaid, that they ventured to ask, which of the three ſhould ſucceed *Tarquin*, and that the God declared, that the Government of *Rome* was deſtin'd to him *who ſhould firſt give a Kiſs to his Mother*. *Brutus* immediately pretended Aukwardneſs, tumbled down, and kiſſed the Earth, the common Mother of all living. But whether theſe things be Fables or not, the Revolution which aboliſhed the Regal Power,

243. happen'd ſoon after their Return to *Rome*. §. 39. They found the City in a Commotion, on account of the War in which the *King* was engaged with the *Rutuli*. In hopes of recruiting his exhauſted Treaſures, he had march'd his Army to *Ardea*, their Capital, thinking to take it without Oppoſition. But he found himſelf obliged to beſiege it in Form. This put him under a Neceſſity of laying a heavy Tax upon the People; and this Tax greatly increas'd the Number of the Malecontents, and diſpos'd them to a Revolt. The War being carried on very ſlowly, the General Officers ſpent their Leiſure in Diverſions. They mutually gave Invitations, and made Entertainments for one another in their Quarters. One Day, when *Sextus Tarquinius* was entertaining his Brothers and Friends, the Converſation happened to turn upon the Merit of Wives. Every one preſent extoll'd the good Qualities of his own; but none ſpoke with greater Encomiums, or more Rapture, than the happy *Collatinus* of his ador'd *Lucretia*. (He was the Grandſon of *Egerius*, that Nephew of *Tarquin the Elder*, to whom that Prince had given the Property of the City and Territory of *Collatia*; and there he reſided.) It was a kind of Diſpute, and in order to end it, they took the Method which Mirth and Wine inſpired; which was to mount their Horſes, and go and ſurprize their Wives. And it was agreed, that ſhe whom they found employ'd in a manner moſt worthy of her Sex, ſhould have the Preference. The three *Roman* Ladies were found together in the midſt of Feaſting and Diverſions; and ſeemed much diſconcerted by the unexpected Return of their Husbands. From *Rome* they haſten away to *Collatia*; and tho' the Night be far advanced, they find *Lucretia* up, with her Maids about her, ſpinning and working in Wool. The Company her Husband brings her of a ſudden, does not diſcompoſe her; and they are all pleaſed with the Reception ſhe gives them. Fatal Interview! Fatal to *Sextus*, to his Father, to his whole Family! Fatal to the unfortunate *Lucretia!* *Sextus* was even then unwilling to leave the Place; but there was an abſolute Neceſſity for his appearing at the Camp before *Ardea*. However, he finds a Pretence to return very ſoon to *Collatia*, and goes to lodge at his Kinſman's Houſe. *Lucretia*, in her Husband's Abſence, does the Honours of it with great Dignity. He ſups with her, and is conducted to his Apartment. And now a thouſand Thoughts break in upon him, to divert his criminal Reſolution. The Breach of Friendſhip, and of the Laws of Hoſpitality, the Diſhonour offered to an illuſtrious Family, who had Power to revenge the Injury. But what moſt diſheartens him, is the invincible Modeſty of *Lucretia*; that Steadineſs and Conſtancy in Virtue which would not ſuffer her to bear a Hint towards the leaſt Deviation from it; that decent Pride, which had hitherto ſtruck LUCRETIA.

 him

him with ſuch an Awe, that he durſt not ſo much as ſigh before her. But the Violence of his Paſſion ſurmounts every Difficulty. When all are aſleep, he ſteals into *Lucretia*'s Apartment, and paſſes ſoftly through her Women who lay at her Door. *Lucretia* wakes in a Surprize. He diſcovers who he is, and his Intent, threatens to murder her if ſhe reſiſts; and not only ſo, but to kill one of her Slaves, put him by her Side, and then declare to the World, that he had only revenged the injur'd Honour of *Collatinus*. ——The Love of Glory had made *Lucretia* chaſte; the Fear of Infamy, now makes her yield. So little Streſs is to be laid on the Principles of Pagan Virtue! Early the next Morning, *Sextus* appears again in the Camp: whilſt *Lucretia*, having eſcaped the Danger of Infamy, deſpiſes Life. She dreſſes her ſelf in Mourning, takes a Dagger under her Robe, writes to her Husband to meet her at her Father *Lucretius*'s Houſe, and comes to *Rome*. Tho' often ask'd, ſhe refuſes to tell the Reaſons of her Sorrow, but in a full Aſſembly of her Friends and Relations. Many of the Nobility crowd to the Houſe, and among the reſt, *P. Valerius* (afterwards *Poplicola*) and *Junius Brutus*, who ſeems to have waited for this Moment to throw off the Mask of Madneſs. When the Aſſembly is pretty numerous, ſhe addreſſes her ſelf to her Husband *Collatinus*, declares her own Shame, and his Diſhonour, and the treacherous Author of both. She tells them her firm Reſolution not to live, and conjures them to revenge her Death. She then embraces her Father and her Huſband, as if to take her laſt Farewel, and immediately ſtrikes the conceal'd Dagger into her Heart. She falls down, expiring at the Feet of her Relations; and the Blood which ſhe ſheds to atteſt her Innocence, or repair her Glory, ſerves likewiſe to cement the Union of thoſe illuſtrious Citizens who give Liberty to *Rome*. §. 40. For

BRUTUS.

whilſt ſo tragical a Diſaſter fills the Spectators with Amazement and Grief, *Brutus* comes to the dying Lady, draws the Ponyard out of her Boſom, and ſhewing it all bloody to the Aſſembly, ſays, *I ſwear by this Blood, which was once ſo untainted, and which nothing could pollute, but a deteſtable* Tarquin, *That I will purſue the* King, *the* Queen, *and their Children, with Fire and Sword, and will do my utmoſt to extirpate out of* Rome *a Race of Monſters, who diſhonour the* Roman *Throne. Ye Gods, I call you to witneſs this my Oath!*——He then preſents the Dagger to *Collatinus*, *Lucretius*, and *Valerius*, and engages them to take the ſame Oath. Theſe noble *Romans*, ſurprized at the unexpected Appearance of ſo much Wiſdom in an Idiot, look on him as inſpir'd, and ſubmit entirely to his Conduct. He then lets them know, that his Madneſs had been only counterfeited, adviſes them to defer lamenting the Death of *Lucretia* to another time, to think now only of revenging it, and to begin by ſhutting the Gates of *Rome*. *Lucretius* being Governor of it, this was eaſily done; and care was taken, that no body ſhould be permitted to go out of the City, to give notice at the Camp of what was doing. Then *Brutus*, cauſing the yet bleeding Body of *Lucretia* to be carried to the Place where the *Comitia* were held, and placing the Corpſe where it might be ſeen by every body, orders the People to be call'd together. When they are met, he aſcends *The Tribune*, and in an eloquent and nervous Speech lays before them the Importance of the Affair under Deliberation, enlarges on the Uſurpation, Tyranny, and Cruelty of *Tarquin*, then deſires them to turn their Eyes to the dead Body of *Lucretia*, repreſents the Enormity of *Sextus*'s Crime, and urges them to revenge at once all the Villanies of the whole Family, by extirpating the Race. The People, moved and animated by *Brutus*'s Oration, call out for Arms: but *Brutus* thinks it neceſſary that they ſhould firſt confirm by their Suffrages a Decree of the *Senate*, which condemn'd the *Tarquins*, and all their Poſterity, to perpetual Baniſhment, deprived them of all the Privileges belonging to the Regal Authority, and forbad every Citizen, upon pain of Death, to ſay or do any thing in their Favour. *Brutus*, by a ſurprizing Inſtance of Good-Fortune, happens to be legally inveſted with a Right of aſſembling the *Comitia*; (this Right was annexed to the Office of *Tribune*, or chief Commander of the *King*'s Horſe-Guards, which *Tarquin* had given him, becauſe he thought him incapable of uſing it to his Diſadvantage.) He therefore aſſembles the *Curiæ*, and all are unanimous in confirming the *Senate*'s Decree. §. 41. And now the Adminiſtration is reduced to an *Interregnum*, and the People, by another Vote, declare *Lucretius Inter-Rex*; ſo that it is his Buſineſs to prepare every thing for the Choice of new Governors. The next Queſtion is, what kind of Government is moſt eligible. And here again *Brutus* ſhews himſelf a conſummate Politician. *Experience*, ſays he, *has ſhew'd us in the Examples of* Romulus *and* Numa, *and other good* Kings, *that it is by no means proper, that* Rome *ſhould be without ſupreme Magiſtrates, to keep an even Balance of the* Senate's *and* People's *Power; but it is neceſſary that the Sovereign Authority ſhould neither center in one Man, nor be perpetual; let it be divided between two, who may jointly make the Intereſts of the Publick their chief Concern: they will be a check upon each other, and have a mutual Emulation in the Diſcharge of their Duty. But let us take particular care, not to continue their Power too long, leſt the Sweets of it ſhould tempt them to retain it. Let us change the very Names of* King *and* Kingdom, *and give the two Heads that are to govern us, the Name of* Conſuls, *and the* Roman *State that of* Republick. *Let us aboliſh the pom-*

Year of ROME

pous Enſigns of Regal Power, Sceptres, Crowns, and Royal Robes; let our Conſuls *only ſit on an Ivory Seat, wear a white Robe, and be attended by twelve* Lictors. *But what am I ſaying? I am not for utterly aboliſhing the venerable Name of* King, *which was conſecrated by the ſame Auſpices as* Rome *herſelf, at her Foundation. Let us give it to that Magiſtrate to whom we commit the Superintendency of Religion; let his Office be for Life, and let him be called* King of Sacred Things. The Heads of the Conſpiracy approve this Scheme, and the People, being again aſſembled by *Curiæ*, eſtabliſh the new Form of Adminiſtration by a Law. §. 42. But to loſe no Time, and to put the finiſhing Hand to the Revolution, the People are aſſembled once more, not *by Curiæ*, but *by Centuries*, and directed to come armed to the *Campus Martius*, in order to the Election of the two firſt *Conſuls*. *Brutus*, the Head of the Conſpiracy, and *Collatinus* the Husband of *Lucretia*, are propoſed to the People by *Lucretius*, the *Inter-Rex*, and unanimouſly choſen. Then the cruel *Tullia*, when ſhe ſaw her Huſband's Throne over-turn'd, and that ſhe could be no longer ſafe in *Rome*, left it, and went to *Tarquin*. She was hiſs'd by the Populace, as ſhe went thro' the City; but ſo monſtrous a Fury deſerved a worſe Treatment. In the mean time *Tarquin*, being informed by ſome who got out of *Rome* before the Gates were ſhut, that *Brutus* was raiſing ſome Commotions to his Prejudice, comes to the City, attended only by his Sons, and a few Friends; for he deſpiſed the Plots of a Madman. But *Lucretius* refuſes to open the Gates to him, when he appears; and on his Return to the Camp, he finds that *Valerius* and *Brutus* have in his Abſence been there, and gained over the Army to them; ſo that being both driven from his Capital, and rejected by his Troops, he is forced, at the Age of ſeventy-ſix, to fly for Refuge to *Cære*, a City of *Hetruria*, with only his Wife and his Sons *Arunx* and *Titus*. As for *Sextus*, he retires to *Gabii*, the Government of which he had uſurped, and where the Inhabitants take away his Life, in Revenge of his former Treachery and Cruelties.

CONSULS.

BOOK V.

243. §. 1. THE Baniſhment of the *Tarquins* delivers *Rome* from her domeſtick Tyrants; but it increaſes the Number of her Enemies abroad, and makes her loſe her Allies; for all the Nations in Confederacy with the *Romans* take the Part of the baniſhed *King*. Tho' the City it ſelf is much enlarged, and thronged with a prodigious Number of Inhabitants, yet the *Roman* Territory is ſurprizingly ſmall. In the Space of 240 Years, the ſeven *Kings* who had governed *Rome*, and had been always victorious over their Neighbours, had not, by an hundred Battles, gained Land enough to furniſh the City with Proviſions. So that ſhe is now almoſt in the ſame Condition as in the Time of *Romulus*; without any Extent of Dominion, and without Allies. §. 2. However, ſhe enjoys a profound Peace in the Beginning of the
244. new Adminiſtration. The *Conſuls* take an Oath of the People, in Behalf of themſelves and their Poſterity, never to replace either *Tarquin* or his Sons, or any of his Family, upon the Throne. A *King of the Sacrifices* is choſen, and many of the Laws of *Servius Tullius* are revived, to the great Joy of the People. The *Conſuls* turn their Thoughts next to ſecure the Senators, amongſt whom *Valerius* has great Intereſt. He had expected to be named *Conſul* at the firſt Election; and the Preference given to *Collatinus* had ſo much diſpleaſed him, that he had abſented himſelf from the Senate and publick Affairs, and began to be ſuſpected of favouring the baniſh'd *King*. But he removes theſe Apprehenſions, by the remarkable Zeal he ſhews for Liberty, when the Day comes for the Senators to take the ſame Oath which the People had done. §. 3. In the mean time the *Tarquins* are uſing their utmoſt Endeavours to ſtir up againſt *Rome*, both her old Enemies, and her new Allies. Having wandered from City to City, the old King at length makes *Tarquinia* the Centre of his Negotiations. By moving Words he engages the *Tarquinians* to ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, with a Letter from himſelf, directed to the *Roman* People. The Deputies arrive at *Rome*, and repreſent in ſuch ſtrong Terms the Reaſonableneſs of hearing their *King* before they condemn him, and the Danger which threatens them if they refuſe it, that the *Conſuls* are inclinable to bring the *Tarquinian* Embaſſadors before the People, and to leave the Deciſion of the Affair to the *Comitia*. But *Valerius*, aſhamed at their Weakneſs, ſtrenuouſly oppoſes the Motion, and by his Influence in the Senate defeats this firſt Attempt of the artful *Tarquin*. §. 4. As the Senate is, above all, concern'd for ever to exclude *Kings*, who had often oppreſs'd it, the *Conſuls* think it neceſſary to reſtore that venerable Body to all its Rights and Prerogatives, and to gain it the Reſpect of the People, as well by the Number, as by the Dignity of its Members. And for this Reaſon, wiſe Men, and Men of Intereſt, are ſought out, amongſt the *Roman* Knights, to fill up the vacant Places, and make up the antient Number of three hundred. The old Senators were called *Patres*, or *Fathers*; and becauſe theſe new ones are put upon the ſame Liſt with them, they

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PATRES CONSCRIPTI. they are call'd *Conſcripti, i. e.* Perſons *written* or *enrolled together* with them. §. 5. But tho' *Tarquin* the Father was odious both to People and *Patricians*, yet his Sons had a great Number of young Debauchees in their Intereſt; a Similitude of Manners having ty'd them to one another. The *Tarquins* building Hopes on theſe young Nobles, who regretted the Loſs of their Companions, prevail with the *Tarquinians* to ſend a ſecond Embaſſy to *Rome*, under Pretence of demanding the Eſtates of the Exiles; but the true Deſign of which is to ſpirit up a Faction to attempt the Lives of the *Conſuls*. The Ambaſſadors are admitted, and nothing can be more modeſt than the Demands of the baniſh'd *King*. He asks his paternal Eſtate; and on that Condition promiſes never to attempt the Recovery of the Crown by Force of Arms. The *Conſuls* are divided in Opinion. *Collatinus* is for complying with the Requeſt; but *Brutus* oppoſes it. The Affair having been long conſidered by the Senate, is at laſt brought before the People. *Brutus* endeavours to bring his Collegue under a Suſpicion of Treachery. However, the Opinion of *Collatinus* prevails in the *Comitia*; and it is carried by one Vote, that the *Tarquins* ſhall be put in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of their Family. §. 6. Whilſt the People are employ'd in loading Carriages with the Effects of the Exiles, and in ſelling what cannot be carried off, the Ambaſſadors find means to draw into a Plot againſt the *Conſuls*, ſome of their neareſt Relations. Theſe were three Senators of the *Aquilian* Family (the Sons of *Collatinus*'s Siſter) and two of the *Vitellii*, (whoſe Siſter *Brutus* had married;) and theſe latter engage *Titus* and *Tiberius*, the two Sons of *Brutus*, in the Conſpiracy. They all bind themſelves by ſolemn Oaths, with the dreadful Ceremony of drinking the Blood of a murther'd Man, and touching his Entrails. The Houſe of the *Aquilii* is their Place of Meeting, and there they all write Letters to the baniſh'd *King*, which are put into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors. But notwithſtanding a great deal of Precaution uſed by the Conſpirators, to keep the Secret from their Servants, *Vindicius* a Slave, and then Butler to the *Aquilii*, ſuſpecting his Maſter's Deſigns, ſtays at the Door of the Apartment, and thro' a Crevice ſees and hears all that paſſes. He dares not diſcloſe the Secret to either of the *Conſuls*, on account of their near Relation to the Conſpirators: But goes ſtrait to *Valerius*, and to him unburdens his Mind. *Valerius* takes the Slave under his Protection, and then his chief Care is to ſeize the Conſpirators Letters; and this he effects by the Help of his Brother *M. Valerius*, and of his Friends, Clients and Domeſticks; and has likewiſe the good Fortune to take all the Heads of the Conſpiracy Priſoners. §. 7. Early the next Morning the People are ſummon'd to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus* and his Collegue ſit on the Tribunal of Juſtice; and the Priſoners are ty'd to Stakes, with their Hands bound behind them. *Brutus* begins the Trial with the Examination of his two Sons. *Vindicius* appears againſt them, the Letters are read, the Proof is clear, and the Criminals are ſpeechleſs. Titus, *and* Tiberius, ſays the ſtern *Brutus*, *what have you to offer in your Defence?* The Queſtion is thrice propoſed. Their Silence confeſſes their Guilt, and their Tears are their only Plea. The major Part of the Senators are touch'd with Compaſſion; and a confuſed Murmur is heard among them, *Baniſh them, baniſh them. Collatinus*'s Eyes are bathed in Tears; and *Valerius*, as rigid as he is, has nothing to ſay. The whole Aſſembly trembles, and with Horror expects the Sentence. *Brutus* at length riſes up, and with a ſteady Voice, not interrupted by a Sigh, ſays, *Lictors, the reſt is your Part.* At theſe Words, the whole Aſſembly ſhriek, and the univerſal Conſternation is inexpreſſible. Diſtreſs is painted upon every Face, and the ſad Looks of the People plead for Pity. But neither theſe Interceſſions, nor the bitter Lamentations of the young Men, who call upon their Father by the moſt endearing Names, can ſoften the inflexible *Brutus*. The *Lictors* ſeize upon the Criminals, beat them with Rods, and then ſtrike off their Heads; *Brutus* all the Time gazing on the cruel Spectacle, with a ſteady Look, and a compoſed Countenance. §. 8. This Execution over, *Brutus* immediately quits the Tribunal, and leaves his Collegue to do the reſt. *Collatinus* is inclin'd to ſpare his Nephews the *Aquilii*. He allows the Priſoners a Day to clear themſelves, and orders their Slave *Vindicius* (the only Evidence againſt them) to be deliver'd up to his Maſters. But this raiſes the Indignation of the People, and the Zeal of *Valerius*, who had promiſed with an Oath to protect the Witneſs. In vain the *Lictors* attempt to force *Vindicius* from him. The People call out for *Brutus* to return to the *Comitia*. His Preſence makes the Priſoners tremble. He tells the People that what he had done was by virtue of his Authority over his Children: But that for the reſt of the Delinquents, it belong'd to them to determine their Fate. Accordingly, by a Decree of the *Curiæ* they all ſuffer as Rebels. Only as to the Ambaſſadors, Regard is had to the Law of Nations. As for *Vindicius*, he is adjudg'd worthy of that Liberty he had ſecur'd to the *Romans*; and beſides the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen, has the Reward of 25000 *Aſſes* of Braſs. And tho' the People had formerly decreed that the Eſtates of the *Tarquins* ſhould be reſtor'd to them; yet now the Senate order their Palace to be deſtroy'd, and their Lands to be diſtributed among indigent Citizens; the Publick only retaining a Piece of Ground near the *Campus Martius*, which the King had uſurp'd, and added to his Demeſnes.

Year of *ROME*

Plot diſcover'd by VINDICIUS.

Year of ROME The Piece of Ground being conſecrated to *Mars*, the People ſcrupled to houſe the Corn found upon it; ſo that, with ſome Trees, it was thrown into the *Tyber*, and the Water being low, it ſtopp'd in the Middle of the River, and began to form that fine Iſland which was call'd *Inſula ſacra*, after many Temples had been built on it. *Inſula ſacra.* §. 9. But the weak Conduct of *Collatinus*, with regard to the Conſpirators, having exaſperated the Minds of the People againſt him, *Brutus* takes Advantage of it to get him depoſed. However, being frank and open, he firſt threatens him, and then in an Aſſembly of the People declaims againſt him as a Favourer of the *Tarquins*, orders the *Curiæ* to deliberate upon his Depoſition, and declares his Reſolution to quit the *Conſulſhip*, if *Collatinus* be longer ſuffer'd to ſhare the Authority with him. In vain does *Collatinus* reproach *Brutus* with betraying his Friend, and defaming his Collegue. In vain does he forbid the People to aſſemble, as his Collegue had appointed: Their Reſentments are raiſed to ſuch a Height, that they ſeem diſpoſed to depoſe *Collatinus* by Violence. But at length *Lucretius* (who is ſaid to be the firſt private Man who ever obtain'd Leave of the *Conſuls* to make a Speech in the *Comitia*) addreſſes himſelf to his Son-in-law *Collatinus*, and adviſes him to a voluntary Abdication, and Retirement to a private Life. Then he exhorts *Brutus* not to carry his Reſentments to Extremity againſt his Collegue; and the *Romans* to mitigate the Uneaſineſs of his voluntary Reſignation, by their Liberality, ſo as to enable him to ſupport the Dignity of a *Roman Conſul* in his Retirement. This Advice is receiv'd with univerſal Applauſe. *Collatinus* reſigns; *Brutus* commends his Wiſdom, and procures him a Preſent of twenty Talents out of the publick Treaſury, to which he adds five of his own, to ſhew that he has no perſonal Enmity to him. §. 10. *Brutus* immediately aſſembles the People by *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of a new *Conſul*, and they chuſe *P. Valerius*, a Man remarkable for Eloquence, the Talent of reconciling Differences, an exceſſive Abſtemiouſneſs, Severity to himſelf, and Compaſſion for the Miſeries of other Men. And now the two *Conſuls*, equally eminent for their Love of the Publick Good, begin their joint Adminiſtration, by paſſing a Law which grants a general Amneſty to all thoſe who had followed the Fortune of the *Tarquins*, provided they return to the City in twenty Days; and this brings back a great Number of excellent Subjects to *Rome*. But nothing can ſo far diſcourage the ambitious *Tarquin*, but that he ſtill hopes to recover the Throne by Force. He goes about ſoliciting the neighbouring Nations, and engages the *Veientes* and *Tarquinians* to unite their Forces in the Support of his Cauſe. The Royaliſts firſt take the Field: But as ſoon as they are entered into the *Roman* Territory, the *Conſuls* march out their Troops to meet them. §. 11. When the two Armies are in Sight of each other, *Brutus* advances with his Cavalry, in hopes of bringing the Enemy to an Engagement by Skirmiſhes. *Arunx*, one of *Tarquin*'s Sons, is boldly coming on at the ſame time with a Party of Horſe; ſo that the two Generals diſcover each other. *Arunx* immediately cries out, *There is that Enemy of our Family, that Uſurper of my Father's Throne.* This ſaid, he puſhes on his Horſe, and *Brutus* flies to meet him. The two Combatants level their Javelins, and, following the Dictates of Hatred and Paſſion, ruſh on without Precaution againſt each other, and are both run thro' the Body. The Horſes throw their dying Riders; and the Loſs of the two Generals is the Prelude of the Battle. The two Armies engage; the Succeſs is dubious, and the Number of the ſlain equal on both Sides, when Night puts an End to the Action. It is uncertain in the two Camps which Side has gain'd the Victory. A Report is ſpread, That a Voice was heard out of the Wood *Arſius*, declaring the *Romans* Conquerors: But, whether this was a Stratagem of *Valerius*, or not, it is certain that the *Romans* had more Conſtancy and Reſolution than their Enemies, who left their Camp in Confuſion, disbanded, and return'd into their own Country. Upon which *Valerius*, who remained ſole Maſter of the Field of Battle, ordered the ſlain to be numbered; and it was found that the *Hetrurians* had loſt 11300 Men, and the *Romans* but one Man ſhort of that Number. §. 12. But this Succeſs did not comfort *Rome* for the Loſs of *Brutus*. The firſt Funeral Honours were pay'd him in the Camp; but the next Day after *Valerius*'s Triumph, his Corpſe was brought into the *Forum* in a magnificent Litter, and *Valerius* mounting the *Tribune*, then gave *Rome* the firſt Example of thoſe Funeral Orations, which were ever after made in Praiſe of Great Men. §. 13. As *Valerius*, for ſome Reaſons, defers aſſembling the People for the Election of a new *Conſul*, it begins to raiſe a Diſtruſt of him, and the People impute his Delays to ſome ambitious Deſign. Theſe Murmurs ſeem to be authoriſed by his then building a fine Houſe on a ſteep Part of the Hill *Palatinus*, which commanded the *Forum Romanum*. The People conſider it as a Citadel, whence the new Monarch is to command the City. But as ſoon as *Valerius* is informed of this Uneaſineſs amongſt the People, he comes to a ſecret Reſolution, and the very next Night ſends a great Number of Workmen to pull down the Houſe to the Ground; and calling the People together as ſoon as it is Day, expoſtulates with them about their unjuſt Suſpicions, bids them go ſee the Ruins of his Houſe, and acquaints them that he had made Choice of the Valley to fix his Habitation there,

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.

that

that from the Top of the Hill, where his other Houſe had been building, they might cruſh him with Stones, if he was ſtill the Object of their Jealouſy. This ſaid, he orders the *Comitia* to aſſemble for the Election of a new *Conſul*, in which he leaves them entirely free. *Lucretius*, the Father of the famous *Lucretia*, is choſen; but dies ſoon after. The People, as they come out of the *Comitia*, being aſhamed of having ſuſpected *Valerius*, compliment him with a large Ground-Plot, in an agreeable Place, and there build him a Houſe. §. 14. The ſenſible Proofs which *Valerius* (in the Interval between the Death of *Lucretius*, and the Election of a new *Conſul*) gives the People, of his Zeal for their Intereſt, gain him the Surname of *Poplicola*; and he is called by no other ever after. He orders the *Axes*, which were ſo apt to ſtrike Terror, to be taken out of the *Faſces*, which the *Lictors* are alſo commanded to lower in the Aſſemblies of the People. A Law is paſs'd, whereby every Criminal is allow'd to appeal to the People. Another, exempting Artificers, Widows, and Old Men who had no Children to relieve them, from paying Tribute. A third, limiting the Penalty for diſobeying the *Conſuls*, to the Value of five Oxen, and two Rams. A fourth, permitting any one who ſhould know of a form'd Deſign of uſurping Regal Power, to kill the Author of it, without waiting till he was legally condemned; and ſo likewiſe, in the Caſe of uſurping a publick Office without the Peoples Conſent. But what entirely wins *Poplicola* the Hearts of the People, is his transferring from himſelf the Care of the publick Treaſure, to two Officers of their Choice, who were called *Quæſtors*. He orders it to be remov'd from his Houſe to the Temple of *Saturn*, where it was ever after lodg'd. And now having done all he deſir'd towards diminiſhing the *Conſular* Authority, he aſſembles the People in the *Campus Martius*, for the Election of a new *Conſul*, to be his Collegue; and the Choice falls upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. §. 15. When this firſt Year of the *Conſular* Power is expired, the *Romans* think fit, becauſe of the preſent critical Situation of their Affairs, to chuſe *Poplicola* again; and with him they join *Sp. Lucretius*, the Brother of the famous *Lucretia*. They begin their Government by reviving the old Inſtitutions, of King *Servius Tullius*, the *Cenſus* and the *Luſtrum*. As the *Romans* are moſt apprehenſive of a War from the *Latin* Quarter, the *Conſuls*, at a great Expence, fortify *Sinquirinum*, a convenient Poſt on that Side: And the Precaution is not uſeleſs; for in a little time *Porſena*, King of *Cluſium* in *Hetruria*, ſends a haughty and threatening Embaſſy to the *Romans*, requiring them either to reſtore the *Tarquins* to the Throne, or to give them back their Eſtates. But the firſt is abſolutely refuſed, and the ſecond is ſaid to be impracticable; a Part of thoſe Eſtates being conſecrated to *Mars*, and the reſt divided among indigent People, from whom they cou'd not be recover'd. While the Thoughts of the *Romans* are employ'd about making a brave Defence, the Time comes for electing new *Conſuls*, and *Poplicola* is choſen a third time; and with him *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been *Conſul* for a few Months. §. 16. *Porſena*, attended by his Son *Arunx* and the *Tarquins*, marches towards *Rome* with a formidable Army, and is joined by a conſiderable Body of *Latins*, under the Command of *Mamilius*, *Tarquin the Proud*'s Son-in-law. The *Conſuls* make the Peaſants carry their Effects into ſtrong Holds, and they endeavour to ſecure the Hill *Janiculus*, which overlooked *Rome*, and was its only Fortification on the other Side the *Tyber*. And to keep the Populace in Temper and Spirit, they make ſeveral agreeable Regulations with reſpect to Taxes, Proviſions, *&c.* So that as all are ſenſible of the Difference of the preſent Government from the former; they are equally zealous to avoid Servitude; and Concord reign'd in *Rome* even in the Time of the Famine, during the Siege. §. 17. *Porſena* ſoon diſplays his Banners along the *Tyber*. He attacks the Fort of the *Janiculus*, and drives the *Romans* out of it. Upon this, the *Conſuls* make all their Troops paſs the River, and draw them up in Order of Battel, to defend the Bridge. *Porſena* advances to engage them. The Battel is for a long time doubtful; but *Poplicola*, (who commanded the Center) and *T. Lucretius*, (who was at the Head of the Left Wing) being both unfortunately wounded, a general Terror ſeizes the whole Army. The Bridge is in a moment covered with Fugitives, who ſtrive to gain the City. In vain does *Horatius Cocles*, a brave *Roman*, endeavour to rally the terrified *Legions*. However, he reſolves to be the laſt that flies. *Sp. Lartius* and *T. Herminius*, (who had commanded the Right Wing) join the gallant *Horatius*, and make a reſolute ſtand againſt the Enemy, till the Fugitives have all got over the Bridge, and then (theſe three Heroes poſting themſelves in the narrow Paſs, which led to it, to hinder the Enemy from purſuing them) *Horatius* calls out to the *Romans* to break it down. In the mean time, the Heaps of dead Bodies which fall by the Hands of the three brave Officers, make a kind of Rampart for them. The Demolition of the Bridge being almoſt completed, *Horatius* intreats his Companions to leave him, and croſs the River on a few Planks which remain'd. Then for a while he ſuſtains alone the Attack of the Enemy, till being wounded in the Thigh, and the Signal being given, that the Bridge was quite demoliſhed, he leaps into the River, and ſwims acroſs, amidſt a Shower of Darts. Thus *Cocles* ſaved the Republick from Ruin; and the *Romans* being ſenſible of it, erected a Statue of Braſs to

Year of *ROME*

QUÆSTORS.

2d CONSULSHIP. 245.

PORSENA.

3d CONSULSHIP. 246.

HORATIUS COCLES.

Year of *ROME* him in the *Forum.* And tho' there was a great Scarcity in *Rome*, yet all the Inhabitants, Men, Women, and Children, aſſeſſed themſelves to the value of what each ſpent in a Day, to make him a Preſent. But notwithſtanding this, becauſe he had but one Eye, and continued lame the remaining Part of his Life, theſe Defects prevented his ever being elected *Conſul:* So careful were the *Romans* in thoſe Days, that no Perfection of Mind or Body ſhould be wanting in thoſe whom they placed at the Head of the Republick. §. 18. The *Romans* being greatly diſtreſſed by Famine, *Porſena* ſends them word, that if they will receive their old Maſters, he will furniſh them with Proviſions; but they return for Anſwer, *That Hunger is a leſs Evil than Slavery and Oppreſſion.* In the mean time, the *Conſuls* form a Scheme to draw the Enemy into an Ambuſcade; and to that Purpoſe ſpread at *Rome* a Report, which is carried to the *Hetrurian* Camp by ſome Slaves who deſert, that the next Day all the Cattel brought thither from the Country, will be ſent to Paſture under a Guard. The Project ſucceeds; this Bait draws the Enemy into an Ambuſh, and five thouſand of them are kill'd. §. 19. *Rome* is wearied out with a long Siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman* of illuſtrious Birth, and great Innocence of Life, forms a Deſign for the Relief of his Country. He communicates it to the *Conſuls* and *Senate*, and deſires, as his only Recompence, That in caſe he falls in the dangerous Attempt to ſerve his Country, his Zeal may not be buried in Oblivion, but proclaim'd after his Death. He dreſſes himſelf in an *Hetrurian* Habit, takes a Ponyard under his Robe, and coming as a Deſerter to the Enemy's Camp, mixes with the Soldiers, and makes his way quite to the *King*'s Tent. It happens to be the Day on which the Troops are reviewed and paid. A Secretary of State, magnificently dreſſed, is ſitting on the ſame Tribunal with the *King*, giving Audience, and receiving Petitions. *Mucius* miſtakes him for the *King* himſelf, leaps upon the Tribunal, and with one Stroke of his Ponyard, lays him dead at the *King*'s Feet. He then attempts to eſcape, but is ſeized, and brought back to the Preſence of *Porſena*, who asks him his Name, who he is, and his Accomplices. *Mucius*, with a haughty Countenance that ſtrikes more Terror than it expreſſes Fear, tells him, *That he is a* Roman, *and that* Roman *Bravery made him capable of attempting whatever Man could do, and of ſuffering whatever Man could endure. Porſena* is fill'd with Amazement at this Anſwer; but is yet more ſurprized, when he ſees him with a ſteady Countenance, and a Look which teſtify'd his inward Rage at having miſſed his Aim, thruſt his Right Hand into a Pan of burning Coals, and there let it broil, without ſhewing any Signs of Pain. The *King*'s Reſentment is changed into Admiration; he grants him Life and Liberty, and even reſtores him the Dagger with which *Mucius* had deſign'd to ſtab him. *Mucius* having now loſt the Uſe of his Right Hand, takes it with his Left, and has thence the Name of *Scævola*, i.e. *Left-handed.* And now, in his turn, he is charmed with the Generoſity of *Porſena*; yet has Preſence of Mind even in the Tranſport of his Joy, to invent, for the Service of his Country, what he thinks an innocent Lye. He pretends to be mov'd by the *King*'s Generoſity, to diſcover to him a Secret, which, he ſaid, no Torments could have extorted from him: *That three hundred* Romans, *all as reſolute as himſelf, and who were diſperſed in the* Hetrurian *Camp, had bound themſelves by the moſt ſacred Oaths, to attempt his Life one after another, at the ſame hazard that he had done. Porſena*, ſtruck with Terror at the hearing this Account, but yet more with Admiration of the *Roman* Magnanimity, inclines to Peace; for which his Son *Arunx*, a great Admirer of the *Roman* Virtue, is very zealous. Deputies are ſent to *Rome*, who inſiſt no longer on the Reſtoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the Reſtitution of their Eſtates, or an Equivalent. And as to the *Hetrurian* Nation, they require that the *Romans* ſhould reinſtate the *Veientes* in the Poſſeſſion of ſeven Villages taken from them in former Wars. *Poplicola*, zealous to have the People reliev'd in their Miſery, prevails with the *Senate* to comply with all the Conditions: but the People themſelves refuſe to conſent to the firſt Article, till *Porſena* has heard their Cauſe pleaded againſt the *Turquins*; and to his Arbitration they leave it. As to the ſecond, they readily agree to it, and promiſe Hoſtages for their Fidelity. §. 20. A Truce is made. The *Romans* ſend Deputies to plead their Cauſe, and at the ſame time, ten young Virgins, and as many Boys, of the beſt Families in *Rome*, for Hoſtages. But the *Tarquins* refuſe to admit *Porſena* for a Judge between them and the *Romans.* However, he reſolves to inform himſelf in the Affair, and aſſociates his Son *Arunx* for the hearing and deciding it. But as the Cauſe is juſt Opening, News is brought, that the young Women, ſent as Hoſtages, had ventured to ſwim croſs the *Tyber*, and were return'd to *Rome.* They had gone to bathe in the River, and *Clælia*, who was one of them, happening to turn her Eyes towards her native City, took a longing to go back to it. The reſt, encouraged by her Example, follow'd her, and they all got ſafe to the oppoſite Shore. When the Truth of the Matter is known, it ſerves only to increaſe the Eſteem which *Porſena* and *Arunx* have for the *Roman* Bravery. But *Poplicola* is very uneaſy at the Return of the young Women, of whom his own Daughter *Valeria* is one. He diſpatches a Deputation to the *Hetrurian* Camp, to excuſe the Folly of the Girls, and promiſes

MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

CLÆLIA.

to

to ſend them back. The *Tarquins* having notice of their Return; lay in wait, with a great Body of Horſe, to ſurprize them. But *Poplicola* having put himſelf at the Head of their weak Guard, ſuſtains the Attack with incredible Valour, while his Daughter *Valeria*, exceedingly terrified, rides full ſpeed to the *Hetrurian* Camp, and gives notice of the Danger her Father is in. *Arunx*, with a good Body of Cavalry, flies to his Relief, and the *Tarquins* are ſoon routed. §. 21. This Treachery of the *Tarquins* gives *Porſena* a ſtrong Suſpicion of the Badneſs of their Cauſe. He ſummons all the chief Commanders of his Army, and in their Preſence hears the Complaints of the *Romans*; who enlarge on all the Crimes committed by the Tyrants; the Aſſaſſination of *King Servius*, the Uſurpation of an elective Crown, and the Violence offered to the chaſte *Lucretia*. The *Hetrurians* are fill'd with Horror. *Porſena* renounces all Alliance with the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*; and orders them to leave his Camp. He then commands the ten young Virgins to be brought before him, and enquires who was the firſt Author of their Enterprize. *Clælia*, with a fearleſs Air, confeſſes that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had embolden'd the reſt by her Advice. The *King*, as much ſurprized with her Steadineſs as with her Courage, addreſſes himſelf to her in a gracious manner, extols her Adventure above the Bravery of *Horatius*, and the Intrepidity of *Mucius*, and makes her a Preſent of a fine Horſe with ſumptuous Furniture. After this, he reſtores the *Romans* all the Hoſtages he had demanded of them, and tells the *Conſul*, that he looks upon his Probity as the beſt Guarantee. And now being to return to *Cluſium*, he ſignalizes his Departure with an Act of Liberality, the more to be admired, the leſs Appearance it has of Affectation. Knowing the great Scarcity of Proviſions among the *Romans*, and yet fearing to give them Offence, by relieving them in a direct manner, he orders his *Hetrurians* to leave both their Tents and Proviſions behind them, and to carry nothing away with them but their Arms. *Rome* was by this much relieved in her Wants; and the *Romans*, to ſhew their Gratitude for a Preſent ſo genteely made, took up a Cuſtom, whenever any Effects belonging to the Publick were to be ſold, of proclaiming them by a Herald, in the following Words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *Goods*; the Intention of which, was to expreſs, That the Republick was indebted to *Porſena* for all ſhe poſſeſſed; and further, that the Effects to be ſold, would be ſold cheap. Nay, more than this, the *Senate* erected a Statue of him near the *Comitium*, and ſent an Embaſſy to him with a Preſent of a Throne, a Sceptre, a Crown of Gold, and a triumphant Robe. §. 22. And now the *Romans* think of rewarding thoſe who had behaved themſelves well in the Siege. Particularly, *Mucius Scævola* has a large Piece of Ground given him, and a Statue erected to his Honour. Their next Care is to ſhew their Gratitude to the Gods, by ſome publick Act of Religion. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was now finiſh'd, and needed only to be dedicated. It naturally belong'd to one of the *Conſuls* to perform the Ceremony; and it muſt prove an immortal Honour to whoſoever ſhould do it. Had the Election of the Conſecrator been in the People, *Poplicola* would undoubtedly have carried it. But it was the *Senate*'s Right to nominate the Man; and they being grown envious, and jealous of *Poplicola*, ſend him upon a ſlight Expedition againſt the *Latins*, and in his Abſence commiſſion his Collegue to dedicate the Temple. Juſt as *Horatius* is beginning, at the Gate of it, to read the Form of Conſecration, one of *Poplicola*'s Party cries out, *I give you notice, that your Son is kill'd in Battel; ſo that you are performing an Office which, by the Law of the* Pontifices, *is forbidden the Head of any Family in Mourning*. The *Conſul* replies coldly, *Then let him be buried*; and finiſhes the Conſecration without any ſhew of Concern. But thus *Poplicola* ends his third glorious *Conſulſhip*, with receiving a ſenſible Mortification. §. 23. And no Neceſſities of State obliging the People to continue him longer in Office, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, (who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the War with *Porſena*) are choſen *Conſuls* for the next Year. But this proving a Year of Peace, thoſe brave Men gain no other Glory in their Adminiſtration, but that of ſhewing the neighbouring Nations that the *Romans* are a grateful People. *Arunx* the Son of *Porſena*, being a lovely Prince, and form'd for Heroiſm upon the Model of *Roman* Virtue, his Father was deſirous to gain him ſome Glory, before he disbanded his Troops, and therefore gave him the Command of them, while he himſelf return'd to *Cluſium*. The young Prince, eager to gain a firſt Victory, falls furiouſly upon the *Aricians*, and routs them; but is afterwards defeated by a Stratagem of the *Cumæans*, their Allies, commanded by more experienc'd Officers. He loſes his Life; and his ſcatter'd Troops take Refuge in the Villages about *Rome*. The *Conſuls* invite them to the City, ſend Carriages for the wounded, provide for their Cure at the publick Expence, and allot a Quarter of the City for thoſe of them who are willing to ſettle in it. It was afterwards called *Tuſcan* or *Hetrurian Street*.

Year of *ROME*

The *Temple* of JUP. CAP. finiſhed.

4th CONSULSHIP.

247.

But the Dominion of *Rome*, ſince the new-modelling of her Government, being (as has been obſerved before) ſtraitned within a very narrow Territory, and ſhe being utterly deſtitute of Allies, and always apprehenſive leſt the ill-extinguiſh'd Fire of the Royaliſt Party ſhould break out into a new Flame, the *Sabines* reſolve to take

Year of ROME Advantage of her Weakneſs, and to put it out of the Power of this imperious City to give Law any more to her Neighbours. §. 24. Such is the Situation of the Republick, when *M. Valerius* [Brother of *Poplicola*] and *P. Poſthumius* are nominated *Conſuls*. They firſt ſend Envoys to demand Satisfaction of the *Sabines*, for the Ravages committed by them on the *Roman* Lands, but receiving only a contemptuous Anſwer, *M. Valerius* marches againſt the Aggreſſors, ſurprizes, aud makes a great Slaughter of them. But this is only a Beginning of the War. At length both Armies appear in the Field. The *Roman* Forces are divided into two Bodies, commanded ſeparately by the two *Conſuls*. *Poſthumius* encamps near *Rome*, to prevent a Surprize from the *Tarquins*, (who had ſtill many Friends in the City.) *M. Valerius* encamps near the *Anio*, the Enemy being poſted on the oppoſite Shore. That Part of the River, near which they lay, being, by an Accident, found fordable, *Valerius* makes all his Troops paſs, and draws them up in Battalia on the ſame Side with the Enemy. A general Engagement enſues. *Valerius*, aſſiſted by the Counſels of his Brother, gains ſome Advantage with his Right Wing, whilſt his Left loſes Ground, and is almoſt puſh'd into the River. *Poſthumius* having notice of the Action, comes ſeaſonably to the Relief of the *Romans*, recovers the Day; and they would have obtain'd a complete Victory, if the Night had not put an end to the Battel. This was the firſt Advantage which *Rome* gain'd over her Enemies, after ſhe became a Republick, and it revived the old *Roman* Confidence. The two Generals were decreed a Triumph; but they both entered *Rome* in the ſame Chariot. *Valerius* having gain'd two Victories over the *Sabines* the ſame Year, the *Romans*, as a further Reward, build him a Houſe at the publick Expence, *the Door opening outwards to the Street*; whereas the Doors of all other Houſes opened inwards. The Deſign of this Diſtinction was not only to do him Honour, but to put him in mind, as often as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the Publick for his Houſe. As for *Poſthumius*, he was honoured with a Privilege, never before granted to any, which was, *to have a Burial-place for himſelf and his Family, within the Walls of* Rome. Thus did the firſt *Romans* keep up an Emulation among their Generals, rather by giving them diſtinguiſhing Marks of Honour, than ſubſtantial Rewards. They did not heap Wealth upon them; but taught them to prefer the Glory, which attends great Actions, to exorbitant Riches, which often give Umbrage, and are always odious in a Republick. §. 25. The *Sabines* preparing to attack *Rome* again, in a national Body, in Conjunction with the *Latins*; the *Romans* think it adviſeable to chuſe *Poplicola*, *Conſul*, a fourth time, and they once more join *T. Lucretius* with him. But it happening at this time, that ſome Women are delivered of monſtrous, or imperfect Births, the People give way to Superſtition, and are unwilling to enter upon Action, imagining by theſe Preſages, that it muſt prove a fatal Year. Upon this, *Poplicola* cauſes the *Sybil*'s Books to be conſulted, interprets them to the beſt Senſe, orders Sacrifices to *Pluto*, the Feſtivals and Sports to be revived, and thus by artful Management removes the publick Fears. §. 26. In the mean while, the Storm ſtill threatens *Rome* on the Side of the *Sabines*. One of the *Tarquins* had put in motion, by his Intrigues, the Turbulent and Factious in their Aſſemblies. *Poplicola* endeavours therefore to bear down the Intereſt of the baniſh'd *King*, by Negotiation. He gains over ACTIUS CLAUSUS, (the moſt conſiderable Man in *Sabinia*, and of the greateſt Talents and Merit) to oppoſe the Deſign of renewing the War. But the *Sabines* put a bad Conſtruction on the good Underſtanding he has with the *Romans*; and their Jealouſy and Diſtruſt come to ſuch a height, that they talk of nothing leſs, than citing him as a Traitor to appear before the States General. *Clauſus*, enraged at this unjuſt Treatment, has thoughts of arming his Friends and Clients, and of beginning a civil War. Nothing could have been more advantageous to *Rome*. But *Poplicola* diſſuades him from polluting his Hands with the Blood of his Countrymen, tells him, That the moſt honourable and moſt effectual Way to be revenged on them, will be to leave them; That a Man of his Conſequence, Abilities, and Virtues, will ſoon be miſſed; and that *Rome* offered him a Retreat and Protection both for himſelf and Followers. *Clauſus* is a while in Suſpence, but at length chuſes rather to act a proud, than an angry Part, and removes to *Rome*. There, he changes his Name to *Appius Claudius*, is immediately declar'd a *Patrician*, and takes his Place in the *Senate*. Twenty five Acres of Land are given him in Fee, and a Quarter in the City aſſign'd for his Friends and Followers, whoſe Number amounted to five thouſand. And theſe Donations are made irrevocable by a Decree of the *Senate*, confirm'd by the Suffrages of the People. §. 27. The *Sabines*, enraged at the Retreat of *Clauſus* to *Rome*, defer no longer to take the Field. Their Army is divided into two Bodies, one of which encamps near *Fidenæ*, the other ſhuts itſelf up in that Town, which is but five Miles from *Rome*. *Poplicola* and *Lucretius* make a like Diviſion of the *Roman* Troops, and encamp advantageouſly near each other. The *Romans* having no Opportunity for Stratagems, are eager to engage. But the *Sabines* dare not come to a Battel by Daylight. Their General (who is ſaid to have been one of *Tarquin*'s Sons) forms a Deſign to attack *Poplicola*'s Camp in the dead of the Night, while the Troops of

249. 6th CONSULSHIP.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS.

Fidenæ, light arm'd, are to march out, and fetching a large Compaſs, come behind and ſurprize *Lucretius*'s Camp, as ſoon as he leaves it to go to the Succour of his Colegue; and then thoſe ſame Troops are to charge *Lucretius* in the Rear, or at leaſt terrify him by their Shouts. But the cautious *Poplicola* has timely Intelligence of theſe Deſigns, and takes proper Meaſures to make them fatal to the Enemy. He gives *Lucretius* notice of the Night-Expedition; it is agreed between them, to ſhew no Marks of ſuſpecting the Enemy's Intention; and in the beginning of the Night all Fires are put out in both the *Roman* Camps. The *Sabines* march ſilently towards *Poplicola*'s Entrenchments, fill up the Ditch with Faſcines, and paſs over to ſcale the Rampart; but as faſt as they draw near to it, they are ſtabb'd by the *Roman* Troops, who, unſeen, are poſted on the Outſide of it, in the Space between it and the Ditch. They ſuffer a great Slaughter, before the Moon riſing diſcovers their Error. Then a Fright ſeizes them, they all fly, the *Romans* purſue them with loud Shouts, which are heard in *Lucretius*'s Camp. He marches out againſt the Enemies, who lay in Ambuſh behind it, and gains an eaſy Victory over terrified, and in a manner unarmed Men. In a word, both Bodies of the *Sabine* Army diſperſe themſelves, and return home. 13000 *Sabines* were found dead upon the Spot, and 4200 were made Priſoners. §. 28. What now remain'd, was to reduce *Fidenæ*, which had been often ſubdued, and had as often rebelled. *Poplicola* undertakes to ſcale the Walls himſelf, on that Side where the City is thought moſt impregnable. He takes it by Aſſault, puts to death the Heads of the Revolt, but ſpares the reſt of the Inhabitants, only placing a *Roman* Garriſon among them, and obliging them to ſurrender to it a Part of their Lands for its Support. He then returns to *Rome*, and is honoured with a Triumph. §. 29. *Poplicola* has ſcarce reſign'd the *Conſulſhip* into the Hands of *P. Poſthumius*, (now choſen a ſecond time) and *Menenius Agrippa*, but he is ſeiz'd with a Diſtemper, and dies, as deſtitute of the Goods of Fortune, as full of Glory. His chief Care had been to tranſmit his Virtues to his Children, and not to enrich them. Tho' he had been four times *Conſul*, and had enjoyed two Triumphs, yet he left little elſe to his Poſterity, but a noble Model for their Imitation: So that he was buried at the Publick Expence, not ſo much by way of Diſtinction, as on account of his Poverty. The *Romans* erected a Tomb for him near the *Forum*, and gave his Family a Right of Interment in the ſame Place. But as the *Valerii* always affected Popularity, they never made uſe of this Privilege. The Bodies of thoſe of them who died in *Rome*, were only firſt carried to that Sepulchre of *Poplicola*, and afterwards convey'd without the Walls, to be there burnt, and their Bones were depoſited in a Tomb without the City. As *Poplicola* had been one of thoſe who had ſtood up in Defence of the Chaſtity of the *Roman* Ladies, they went into a ten Months Mourning for him, as they had done before for *Brutus*.

Year of *ROME* 250.

7th CONSULSHIP.

BOOK VI.

§. 1. THE Death of *Poplicola* revives the Courage of the *Sabines*; they take the Field again the ſame Year, encamp their main Body behind a Foreſt, and ſend Detachments to pillage as far as the Gates of *Rome*. This Inſolence provokes the *Conſul Poſthumius*; he ſallies out upon the Pillagers, who fly and make their Way to the Foreſt. The *Romans* purſue the Fugitives in Diſorder. The latter rally, face about, and give the Signal to the Army, which lies conceal'd behind the Wood. *Poſthumius* finds, too late, that he has to do with the whole *Sabine* Strength, and that his Retreat is cut off by a Body of *Sabines* poſted on a Hill, which muſt be paſſed in his Return to *Rome*. The Night comes on ſeaſonably, to prevent his total Deſtruction; and the next Morning *Menenius*, with the braveſt of the *Roman* Youth, appears advancing to his Relief. The *Sabines* immediately retire to their former Poſt, proud of the Advantage they had gain'd, and of the Spoils and Slaves they had carried off. They ſoon after ſend a Summons, requiring the *Roman* Republick to receive their baniſh'd *King*, and to ſubmit to be govern'd by the *Sabines*. The Anſwer of the Senate and People is, That they command the *Sabines* to their Duty; and that if they deſir'd Peace, they ſhould come in a ſuppliant manner, and ask Pardon for their Attempts againſt the Authority of their Maſters. Theſe mutual Bravadoes are follow'd by a ſerious War, in which both Parties bring all their Strength into the Field, and encamp near *Eretum*, a City of the *Sabines*, about ten Miles from *Rome*. The whole Night before the Battle, the *Romans* imagine they ſee Flames on the Tops of their *Pila*, (a Sort of Halberds;) and this gives them freſh Courage. *Menenius* commands the right Wing, and *Poſthumius* the left. The latter, to repair his Honour, throws himſelf, like one deſperate, into the thickeſt of the Enemy, and does prodigious Feats of Valour. His Example rouzes *Menenius*, who was acting more faintly; he encourages his Men by his Example, and, in ſhort, the *Conſuls* obtain a complete Victory. §. 2. But the

Pila.

Senate

Year of *ROME*

Senate having deliberated concerning the Reception to be given them at their Return, think it neceſſary to make a Diſtinction in their Rewards. They invent therefore a ſecond Kind of Triumph, in which the Perſon honoured with it is to enter *Rome* on Foot, or at beſt on Horſeback, attended only by the Senate; his Crown is to be of Myrtle, and his Robe only the *Prætexta*, the common Habit of Magiſtrates. And this Sort of Triumph, call'd OVATIO, is decreed *Poſthumius*. The modeſt *Conſul* accepts it, and enters *Rome* two Days before his Collegue, who is honoured with

OVATIO.

251. a Triumph in all its Magnificence and Pomp. §. 3. *Sp. Caſſius*, and *Opiter Virginius*, the *Conſuls* of the ſucceeding Year, divide their Troops; and *Caſſius* is commiſſioned to give the *Sabines* the laſt Blow. He defeats them in a pitch'd Battle, in the Heart of their Country, kills 10300 of them, and takes 4000 Priſoners. They ſue for Peace, and obtain it upon Conditions. This was the firſt complete Conqueſt made by *Rome* ſince it became a Republick. §. 4. In the mean time, *Virginius* marches with his Body of Troops, and ſurprizes *Camerium*, a Town of *Latium*, which had revolted from the *Romans*. He takes it by Aſſault, beheads the moſt guilty of the Citizens, ſells the reſt by Auction, and razes the City. However, as this was only a Reduction of Rebels, with little Danger, *Virginius* is not honoured with a

8th CONSULSHIP.

Sabines *totally ſubdued.*

252. Triumph, as *Caſſius* is, for his deciſive Victory over the *Sabines*. §. 5. A youthful Prank of ſome *Sabine* Debauchees, during the publick Games at *Rome*, is like to break the Union between the *Romans* and *Sabines*, in the Beginning of the Adminiſtration of *Poſtumus Cominius* and *T. Lartius*; but a more important Affair engroſſes all their Attention. *Mamilius*, *Tarquin*'s Son-in-law, endeavours to engage the *Latins* in their Diets, call'd *Feriæ Latinæ*, to declare for the exil'd Party. *Valerius*, as Deputy from *Rome*, goes to the Diet held at *Ferentinum*, demands the chief Seat there as his Place, reminds the *Latins* of their antient Treaties, written upon Braſs, and ratified by Acts of Religion. He is anſwered, that the *Latin* Confederacy had been concluded with the *King*, and not with the Republick of *Rome*. However, the Aſſembly comes to no Determination that Day. But the next it is reſolved to keep no longer any Meaſures with *Rome*; *Valerius* is excluded the Diet, and he is order'd to acquaint his Republick, that the *Latins* renounce all Alliance with her. The News of theſe Proceedings cauſes a general Commotion at *Rome*. The *Romans* ſee that they are to be for ever in Arms, and that the Reduction of one Enemy ſerves only to raiſe up another. A Spirit of Mutiny creeps into the City. A Number of Slaves combine to ſeize the Citadel, and to ſet Fire to the Town in ſeveral Quarters. Their Plot is diſcover'd, and they are whipp'd and crucify'd; but their Example proves contagious. It was at this time that the Senate firſt thought of creating a *Dictator*; but they deferr'd the Execution of their Project to a more difficult Conjuncture.

9th CONSULSHIP.

253. §. 6. Under the *Conſuls* of the following Year, who are *Serv. Sulpitius* and *Manius Tullius*, the Nobles of *Latium* lay a Scheme to ſeize upon *Fidenæ*, and drive out the *Roman* Garriſon. They ſecure Correſpondents in the City; and their Meaſures are ſo well concerted that the Deſign ſucceeds. *Rome* is enraged at theſe Proceedings, and *Tullius* marches with a great Army againſt the *Fidenates*, and cloſely inveſts their City. Nevertheleſs, their Allies are ſlow in ſending them Succours. A new Council is call'd, not only of the Nobles, but of the Deputies of all the *Latin* Cities. It is debated whether the antient Treaties ſhall be kept with *Rome*, or whether Succours ſhall be ſent to the *Fidenates*. The Nobility vote in favour of the beſieged City, and of the *Tarquins*; the rich Citizens declare in favour of *Rome*. At length the Nobles ſo far prevail, that an Embaſſy is to be ſent to the Republick with two Propoſals. One, That ſhe receive the *Tarquins*, who are to oblige themſelves by Oath to grant a general Pardon. The other, That ſhe raiſe the Siege of *Fidenæ*. And the Council give the *Romans* a Year to conſider of them. But *Tarquin* has too much Experience to depend entirely upon Embaſſies and Conferences. He ſends, with the *Latin* Embaſſadors, ſome Emiſſaries of his own, and among them two Brothers of his own Name and Family, *Publius* and *Marcus*. Theſe are to raiſe a Sedition in *Rome*; and they find two Sorts of Men diſpoſed to enter into their Meaſures; the Slaves, and the meaner Citizens; and the Parts they give them to act are theſe. The poor Citizens are to make themſelves Maſters of the Ramparts and Gates of the City, at an appointed Hour; and then to raiſe a great Cry, which is to be the Signal for the Slaves, who lay round their Maſters, to riſe and maſſacre them: The Gates of the City are to be immediately opened, and the *Tarquins* are to enter *Rome* while it is yet reaking with the Blood of the Senators. §. 7. It is almoſt incredible, that not one of ſo great a Number of vile and mercenary People ſhould betray the Secret. *Dion. Hal.* tho' a Pagan, aſcribes the Preſervation of *Rome to the Providence of God, who had taken this virtuous People under his Protection.* He ſays, that the two Heads of the Conſpiracy, *Publius* and *Marcus*, were terrified with frightful Dreams, and nightly Viſions; that they went to a Diviner, and ask'd him in general Terms, what Succeſs they ſhould have in a Project they were upon; and that the Diviner replied, *Your Project will overwhelm you; diſburthen your ſelves of ſo heavy a Load.* Upon this, they went to *Sulpicius*, the only *Conſul* then at *Rome*,

10th CONSULSHIP.

and diſcloſed the Conſpiracy to him. *Sulpicius* received them kindly, detained them in his own Houſe, made ſecret Enquiries, and when he was aſſured of the Truth, aſſembled the Senate. The *Latin* Embaſſadors have their Audience of Leave; and the Senate expreſs their Surprize *that the* Latin *Nation, with which the* Romans *had been ſo cloſely united, ſhould attack the Liberty of their Republick, and be leſs affected with the Equity of their Cauſe than* Porſena *and his* Hetrurians. And they conclude with a Sort of *Defiance*. After this the Ambaſſadors are conducted out of the City, and the Senate continue their Conſultations. *Sulpitius* then lays open the dreadful Conſpiracy, and the Senators are ſtruck with Horror. But there ariſes a Difficulty, how to puniſh the Guilty; ſince by the Law of *Poplicola*, the People are Judges in *dernier Reſort*, in all capital Caſes; and the two Witneſſes, being Strangers, may be excepted againſt by *Roman* Citizens. They leave the Matter therefore wholly to the *Conſul*'s Management, who engages the two Brothers to aſſemble the Conſpirators, and to appoint a Rendezvous at Midnight, in the *Forum*, as if it were to take the laſt Meaſures for the Execution of the Enterprize. In the mean time he takes all proper Meaſures to ſecure the City, and inveſt the *Forum*. The next Morning, as ſoon as it is light, the *Conſuls* appear upon the Tribunal, and convene the *Curiæ*; and while they are aſſembling, the Senate make a Decree, by which the Privilege of *Roman* Citizens is granted to the two Informers; and the Seditious are condemned to Death, if the People approve it. The Fact is clear, the People confirm the Senate's Decree, and the ſeditious Citizens and Slaves aſſembled, who have no means to eſcape, are all put to the Sword. However, not all the Conſpirators are puniſhed with Death. The Peace of *Rome* is thought ſufficiently ſecured by this Stroke of Severity; and it is judged proper not to carry Enquiries further. Three Feſtival Days are appointed for Expiations, Sacrifices, and Publick Games, by way of Thankſgiving to the Gods. But the Pleaſure of the Games is interrupted by a melancholy Accident. As the People are conducting *Tullius* the *Conſul* from the *Circus* to his Houſe, he falls from his Chariot, and dies three Days after. Year of *ROME*

11th CONSULSHIP.

§. 8. *Fidenæ* is ſtill blocked up, when *T. Æbutius*, and *T. Veturius*, are choſen *Conſuls*. *Veturius* goes to the Camp before it, and inveſts the Place. Nevertheleſs, a conſiderable Body of *Latins*, with a Convoy of Proviſions, enter the Town; and this encourages the Beſieged ſo much, that they venture to take the Field: but the *Conſul* defeats them; and the *Fidenates* retire again within their Walls; but the *Latins* deſert them. 254.

12th CONSULSHIP.

§. 9. The firſt Care of the Republick, after the Election of two new *Conſuls*, *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clælius*, is to put an end to the long Siege of *Fidenæ*. *Lartius* is ſent thither, and he ſo diſtreſſes the *Fidenates*, that they ſurrender at Diſcretion. But like a good *Roman* Citizen, he leaves it to the Republick to pronounce Sentence upon the Rebels; and the Senate decree, That the Heads of the Revolt only ſhall be puniſhed with Death. 255.

§. 10. The Surrender of *Fidenæ* ſtrikes a Terror among the *Latins:* and *Mamilius*, the *Tarquins*, and the *Aricini*, take advantage of their Fears to unite them againſt *Rome*. All the Deputies of the *Latin* Cities ſwear an univerſal Confederacy againſt the *Romans*, and bind themſelves by Oaths never to make Peace with the Republick. However, they ſend an Embaſſy to *Rome*, complaining, *That the* Romans *had put the* Hetrurians *upon attacking* Aricia; and ſignifying to them at the ſame time, that if they would ſubmit their Quarrel with the *Aricini* to the Deciſion of the *Latin* Diet, they might avoid the War which threatened them. The *Romans*, tho' never in greater Perplexity, reject the Propoſal, and think only of making Alliances: but all Attempts that Way are unſucceſsful. The *Hernici* require time to examine the Right of the two Parties. The *Rutuli* declare for the *Latins*. The *Volſci* inſult the *Roman* Ambaſſadors. The *Hetrurians* ſtand neuter. And what is more than all, the Republick has rebellious Sons in her own Boſom, who refuſe to lend their Aid for the Defence of their Country. [The manner of levying Troops at *Rome* is deſcribed.]

§. 11. The *Conſuls* meet with great Difficulties in making their Levies for the Service. Many in the inferior *Claſſes* refuſe to take the military Oaths, or to ſerve. Their Pretence is their Poverty, and the fruitleſs Hazards they run in fighting for the Defence of a City, where they are oppreſſed, and enſlaved by their Creditors. ('Tis probable, that at this time, the *Romans* being deſerted by their *Allies*, intended to ſtrengthen their *Legions*, by incorporating into them ſome of thoſe lower ſort of People, call'd *Capite-cenſi*, and *Proletarii*, who were too poor to ſerve at their own Expence, and had been uſually exempted from going to War.) The Spirit of Mutiny ſpreads among the poor Citizens, and a general Inſurrection is apprehended. The Senate aſſembles to deliberate upon the Means of quieting theſe Domeſtick Troubles. Some are for treating the Mutineers with Rigour, others for Lenity and Indulgence. *M. Valerius* is at the Head of thoſe who vote in favour of the indigent People, and makes a long and warm Speech in their behalf. He preſſes the *Conſcript Fathers, To relieve them, and not to let private or publick Avarice be an Obſtacle to Union at Home, or to Victory and Succeſs Abroad. Appius Claudius*, who was lately come from *Sabinia*, and retain'd the Auſterity and Inflexibility peculiar to his Nation, is at the Head of the oppoſite Party. He urges *the Danger of encouraging Idleneſs, Profuſeneſs and*

Capite-cenſi, Proletarii.

Year of ROME

Debauchery, by ſhewing Indulgence to thoſe who had conſum'd their Subſtance by licentious Living. That the Diſpleaſure of the higher Claſſes, who are the Creditors, is more to be fear'd than the Obſtinacy of theſe Dregs of the People. He declares *for inliſting none but ſuch Citizens as are willing to ſerve*; and adds, *That thoſe who now refuſe their Aſſiſtance, will then come and offer it, when it is no longer deſir'd.* Other Fathers were of various Opinions; but the Senate followed none of them at preſent, but only *ſuſpend all Actions for Debt, till the Concluſion of the War with the* Latins. But this the indigent Debtors thought only a Suſpenſion of their Miſery, and demanded to be freed from their Debts by a Decree; otherwiſe they refuſed to inliſt themſelves in the *Legions*. §. 12. The inliſting of the meaner People was doubtleſs of more Importance than *Appius* had repreſented it, and the Senate thought the Aſſiſtance of the loweſt Claſs neceſſary in the preſent War, and therefore omitted nothing to bring them to Reaſon. They conſider'd, that the Mutineers being to be judged in the laſt Reſort, by Citizens of the ſame Rank, it was not in the Power of the Government to quell the Sedition. They remembred, that under ſome of the *Kings*, (ſole Arbiters of Life and Death) the People were always kept to their Duty. They judg'd it for the publick Good therefore to inveſt one Perſon, at leaſt for a time, with all the Regal Authority. But as this could not be done without ſtriking at the Law of *Poplicola*, and transferring the People's Power of deciding in criminal Caſes to a Magiſtrate ſuperior to all Laws, Oppoſition was feared from the *Curiæ*, and it was neceſſary to uſe Artifice. The Senate therefore make a Decree, requiring the *Conſuls* and all Magiſtrates to reſign their Offices, and empowering themſelves to chuſe from among thoſe who have been *Conſuls*, one Man, on whom ſhall be conferred an Authority ſuperior to that of the *Conſuls*, for the Space of ſix Months. The People, who do not foreſee whither this Alteration of the Government tends, confirm the Decree in *Comitia*. The next thing to be conſider'd, is the Extent of Power to be given the new Magiſtrate; and it is reſolved, that his Authority ſhall have no Limits; yet he is not allow'd the Title of *King*. *Tarquin the Proud* had made it too odious. The Title of DICTATOR, is therefore choſen. But the greateſt Difficulty is to find a Man duly qualify'd in all reſpects for ſo great a Truſt. *T. Lartius*, one of the preſent *Conſuls*, appears to the Senate to be of all Men the moſt unexceptionable; but they are afraid to offend his Collegue *Clœlius* (whom they eſteem and love) by an invidious Preference. The Expedient they fall upon, is to give the two *Conſul*'s the Power of chuſing a *Dictator*, and to oblige them to chuſe one of themſelves; reaſonably expecting that *Clœlius* will yield to the ſuperior Talents of his Collegue. And now the *Roman* Virtue ſhines out in full Luſtre. No Emulation for Preference, no Rivalſhip for high Honours; the only Conteſt is, which of the two ſhall advance the other to the ſupreme Dignity. Each perſiſts obſtinately in nominating his Collegue, till at length *Clœlius* takes a brisk Step, ſtarts up of a ſudden, abdicates the *Conſulſhip*, and deſcends from the Tribunal. Inſtantly, the Aſſembly proclaims *Lartius* DICTATOR; and he is oblig'd to take upon him the Government of the Republick. §. 13. *Lartius*, as ſoon as he is enter'd upon his Office, aſſumes as much State as he had ſhew'd Modeſty before. He creates a General of the Horſe, (an Office which was to laſt only during the *Dictatorſhip*.) He never appears in publick, but attended by twenty four *Lictors*, to whoſe *Faſces* he reſtores the *Axes*, which *Poplicola* had order'd to be taken out of them; but this is only to ſtrike Terror. And when the Murmurs of the inferior *Claſſes* are ſilenc'd, he orders a CENSUS, which is follow'd by a LUSTRUM. There are found in *Rome* 150700 Men, who are paſt the Age of Puberty. Out of theſe the *Dictator* forms four Armies. The firſt he commands himſelf: The ſecond he gives to *Clœlius*, his late Collegue: The third to *Sp. Caſſius*, his General of Horſe; and the fourth he leaves in *Rome*, under the Command of his Brother *Sp. Lartius*. The *Dictator* gains ſome Advantage over the *Latins*; but treats the Priſoners and the Wounded with ſo much Humanity, that he much leſſens the Number and Zeal of the Enemies of *Rome*. At length, a Truce is made for a Year; and *Lartius*, ſeeing the Republick in Tranquillity, reſigns the *Dictatorſhip*, tho' the time appointed for its Duration is not expired. A glorious Inſtance of Republican Probity. §. 14. The following *Conſulſhip* of *Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Minutius Augurinus*, produces nothing memorable relating to War, or Conqueſt. And there is not only a Ceſſation of Arms abroad, but all inteſtine Factions are laid aſleep. The Senate therefore is wholly taken up with a compaſſionate Concern for the *Roman* Women married into *Latium*. It was fear'd that they might ſuffer by the Rupture between the two Nations. A Law therefore was paſs'd at *Rome*, (by Agreement, doubtleſs, with the *Latins*,) that the *Latin* Women who were willing to leave *Rome*, and return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* Women who were willing to come back from *Latium* to *Rome*, ſhould have Liberty to leave their Husbands, and return to their reſpective Countries; and it was order'd, with regard to their Children, that the Boys ſhould remain with their Fathers, and the Girls follow their Mothers. How agreeable a Place *Rome* was to Wives, was evident on this Occaſion: For out of the great Number of *Latin* Women who had married

DICTATOR T. LARTIUS. MAGISTER EQUITUM.

256. 13th CONSULSHIP.

Romans,

Romans, two only went back to *Latium*; but almoſt the whole Multitude of *Roman* Women ſcatter'd over *Latium* left their Husbands, and return'd to their native City. And all this was owing to the Virtue and Probity of the *Romans*, which as it made them good Husbands, ſo it was the principal Charm which endear'd them to their Wives. In this Year of Peace, a Temple built on the Declivity of the *Capitol* was alſo dedicated to *Saturn*; the Ceremony was performed by *Poſthumius Cominius*. §. 15. The Year of Truce with the *Latins* is expired when *Aulus Poſthumius* and *T. Virginius* take Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. Both *Romans* and *Latins* are buſily employ'd in Preparations for War. The Nobles of *Latium*, who are for the baniſh'd *King*, carry all before them in the *Latin* Diets, contrary to the Inclinations of the People, many of whom come with their Families to *Rome*, where they are well receiv'd. But tho' there is a perfect Harmony at this time, between the People, Senate, and *Conſuls*, yet it is thought fit to put the Conduct of the War into the Hands of a *Dictator*. The *Conſuls* have the Power granted them to chuſe one of themſelves; and *Virginius*, tho' the elder, readily yields the Honour to his Collegue, as the more able Commander. §. 16. *Poſthumius* regulates his Conduct by that of *Lartius*, creates a General of Horſe, and divides the *Roman* Forces into four Bodies, of which he commands one himſelf, gives a ſecond to *Virginius*, his late Collegue; a third to *Ælutius Elva*, his Maſter of the Horſe; and the fourth he leaves in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sempronius*, who is made Governour of the City. News is preſently brought, that the *Latins* have forced *Corbio*, and put the Garriſon to the Sword, and that this ſmall Advantage has determined the *Volſci* of *Antium* to join the *Latins*. *Poſthumius* immediately marches out with 8000 Men, and encamps in the Night near the Lake *Regillus*, upon a ſteep Hill, which is inacceſſible on every Side. *Virginius* comes with his ſmall Body of Troops, and encamps on a Hill over againſt him, the *Latin* Army (conſiſting of 40000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, under the Command of *Lucius Tarquinius*, *Titus Tarquinius*, and *Mamilius*,) lying between them. The *Dictator* orders *Ælutius* to march ſecretly in the Night with the Cavalry, and light-arm'd Infantry, and take Poſſeſſion of a third Hill, upon the Road, by which Proviſions muſt come to the *Latins*. *Ælutius* performs his Orders; but has not fortify'd his new Camp, before he is briskly attack'd by *Lucius Tarquinius*, who endeavours to diſlodge him, but is three times repulſed, the *Dictator* having ſent a timely Reinforcement to his General of Horſe. *Ælutius* intercepts two Couriers ſent by the *Volſci* to the *Latin* Generals; and, by Letters found upon them, it is diſcover'd, that a conſiderable Army of *Volſci* and *Hernici* is upon its March, in order to join the *Latin* Forces in three Days. Upon this, *Poſthumius* draws his three Bodies of Troops together; for tho' they amount to no more than 24000 Foot, and 3000 Horſe, he is obliged to hazard an Engagement.

Year of ROME 257.

14th CONSULSHIP.

2d DICTATORSHIP. A. POSTHUMIUS.

Poſthumius's Harangue to his Soldiers, before the Engagement.

THE BATTLE OF REGILLUS.

The Battle is deſcrib'd. The two *Tarquins* and *Mamilius* are all ſlain; and their Death is follow'd by the entire Defeat of the *Latins*. No Victory hitherto gain'd by the *Romans* had been either more neceſſary, or more complete. But while the *Dictator*, the next Morning, is returning Thanks to the Gods by Sacrifices, Advice is brought by Scouts, that a great Army is advancing in Order of Battle. It was that of the *Volſci* and *Hernici*. *Poſthumius* commands his *Romans* to ſtand to their Arms, and be ready on the firſt Order. §. 17. In the mean time, the auxiliary Army is aſtoniſh'd to find neither Enemies to intercept their March, nor Allies coming to meet them. When they learn the Defeat of the *Latins*, they come to a Reſolution to encamp within ſight of the *Romans*, to amuſe them, if poſſible, with Negotiations, and to ſend for new Supplies. But in vain do they endeavour by their Ambaſſadors to perſuade the *Dictator* that they had left their Country only to aſſiſt *Rome* in her Neceſſity. He convicts them of Deceit, by their Couriers and Letters, and ſends their Generals a Challenge to fight the next Day. Upon which, in a Fright, they decamp that very Night, and return Home. The *Latins* having now no Remedy but Submiſſion, ſend Deputies to ask Peace, and to be receiv'd either as Allies, or Subjects.

The LATINS *entirely reduced.*

In conſequence of the new Treaty with them, King *Tarquin* is driven out of *Latium*. At the Age of ninety Years, and after having been rejected by the *Hetrurians*, *Sabines*, and all the free Nations, and left without Protector and without Iſſue, he finds his laſt *Aſſylum* at *Cumæ* in *Campania*, with *Ariſtodemus*, a Tyrant like himſelf. There he lives a few Months, and then dies, after fourteen Years Exile.

TARQUIN THE PROUD *dies.*

Poſthumius is honour'd with a Triumph, and has the Surname of *Regillenſis*. He devotes a tenth Part of the Booty to defray the Expences of publick Games, and to build Temples to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*; a Scarcity being apprehended this Year. A Temple is likewiſe erected to *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, who were ſaid to have appeared, during the Action, upon white Horſes, and to have fought for the *Romans*; and an annual Feſtival is appointed to be celebrated to their Honour, on the *Ides of July*, i. e. the 15th, being the Day on which the Battle of *Regillus* was fought.

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BOOK VII.

Year of *ROME.* §. 1. THE ſame Year that *Tarquin the Proud* dies at *Cumæ*, his Spirit of Dominion ſeems to enter into the *Patricians* at *Rome*. And this proves a new Source of Troubles and Diſorders in the Republick.

258. *Poſthumius*, at his Return, appoints an Aſſembly of the *Comitia* in the *Campus Martius*, in which *Appius Claudius*, and *P. Servilius*, are raiſed to the *Conſulate*. The Senators having great Dependence on *Appius*, a known Enemy to the Pretenſions of the People, think the time now come for bringing them into Subjection; eſpecially ſince the Death of *Tarquin* ſeem'd to make their Aſſiſtance leſs neceſſary to them. They aſſume ſuch an Aſcendant therefore over the Commons, as falls little ſhort of Oppreſſion; and the Creditors are very ſevere to the Debtors. The Populace grow enraged againſt the Nobility; and the News of riſing Diviſions at *Rome*, encourages the *Volſci* to think of raiſing a formidable Army, in order to beſiege it. §. 2. The Motions of the *Volſci* give the Senate a Pretence to carry the War into their Country, and thereby give a Diverſion to the Mutineers at home. But the Difficulty is, how to raiſe Troops enough to form an Army. The *Roman* Youth are ſummoned as uſual, but refuſe to appear, in order to be inliſted. And this Diſobedience occaſions a Diviſion between the *Conſuls*. *Claudius* is for Severity, and *Servilius* for Moderation. And this Diverſity of Opinions produces nothing but Diſputes, perſonal Reflections, and Contradictions, in the Senate. As the Time draws near to take the Field againſt the *Volſci*, the Senate, without coming to any Determination about the People, decree, that *Servilius* ſhall conduct the War, and *Claudius* govern the City. But tho' *Servilius* is eſteem'd the People's Friend, yet they refuſe to grant the Senate Levies, legally made. His Army conſiſts only of Voluntiers, and is therefore the more formidable. He ſurprizes the *Volſci* unprepared, and they are forc'd to have recourſe to Supplications, by which the eaſy *Conſul* is wrought upon to favour them. He requires only Subſiſtence and Clothes for his Troops, and three hundred Hoſtages of the beſt Families. §. 3. Upon the Return of *Servilius*, the Senators thinking *Rome* in no Danger from any Quarter, renew their Severity againſt their Debtors. But while the People are in vain complaining of their Slavery, and the Rigour of the Laws, Envoys come to *Rome* from the *Latins*, (who are become wiſe, and well-affected to the *Romans*, ſince the Battel of *Regillus*) bringing with them Deputies ſent by the *Volſci* to the *Latin* Nation, to engage it to join with them, the *Hernici*, and *Sabines*, againſt *Rome*. The *Romans*, to reward the Fidelity of the *Latins*, reſtore them ſix thouſand Priſoners taken in the laſt War, (whom they order to be new-cloath'd before they ſet out) and by this handſome Treatment become abſolute Maſters of their Affection. §. 4. The Senate immediately decree, that War be made with the *Volſci*; but while the Senators are yet ſitting, a *Roman*, advanced in Years, tall of Stature, lean, and of a pale livid Complexion, whoſe Eyes are ſunk into his Head, his Beard long and buſhy, and his Hair in Diſorder, appears in the *Forum*. At his Clamours and Geſtures, the People crowd about him. He tells them that he was free-born, enumerates the Battles he has been in, and the Misfortunes whereby he and his two Sons have been reduced to Poverty, and at length to Slavery, through the Cruelty of his Creditors. He ſhews on his Breaſt the Scars of his honourable Wounds; and on his Back the freſh Marks of the Whip, with which he had been whipp'd by his Maſter's Order. The Spectators are fill'd with Indignation, and make hideous Outcries. The Artificers leave their Shops, and flock together to the *Forum*; the Citizens confined for Debt, break their Chains, come out of their Priſons, and ſpread themſelves over the City, maſſacring all who pretend to ſtop them. The *Conſul Appius*, fearing the Rage of the People, makes the beſt of his way home. *Servilius* puts off his *Conſul*'s Robe, goes in among the Crowd, embraces ſome, and intreats others, and with great difficulty perſuades them to ſuſpend all Acts of Violence to the next Day. In the mean time, he orders Proclamation to be made, that no one ſhould moleſt any *Roman* Citizen for Debt, till the Senate had decreed otherwiſe. The following Day, when the *Conſcript Fathers* are met, *Appius* makes it a Crime in *Servilius* to have taken ſo indulgent a Method to appeaſe the Tumult. On the other hand, *Servilius* accuſes him of indiſcreet Severity, and as the Author of the Inſurrection. In the mean time, the People impatiently expect a Decree in their favour; and there not being Senators enough aſſembled for that Purpoſe, they impute their Abſence to the *Conſuls* Management, in order to fruſtrate their Hopes. But while they are yet crowding in the *Forum*, and their Thoughts full of Revenge, ſome *Latin* Deputies arrive, who were come full ſpeed to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volſci* had taken the Field. The *Plebeians* rejoice at the News, and when the Citizens, overwhelmed with Debt, are invited to take Arms, they ſhew their Chains: *Shall we make a Rampart of our Bodies*, ſay they, *only to hinder the Enemy from pul-*

15th CONSULSHIP.

ling down our Priſons, and carrying away our Irons? It was neceſſary in this Extremity, that ſomething ſhould be done to make the Commons lend their Aſſiſtance to their Country. *Appius* is obſtinate and inflexible; but *Servilius* is weak enough to aſſemble the People in the *Forum*, and to make them Promiſes from the Senate, which the Senators were reſolved never to perform. He tells them, that it is not conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Senate to comply with their Demands, as it were out of Fear; but that when the War ſhould be over, the Senators would in Gratitude make a free Remiſſion of their Debts. This Diſcourſe helps to abate the Fury of the Populace; but a Decree of the Senate which is read to them, entirely quells it. All Creditors are thereby forbidden to proſecute or moleſt any one who enters into the military Service; but they are ordered to employ the utmoſt Severity againſt thoſe who refuſe to enliſt or who deſert afterwards. §. 5. Never was a greater Concourſe of People at the *Capitol*, to be enliſted, than now. The Debtors who ſhould be left in *Rome*, were afraid of *Appius*'s Severity. When the Levies are completed, *Servilius* marches to meet the *Volſci*, and encamps by Night near the *Pontine* Lake. The *Volſci* attack his Camp; he ſallies out, defeats them entirely, and gives all the Spoil, which was very rich, as free Booty to the Soldiers, that they might be able to pay their Debts. He then marches to *Sueſſa Pometia*, the Capital of the *Volſci*, beſieges it, takes it by Aſſault, puts all to the Sword who are paſt the Age of Puberty, and gives likewiſe this wealthy City up to be plundered by the Soldiers, without reſerving any of the Spoil for the Publick Treaſury. In the mean time, *Appius* at *Rome* beheads the three hundred *Volſcian* Hoſtages. And the *Ecetrans*, a Canton of the *Volſci*, ſend to ſue for Peace, which is granted them upon hard Terms. Their Lives are ſpared, but the Property of their Lands is taken from them. But as *Servilius* is returning to *Rome*, in hopes of obtaining the Triumph he had deſerved, he receives Intelligence, that his Collegue *Appius* has perſuaded the Senate to refuſe it him, under Pretence, that he is a ſeditious Man, who aims at Popularity by an exceſſive Indulgence and Profuſeneſs to his Troops. *Servilius*, touch'd to the quick with this Uſage, cauſes the People to be called together in a Field without the Walls, complains to them of the Jealouſy of his Collegue, and the Injuſtice of the Senate; upon which, they, by their Acclamations, encourage him to attempt what he pleaſes. Accordingly, he decrees himſelf a Triumph, contrary to the Deciſion of the Senate, and marches with the uſual Pomp to the *Capitol*, attended by his Army, and by all the People. Before the End of this *Conſulſhip*, the Number of the *Tribes* is regulated and fixed to 21. §. 6. While the People are earneſt in purſuing the Publick Games, and rejoicing after the Victory over the *Volſci*, News is brought one Evening, that a Party of the *Sabines* appeared upon the *Tyber*, committing Hoſtilities. *Poſthumius* and *Servilius*, with ſome Troops, fly to find the Rebels, ſurprize them aſleep, and put an end to the Alarm that ſame Night. At the ſame time, the *Aurunci*, whoſe Country was ſituated near *Ecetra*, where the *Romans* had ſettled a Colony, ſince its Reduction, take umbrage at the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, and ſend to demand, That the Garriſon ſhould be removed; and they add Threatnings, in caſe of Refuſal. The Senate ſend the Deputies back with this Anſwer: *Go tell your Maſters, it is a dangerous thing to attack thoſe, whoſe very Neighbourhood is formidable to them.* The *Aurunci* enter *Latium*, and advance as far as *Aricia*. There, the *Romans* come up with them, and are ſurprized at their gigantick Stature, fierce Looks, and martial Air; but they depend upon the Ability of their Generals. *Servilins* commands the Foot, and *Poſthumius* the Horſe. The *Aurunci* are entirely defeated, and their Camp taken. §. 7. And now after ſo many Victories, obtain'd chiefly by the Bravery of thoſe who were moſt in Debt, the People think they may demand of the Senate, the Performance of *Servilius*'s Promiſes. But the inflexible *Appius*, on the contrary, doubles the Severity of his Sentences againſt the Debtors; and *Servilius* has not Intereſt enough with the Fathers to prevail with them to make good his Word, given in their Names, or to protect the unhappy Wretches: ſo that he becomes as much deſpiſed as *Appius* is hated. And this appears very evidently, when the time comes to conſecrate a Temple, which had been erected to *Mercury*. The Conſecrator was to have great Privileges; and *Appius* thought to have carried the Honour from his Collegue, by his Intereſt in the Senate; but the People were to nominate the Man; and they, to ſhew how much they were diſſatisfied with both the *Conſuls*, choſe one *M. Lætorius*, a ſimple *Centurion*, to perform the Office. Upon this, *Appius* and *Servilius*, being both equally enraged, join with the Senate in putting all the Laws in Execution againſt the Debtors with the utmoſt Rigour. But the People have no regard to their Sentences. When any *Plebeian* is proſecuted for Debt, the Populace come in Crowds into Court, and make ſuch a noiſe, that the Sentence pronounced cannot be heard. They no longer endeavour to appeaſe the Creditors, and mollify the Senate, by Intreaties: they inſult both; and inſtead of the *Plebeians*, the Danger of Impriſonment and Slavery now falls on the *Patricians*. Nothing prevails in the City but Force and Violence. §. 8. Such is the State of *Rome*, when *A. Virginius* and *T. Veturius*, Men of little Note or Steadineſs, are choſen *Conſuls*.

Year of *ROME* 259.

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Year of *ROME* *ſuls.* The *Plebeians* have Aſſemblies by Night, of which the *Conſuls* have notice, and inform the Senate. The Fathers are enraged at the *Conſuls* for leaving the Trouble and Odium of puniſhing the Offenders upon them. The whole Aſſembly reprimand *Virginius* and *Veturius*, and order them immediately to raiſe Forces in a legal Way, for a War which threatened the Republick, from the revolted *Sabines*, in Conjunction with the *Roman* Colony of *Medulia*, which had likewiſe rebelled. But the People are obſtinate in refuſing their Aſſiſtance, till ſuch time as all Debtors are diſcharged. The *Conſuls* aſcend *The Tribunal*, and call over the Names of ſome young *Plebeians*; but no body anſwers. The Mutiny is general. The *Conſuls* complain of the Senate to the Senate it ſelf, imputing all the preſent Misfortunes to their falſe Meaſures. At this, the young Senators are ſo enraged, that they leave their Seats, and ſurround the *Curule Chairs*, in which the *Conſuls* are ſitting. *Let theſe cowardly Magiſtrates*, cry they, *come down from the Throne, and diſcharge themſelves of a Burden which is too heavy for their Shoulders.* The *Conſuls* return to the *Forum*, guarded by ſome *Patricians*, to give the more Weight to their Words. They aſcend *The Tribune*, call upon one of the moſt Factious by Name, to come and be enrolled. The Man's Silence is taken for Diſobedience. The *Lictors* lay hold of him; but the Populace force him out of their Hands; the Citizens are all in a Flame; and the *Conſuls* have enough to do to defend the Senators from Blows. §. 9. While the People are thus enraged againſt the Senate, the Senate againſt the People, and the *Conſuls* regarded by neither People nor Senate, News is brought by Envoys from the *Latins* and *Cruſtumini*, (Allies of *Rome*) that the *Æqui* and *Sabines* are in Motion; and an Embaſſy from the *Volſci* arrives at the ſame time, demanding Reſtitution of the Lands taken from them. The Senators aſſemble. *T. Lartius*, a venerable Man, is firſt conſulted. He tells the Senate, *That the only Way to put an end to theſe Alarms from abroad, is to eſtabliſh Peace at home.* He propoſes, *That the Houſe may ſit again the next Day, to deliberate about the Methods to effect it; and in the mean time, that the* Volſcian *Envoys be anſwered, That it is not conſiſtent with the Honour of the Republick, to comply with their Demands.* And as to the Allies, he adviſes, *That Aſſurances be given them, That* Rome *will never leave them expoſed to the Inſults of their Enemies, without ſending them Succours. Lartius*'s Opinion is approved and followed.

The Senate ſit again the next Day. *Virginius*, a popular good-natur'd Man, ſpeaks firſt, and propoſes a Medium betwixt the Severity of *Appius*, and the general Diſcharge of Debts. He is for having thoſe Soldiers, who had ſerv'd ſo ſucceſsfully the laſt Year, protected by the Senate againſt their Creditors; but is for leaving the other Debtors to the Severity of the Law. *Lartius* ſtands up next, and pleads in behalf of all the Debtors. *Appius*, whoſe Turn it is to ſpeak third, enumerates *all the Motives which had engaged him to ſide with the* Patricians; declares, *That he can never change his Sentiments*; urges *the miſchievous Conſequences of violating Contracts between Debtors and Creditors*; and in the Concluſion of his Speech, propoſes *the naming a* Dictator *in the preſent Extremity.* This Expedient is thought dangerous by ſome of the oldeſt Senators; but the Motion is carried by a Majority; and MANIUS VALERIUS, Brother of POPLICOLA, is nominated, contrary to the Law, which required that the *Dictator* ſhould be choſen out of ſuch as had been, or were actually *Conſuls*. But no Man was ſo proper for that Station at this time; and the Neceſſity of the Caſe made the Senate overlook Rules. §. 10. *Valerius*, as ſoon as he is proclaimed *Dictator*, names *Qu. Servilius* for his General of Horſe, and finding all Minds well-inclined to his Government, aſcends *The Tribune*, and harangues the People. He puts them in mind *of the ſtrict Adherence his Family had always ſhewn to their Intereſts*; and in return, he deſires *their Confidence.* He promiſes, that if they will lend their Aſſiſtance to ſerve their Country at this time, *He will procure for them from the Senate, all the reaſonable Indulgences they can expect.* In the mean time, he commands, *That no mention be made of Confiſcation or Impriſonment for Debt, during his Adminiſtration*; and concludes with exhorting them, *To follow the Example of an old Man, who was willing to endure all the Fatigues, and run all the Hazards of War with them.* The People depend on the Promiſes of the *Dictator*, and obey him more out of Love than Fear. Ten *Legions* are raiſed; and, by *Valerius*'s Order, the Oaths are taken, not to him, but to the *Conſuls* of the Year. He divides the Forces between them and himſelf. *Veturius* is ordered to march againſt the *Æqui*; *Virginius* againſt the *Volſci*; and the *Dictator* leads his *Legions* againſt the *Sabines.* The three Generals are all ſucceſsful; and it proves a glorious Campaign for the *Romans. Valerius* is decreed a Triumph by both Senate and People: and as a further Mark of Diſtinction, they allot him an honourable Place in the *Circus*, at the Celebration of the Publick Games, and appoint that a *Curule Chair* be always placed there for him; and this Honour they make hereditary in his Family. §. 11. But now *Valerius* remembers his Promiſes to the People, and preſſes the Execution of them upon the Senate. But the *Patrician* Uſurers have made ſuch a Party during his Abſence, that the Senators not only refuſe to comply, but the younger Men of them loſe their Reſpect

3d DICTATORSHIP. MANIUS VALERIUS.

for

for his Dignity, and reproach him with the Affection of his Family to the *Plebeians*. The prudent *Dictator*, to prevent in ſome part the Misfortunes which threaten the Publick, ſends a Colony of the poor Debtors to *Velitræ*, juſt taken from the *Volſci*. But ſtill there remains too many of thoſe Wretches. He ſpeaks to the Senate again in their Favour; but his Motion is rejected. Upon which, he tells the Senators in great Anger, *That in a little time, perhaps, they may wiſh they had ſuch an Interceſſor with the People as himſelf*, and goes haſtily out of the Senate-Houſe. He ſummons the People, acknowledges *his Obligations to them*, complains *of the faithleſs Conduct of the Senate, with regard both to them and him*; declares *his Reſolution to retire, or to ſurrender himſelf up to their Reſentments, if they ſuſpect that he has betray'd their Intereſts*. This ſaid, he abdicates the *Dictatorſhip*, and ſtrips off the Badges of his Office. The People, full of Compaſſion towards this great Man, and of Indignation againſt the *Patricians*, conduct him home with Acclamations. The Senate, to prevent Diſorders, command the *Conſuls* to lead the Army into the Field; and there is no difficulty now to make the *Legions* march; becauſe the military Oaths which had been taken to the *Conſuls*, were binding to the end of the Year. §. 12. The *Conſular* Armies then take the Field; but encamping pretty near each other, the diſcontented Soldiers communicate Sedition to one another. The Leaders of the Mutiny having conſidered of various Projects, at laſt conclude to carry away the military Enſigns and Standards, and engage all the Troops to follow them without the Privity of their Officers. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS is the main Spring of the Revolt. The Deſign is executed; the Troops march away, and encamp beyond the *Anio*, three Miles from *Rome*, on a Hill, call'd afterwards, THE SACRED MOUNT, as this their Retreat was THE SECESSION. The firſt thing they do after this, is to chuſe themſelves a General; and *Sicinnius* is the Man they pitch upon. Then they ſecure themſelves within good Entrenchments, and there lie quiet, without committing any Hoſtility. In vain do the *Conſuls* and Officers diſpatch a Deputation to *Sicinnius*, to perſuade him to return with the Troops to the Camp. He ſends back ſuch an Anſwer, as ſhews he is determined to keep no Meaſures with them. *Rome* is all in a Confuſion at the News. The *Patricians* are forced to guard the Gates themſelves, to hinder the Citizens from going out to join the *Separatiſts*. The Senators aſſemble daily, and mutually accuſe each other of Indulgence and Severity. In the mean time, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* lead up ſome Parties to the very Walls of *Rome*. Debtors, Malefactors, Robbers, Malecontents, and all ſuch as love Novelty, flock in to the Rebels; who nevertheleſs do not join the Enemies of *Rome:* and this gives the *Conſcript Fathers* ſome hopes of bringing them back. A Motion is made by ſome of the wiſeſt among them, to ſend Deputies to *Sicinnius*, and propoſe a Reconciliation. The Deputies don't at firſt declare all that the Senate are willing to grant the Rebels, but only offer Impunity, and then ask upon what Terms they will go back to the City. The Mutineers are ſhock'd at the Demand, and return a contemptuous Anſwer, which fills the City with Conſternation. The preſent *Conſuls* being fallen into Contempt, there is no hopes of a Reconcilement under their Adminiſtration. So that the *Centuries* meet, and chuſe two new *Conſuls*. §. 13. Theſe are *Poſthumius Cominius*, and *Sp. Caſſius*, Men in great Eſteem, both of Senate and People. They immediately aſſemble the Senate, and MENENIUS AGRIPPA's Opinion is firſt ask'd. He was a Man much of the ſame Character with *Poplicola*. He, in a long Speech, full of good Reaſon, declares warmly, *for a Reconciliation with the People*; and propoſes, *That ſuch Plenipotentiaries may be ſent, as are agreeable to them, and who may have abſolute and uncontrollable Power to treat*. Then the Senior *Conſul* deſires MANIUS VALERIUS, the late *Dictator*, to declare his Thoughts. The old Man upbraids the Senate with *their Neglect of his former Counſels*; he accuſes their Indiſcretion, *in not offering the People an Abolition of Debts, by the firſt Deputation:* He foretels them, *That the Mutineers will, beſides their firſt Demands, inſiſt upon laſting Securities, for their future Preſervation from Oppreſſion.* He declares for MENENIUS's Opinion; and adviſes, *not to delay one Moment giving the People Satisfaction, let their Demands be what they will.* APPIUS CLAUDIUS ſpeaks next; and in a very plauſible Harangue, ſtrenuouſly oppoſes the Advice of *Menenius* and *Valerius*. He declares *againſt all treating with the Rebels, or Indulgence to them, till they lay down their Arms:* but on that Condition is *for ſhewing them Mercy, as a Set of Fools and Madmen.* Upon this, the Senate is divided. The young Senators are for *Appius*, and the old ones for *Menenius Agrippa:* and the Uproar is ſo great, that they almoſt come to Blows. The *Conſuls* having whiſpered a few Moments together, the elder of them, in the Name of both, adviſes the young Senators to come with better Diſpoſitions to the next Aſſembly, and then diſmiſſes it. §. 14. Some Days after, the Senate meet a-new, when every thing is tranſacted in great Tranquillity. *Menenius* is deſired again to declare his Sentiments; he is ſtill of the ſame Opinion, and all the Senators who have been *Conſuls*, vote for it; till it comes to *Appius*'s Turn to ſpeak. He continues to proteſt againſt receiving the Mutineers, and prays to *Jupiter*, and the *Tutelar Gods* of *Rome*, That he may be deceiv'd in his Apprehenſions of the evil Conſequences of it. Then *Nautius*, a young

Year of ROME

SICINNIUS BELLUTUS.

MONS SACER.

SECESSIO.

17th CONSULSHIP.

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Year of *ROME* *Patrician*, makes an Apology in Behalf of all the young Senators, for their paſt Conduct, and conſents, in their Name, to whatever the oldeſt Senators ſhall decree. It was ordered therefore, that ten Deputies ſhould be ſent to *Sicinnius*'s Camp. The ten choſen had all been *Conſuls*, except *Nautius:* Such Care was taken that none but wiſe and prudent Men ſhould be concern'd in judging what Conceſſions it was fit to make the Revolters. §. 15. [An Account at large of the Conference between the Deputies from the Senate and the revolted Army on the *Mons Sacer.*] *Menenius Agrippa* makes a ſtrong Impreſſion on their Minds by the Fable of *the Members which mutinied againſt the Stomach*, and they are juſt ready to march back to *Rome*, without any further Security than Promiſes, when *L. Junius Brutus*, who had been their chief Spokeſman, ſtops them, and propoſes an Expedient to ſecure the Commons from being ever any more oppreſs'd by the *Patricians*. *That the People have Leave to chuſe annually, out of the Body of the* Plebeians, *a certain Number of Magiſtrates, who, without having any other Authority in* Rome *but that of protecting them, may oppoſe or diſannul any Edicts or Judgments which ſhall be burdenſome to the People.* The Deputies did not expect this Propoſal, nor durſt they determine in ſo nice an Affair, without the Senate. They deſire Time therefore to conſult the *Conſcript Fathers*; and *Valerius* is ſent to *Rome* for that Purpoſe. §. 16. *Valerius* returns with the Senate's Conſent to all the Peoples Demands, and particularly to the Propoſal of *Brutus*; who, with two of his Companions, and accompany'd by half the Deputies, goes to the City to confirm the Treaty. In the mean time, *Menenius*, who ſtays on the *Mons Sacer*, draws up the Plan of a Law for the Creation of the new Magiſtrates. *Brutus* comes back, and reports that the Treaty is concluded in the moſt ſolemn manner; and then the Revolters aſſemble *by Curiæ*, in the Camp, to chuſe the firſt TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE. *Sicinnius* and *Brutus* are firſt named, then three others are added to them, and they all enter upon Office the 4th of the *Ides of December*. A Law is paſs'd, declaring their Perſons ſacred. And that this Law may be perpetual, the People are made to ſwear for themſelves and their Poſterity, always to conform to it. The Ceremony concludes with erecting an Altar on the *Mons Sacer*, to *Jupiter The Terrible*. Sacrifices are offer'd on it, and then the People follow the Deputies to the City. Soon after their Return, they make two new Demands on the Senate; the Firſt is, That it ratify the Election of the *Tribunes* on the *Mons Saeer*. The Senate conſents. The ſecond, That the *Tribunes* be allow'd two Aſſiſtants in the Execution of their Office, and that the *Plebeians* have the Right of chuſing them. It was to be the Buſineſs of theſe new Magiſtrates, *to prepare Matters for the* Tribunes; *to judge of them in the firſt Inſtance; to take care that the City be well ſupply'd with Proviſions, and to regulate the Price of them: and laſtly, to inſpect all the Buildings, both publick and private, in* Rome. (From this laſt Part of their Office, they take the Name of *Ædiles.*) Of this likewiſe the Senate approves. §. 17. *Rome* is now in a profound Peace at Home, and Troops are eaſily raiſed to march againſt the *Volſci*. The *Conſul Cominius* defeats them in a Battle, and takes from them *Longula* and *Poluſca*. §. 18. He marches next to beſiege *Corioli*, the Metropolis of the *Volſci*, and ſtrongly fortify'd. He takes the Town, and gains a Victory over the *Antiates* the ſame Day, but *Caius Marcius*, a young *Patrician* (whoſe Character is given) has all the Glory of both Actions. (Which are deſcrib'd at large.) The next Day the *Conſul* erects his Tribunal before his Tent, calls the Soldiers together, and among the reſt, MARCIUS by Name. His whole Speech is little elſe than a Panegyrick upon the young Hero. He puts a Crown of Gold upon his Head, aſſigns him a tenth Part of all the Spoil, makes him a Preſent of a fine Horſe with ſtately Furniture, in the Name of the Republick, and gives him Leave to chuſe out for himſelf any ten of the Priſoners. Of all theſe Offers, he accepts only the Horſe, and demands only one Captive of the ten, and that only with a Deſign to give him his Liberty: This was one of the *Antiates*, an old Friend to his Family. This generous and diſintereſted Conduct ſilences even Jealouſy it ſelf; and the *Conſul* gives him the Sirname of CORIOLANUS; by which he tranſfers all the Honour of the Conqueſt from himſelf to the modeſt *Marcius*. §. 19. The Enemies of *Rome* are terrify'd by this Reduction of the *Volſci*, and keep quiet at Home: So that *Cominius* disbands his Army; and War is ſucceeded by Works of Religion, publick Games, and Treaties of Peace. The *Latins* having deſerved well of the Republick, the antient Alliance enter'd into with them is renew'd, and confirm'd by Oaths, and a third Day added to the *Feriæ Latinæ*. During theſe Rejoicings, *Menenius Agrippa* dies, and in as great Poverty as *Poplicola*. His Relations think to bury him without Ceremony: But the People being informed of it, and the Motion being made by the new *Tribunes*, agree to pay a *Sextans per* Head, towards the Expence of magnificent Obſequies for him. Upon this, the Senate enter into an Emulation with the People, and will not ſuffer an illuſtrious *Patrician* to be buried at the Expence of the Commons. They aſſign a Fund for his Funeral, out of the publick Treaſury, and commit the Care of it to the *Quæſtors*. In the mean time the People refuſe to receive back their Money, and order it to be given to *Menenius*'s Children, *to comfort them*, as they ſaid, *in their Indigence, and excite them to the Purſuit*

MENENIUS AGRIPPA'S FABLE.

TRIBUNI PLEBIS.

JUPITER TERRIBILIS.

ÆDILES.

C. MARCIUS CORIOLANUS.

18th Consulship.

ſuit of Virtue. This *Conſulſhip* ends with a Census and a *Luſtrum*, and there appears to be but 110000 Men fit to bear Arms. §. 20. Under the new Adminiſtration of *Titus Geganius* and *Publius Minutius*, *Rome* is terribly afflicted with a Famine, occaſion'd chiefly by the Neglect of Ploughing and Sowing, during the late Troubles. Nothing but the Authority of the Magiſtrates can hinder the People from killing the Slaves to eat them. Envoys are ſent to all Parts to buy Corn; but with little Succeſs, ſo that the Miſery is exceſſive and univerſal. §. 21. In the mean time the *Volſci*, thinking this a favourable Opportunity to fall upon the *Romans*, ſend to all their Cities to ſollicit them to take Arms againſt the Republick. But juſt as they are ready to begin the War, a moſt terrible Plague ſpreads it ſelf thro' all their Country. In the City of *Velitræ*, nine Parts in ten of its Inhabitants are ſwept away by it, ſo that thoſe who ſurvive are forced to have Recourſe to *Rome*, to re-people their City. The *Conſcript Fathers*, thinking it a good Means to disburthen themſelves of many uſeleſs Mouths, and that *Velitræ* might ſerve as a Barrier againſt the *Volſci*, are willing to ſend a Colony thither, and order an Army to be raiſed, partly *Patricians*, partly *Plebeians*. The People at firſt do not diſlike the Scheme, thinking at leaſt to get Bread abroad, but their *Tribunes*, *Sicinnius* and *Brutus*, exclaim againſt it, ſo that none enroll themſelves, either for the Colony or Army. In the mean time, the Famine increaſes; the Commons accuſe the Senators of being deſignedly the Cauſe of it; and theſe Murmurings are encourag'd by the *Tribunes*. *Coriolanus* is enraged at this, and, having all the *Patricians* on his Side, obtains a Decree, in ſpite of the *Tribunes*, That an Army be rais'd to ſerve under his Command. It conſiſts indeed only of Voluntiers, but with theſe he advances into the Enemy's Country, as far as the Gates of *Antium*, and brings off Corn, Cattle and Slaves. At this the *Patricians* triumph, and the People are angry with their *Tribunes* for having hindered them from following him. §. 22. The happy Expedition of *Coriolanus* encourages the Senate, notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of the *Tribunes*, to ſend a Colony to *Velitræ*, and, a few Days after, another to *Norba*, a City of *Latium*. The *Tribunes* think this ſuch an Attack upon their Credit and Power, that they ſtir up the People to a general Commotion, ſtill openly accuſing the *Patricians* of being the Cauſe of the Scarcity, while their own Families, they ſaid, were well furniſh'd with Proviſions. The Senate are alarm'd at the Storm which threatens them, and meet to deliberate on the Means to avert it. *Appius* prevails, that, inſtead of giving the People ſoft Words, the *Tribunes* ſhould be reprimanded and menaced with all the Authority of the Senate. But when the *Conſuls* come to declare the Decree to the *Curiæ*, the *Tribunes* firſt *proteſt againſt the Decree*, and in the next place, diſpute *the* Conſuls *Right (which they had hitherto poſſeſs'd) of ſpeaking publickly to the People*, contending *that their Province was confined to the Senate.* The Conteſt growing very warm, and Night drawing on, *Brutus* deſires Leave of the *Conſuls* to ſpeak to the People, and promiſes to quiet the Diſpute. *Geganius* and *Minutius*, pleas'd with the Deference paid them, in asking their Permiſſion, give him Leave. But then, inſtead of addreſſing himſelf to the People, he puts Queſtions to the *Conſuls* themſelves. *Do you remember*, ſays he, *that one of the Articles of the late Reconcilement is this, That no* Patrician *ſhall appear at the Aſſembly of the Commons, when convened by the* Tribunes? *We do*, reply the *Conſuls*. *Why then*, adds *Brutus*, *do you now come hither to diſturb the Conference between the People and their* Tribunes? *Becauſe*, ſays *Geganius*, *this Aſſembly was ſummoned by our Direction; not by yours. That's enough*, cries out *Brutus*. *You grant all we would have. Let us retire now, and to Morrow I will tell you how far our Power extends, and how far yours.* The *Tribunes* and *Ædiles* go the next Morning, before it is light, to the Temple of *Vulcan*, which ſtood near the *Comitium*, and there aſſemble the People. They complain to them of the Attempt that had been made the Day before, to impoſe Silence on them in the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, of which they were the Defenders. And they propoſe to them the following Law, empowering the *Tribunes* to harangue the *Curiæ*. *Let none contradict or interrupt a* Tribune *when he is haranging the People. If any one does, let him immediately give Security to pay the Fine which ſhall be ſet upon him at his Trial; and if he refuſe to give this Security, let him be put to Death, and his Goods confiſcated. The Difficulties which may ariſe about theſe Securities, ſhall be referred to the People, and determined by them.* This Law is paſs'd by the *Curiæ*, before the *Conſuls* know any thing of it. The Senate indeed will not confirm it; but then the Commons, in their Turn, refuſe to accept the Decrees of the Senate.

Plebiſcita. Senatus-conſulta. [*The Diſtinction between the* Plebiscita, *and the* Senatus-consulta.] But what is very ſurprizing, the two Parties did not all this while carry their Reſentments to ſuch Exceſs, as to commit any Acts of Violence. The Proceedings on both Sides were carried on with an Air of Law, and the Appearances of Juſtice. The Houſes of the Rich were never plunder'd, even during ſo great a Famine, the People contenting themſelves with Roots and wild Herbs, as long as Corn and Money were wanting. §. 23. But the Animoſity of the People againſt the *Patricians*, remarkably appears, when the Time comes for electing new *Conſuls*. *Coriolanus*, who

Year of ROME 262. had made ſeventeen Campaigns, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them all, is one of the chief Candidates, and uſes great Sollicitations. Yet becauſe of his Attachment to the *Patrician* Party, he is rejected; and the People chuſe *M. Minutius Augurinus*, and *A. Sempronius Atratinus*, two Men advanced in Years, and who have been already *Conſuls*. *Coriolanus* is out of all Patience, openly declares his Reſentments againſt the People and their *Tribunes*; and being ſupported by the *Patrician* Faction, who idolize him, waits only an Opportunity to revenge himſelf on them. §. 24. The firſt Care of the *Conſuls*, who are Men of Experience in Buſineſs, and zealous for the publick Good, is to baniſh Want from *Rome*. Great Quantities of Corn now arrive from *Sicily* and other Places; and the *Conſcript Fathers* who favour the People, are for diſtributing it *gratis* among them. But the oppoſite Faction is for holding up the Price of Bread, in order to keep them in Dependence and Subjection. *Coriolanus* is at the Head of the ſeverer Party, ſpeaks loudly *againſt any Indulgence to the People*, propoſes *the aboliſhing the Tribuneſhip, and taking Vengeance on the Commons for their paſt Inſolences*. The *Tribunes*, who are preſent at the Debates, are mad with Rage, demand Juſtice of the Senate, and that *Coriolanus* be immediately condemn'd to Death, otherwiſe they threaten to get him condemn'd by the *Curiæ*. The Senate is divided in Opinion, and the Majority ſeem inclin'd to deſtroy the Treaty of the MONS SACER. Upon this, the *Tribunes* leave the Aſſembly in great Fury, calling out upon the Gods, the Avengers of the Breach of Oaths, to witneſs what had paſs'd. The incens'd People are ready to break into the Senate-houſe, but the *Tribunes* ſtop them. To proceed regularly, the *Curiæ* are aſſembled, and *Coriolanus* ſummon'd to appear. He refuſes to anſwer the Summons; the *Tribunes*, with their Officers, attempt to ſeize him, but are beaten off by the *Patricians* who guard him. The next Day the *Tribunes* get Poſſeſſion of the *Tribune of Harangues*; and from thence they all in their Turns exaggerate the Offence of *Coriolanus*. They conclude with ſaying it is neceſſary to give the *Patricians* a Hearing; and deſire the People to continue their Aſſembly till the Senate is riſen. §. 25. As ſoon as the Senate is broke up, the *Conſuls* appear upon the *Tribune*, and *Minutius*, the elder of them, in a Diſcourſe to the People, *clears the Senate from being the Cauſe of the Scarcity, excuſes the imprudent Warmth of* Coriolanus, bids them *remember his Virtues, as well as his Faults*; and intreats them, *in the Senate's Name, and as a Favour to them, to forgive him.* The gentle Words of *Minutius*, join'd with Promiſes of ſudden Plenty, ſoften and calm the People. But the artful *Sicinnius* (now *Tribune* of the Commons a ſecond time) continues to efface all Impreſſions made on their Minds in favour of *Coriolanus*. After having thank'd the *Conſuls* and *Patricians* for their favourable Diſpoſition to the Commons, he exhorts *Coriolanus* to apply himſelf to the Clemency of the People, and make an Apology for his Conduct. The *Tribune* knew that he had too lofty a Spirit to ſtoop to Supplications. Accordingly, inſtead of appearing as a Criminal, he gives himſelf the Airs of a Judge, and takes upon him to reprimand. He owns every thing he had ſaid in the Senate, and glories in it. He refuſes to ſubmit to any Tribunal but that of the *Conſuls*, and proteſts, with a high Tone of Voice, and a threatning Look, *that he would not have vouchſafed to appear in a tumultuous Aſſembly of ſeditious Men, had it not been to reproach them with their Crimes, and put ſome Check to their boundleſs Deſires.* And laſtly, he openly declares *his Hatred to the* Tribunes, *as the Bane of the publick Happineſs.* Upon this, the People are ſo enraged, that ſome of them are for murdering *Marcius* with their own Hands: But the *Tribunes* think it neceſſary to obſerve a Form of Juſtice. They conſult among themſelves, gather the Votes, and then order him to be thrown down headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock, which over-look'd the *Forum*. The *Ædiles* come to ſeize him; the *Patricians* interpoſe; and the Preſence of the *Conſuls* puts an End to the Commotion. *Brutus* repreſents to *Sicinnius, that it has not the Appearance of Juſtice, to make himſelf both Accuſer and Judge; and adviſes him to ſtop all Proceedings for the preſent, to enter a formal Accuſation againſt the Criminal, and give him Time to prepare his Anſwer.* *Sicinnius* follows his Counſel, and diſmiſſes the Aſſembly, after having aſſured them that effectual Care ſhall be taken to give them Satisfaction, in relation to the Corn. §. 26. The Senate fearing leſt the Proſecution of *Marcius* ſhould be a Precedent for depriving them of the Liberty of ſpeaking their Minds freely, endeavour to divert the *Tribunes* from purſuing it: But all they can gain is a longer Time for the Accuſed to prepare his Defence. And then they uſe Artifice to poſtpone the Trial, by decreeing a War againſt the *Antiates*, and that no Affairs in Diſpute ſhall be determined during the Campaign. §. 27. But the *Antiates* being quickly brought to Reaſon, the Army returns to *Rome* ſooner than the Senate had wiſh'd. And then the *Tribunes* cite *Coriolanus* to appear on a Day appointed. The Senators try all Means to ward off a Blow which muſt affect them all. *Minutius* calls the *Tribunes* together, and tells them, *That by immemorial Cuſtom, all Proceedings in capital Caſes are to begin by the Senate's declaring whether it be proper to bring them before the People.* Tho' *Sicinnius* oppoſes this Claim, yet the other *Tribunes* ſignify to the *Conſul*, by one of their Body, named *Decius*, their Conſent that the Senate firſt judge

19th CONSULSHIP.

whether

whether *Marcius*'s Cauſe ought to be brought before the Commons: But this upon two Conditions; *1ſt.* That the *Tribunes* be allow'd to report it to the Senate. *2dly.* That the Senators, after having been ſworn, all give their Opinions regularly; and that the *Conſuls* pronounce Sentence according to the Plurality of Voices. Theſe Conditions being accepted, and a Day appointed, *Decius* undertakes to ſhew that it belongs to the People to hear and determine the preſent Cauſe. He cites a Law of *Poplicola*, by which the *Plebeians*, when ill treated by the *Patricians*, are allow'd to bring their Complaints before the Commons. He urges, That *Marcius* having been guilty of a notorious Inſult upon the Authority of the *Roman* People, and the Dignity of their *Tribunes*, the People are therefore his legal Judges. He exaggerates *the Heinouſneſs of* Coriolanus's *Offence*; and adviſes the Senate *to withdraw their Protection from ſo proud and inſolent a* Patrician. When the other *Tribunes* have added many Things to what *Decius* had ſaid, *Appius Claudius* riſes, and with great Warmth enumerates all the Encroachments of the Commons. *At firſt*, ſays he, *they pleaded Indigence, and only demanded an Abolition of Debts. In the Beginning of their ſeditious Separation, they ſeem'd as if they would be content with Impunity and Leave to return Home. After this, they thought fit to demand a College of* Tribunes, *to protect them againſt our Decrees. The Authority of theſe Officers they would have to be ſacred, and their Perſons inviolable. Then, by the Help of theſe new Magiſtrates, they made Laws without our Privity, deſpiſed the Authority of the Senate and* Conſuls, *and diſannull'd our Decrees. And now, by an unheard of Uſurpation, they ſummon a moſt illuſtrious* Patrician *to appear at their Tribunal, where he is to be tried as a Criminal, only for having delivered his Opinion freely. Appius*, after this, exclaims againſt ſubmitting *Coriolanus* to be tryed by the People, or making any Conceſſions to them; exhorts the Senate not to fear a Civil War, and tells them that Gods and Men will unite in their Defence. But the popular *Valerius* is of the contrary Opinion, and is for paying ſome Deference *to the Commons. And for the ſake of Peace, and in order to keep an even Balance of Power between the* Patricians *and* Plebeians, *adviſes the mutual delivering up of Offenders to each other. Valerius*'s Opinion prevails; and it is carried by a Majority, that *Coriolanus* ſhall be tried by the People. But juſt as the Decree is ready to be drawn up, he prays Leave to ſpeak, and deſires to know exactly what Crime he is to be accuſed of. *Your Accuſation*, anſwered the *Tribunes*, *will chiefly relate to your Deſign of uſurping Tyrannical Power. Upon that Foot*, replies *Coriolanus*, *I have nothing to object to the Senate's Decree. Let it be put in Writing; I will appear before the People, and anſwer the frivolous Charge.* §. 28. As ſoon as the Decree is paſs'd, the *Tribunes* ſend a freſh Summons to *Coriolanus* to appear the third Market-day (or twenty ſeven Days after.) The Reaſon why they choſe a Market-day was, that the Country People came then in Crowds to the City, and having all a Right to vote, the *Tribunes* thought they would be leſs at the Devotion of the *Patricians* than the Inhabitants of the City. When the Time appointed comes, new Wranglings ariſe about the Form of the *Comitia* by which he ſhall be try'd. Hitherto the *Romans* had known no *Comitia* but ſuch as were aſſembled *by Curiæ* or *Centuries:* And the *Patricians* were for the latter on this Occaſion, as they had good Reaſon. But the *Tribunes* of the People prevail'd that they ſhould vote by *Tribes*, of which there were in all twenty one, in City and Country; and for Order's ſake, the *Forum* was divided into as many ſquare Parts, by Cords tied acroſs, and each *Tribe* went into its own Square. The *Conſul Minutius* ſpeaks firſt, and endeavours to perſuade the People *to be ſatisfy'd with* Coriolanus's *Humiliation in being brought to a Trial before them, and not to proceed to voting upon his Accuſation. But in caſe they perſiſt*, he tells them, *that the whole Senate is come to ſue for his Pardon. Sicinnius* the *Tribune* anſwers haughtily, *that the Aſſembly ſhall not be broken up, till the Affair is determin'd by Vote.* He then runs over the whole Life of *Marcius*, and repreſents him, in every Part of it, as aiming at Regal Power. At length *Coriolanus* ſpeaks, and is heard with profound Attention. He enumerates the Campaigns he has ſerv'd, the Wounds he has receiv'd, and the Crowns with which he has been rewarded. He calls over the Names of thoſe Citizens whoſe Lives he had ſaved in Battle. They are all *Plebeians*. They cry out, and intreat the People not to deſtroy their Preſerver; offer to take the Place of the Accuſed, and ſecure his Life, at the Expence of their own. *Coriolanus* then appeals to the People, whether it be probable that a Man who had done nothing to gain the Favour of the People, but hazard his Life for them, could deſign to uſurp a Throne. *Your Hatred*, ſays he, *is my Juſtification, and the Haughtineſs laid to my Charge is my Apology.* The moſt worthy Part of the People immediately cry out, That he ought to be acquitted; and the Aſſembly is juſt ready to break up to his Advantage, when *Decius* charges him anew with *a Breach of the Laws, in diſpoſing of the Spoil and Proviſion taken from the Enemy in his laſt Expedition during the Famine, among his Soldiers, and not bringing them to the Publick Treaſury.* Neither *Coriolanus*, nor his Friends, are prepared for this Chicane; ſo that the *Tribunes* take advantage of their Surprize, and get him condemn'd to perpetual Baniſhment. Nine *Tribes* were for him, and twelve againſt

Year of ROME

COMITIA TRIBUTA.

Year of *ROME* againſt him. An unjuſt Sentence! But it ſerv'd for a Precedent ever after, for the People to cite the Senators before their Tribunal, and thereby made the *Plebeians* ſuperior to the Senate; and the Commons never expreſſed ſo much Joy after the greateſt Victory, as on this Occaſion. As for *Coriolanus*, he neither ſaid nor did any thing unworthy of the Magnanimity he profeſſed. All his Diſcourſe to his Relations conſiſted of Exhortations to behave themſelves with Conſtancy and Fortitude, under the various Events of Life. After this, he advanced towards one of the Gates of *Rome*, without either Money or Proviſions. He is ſaid to have ſtopp'd at one of his Farms in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, there to ſhake off his Melancholy, and to form Schemes for revenging the Affront which the Senate had ſuffered the People to put upon him. He reſolves at length to ſeek a Retreat among the *Volſci*, whom he
263. judges the moſt likely to eſpouſe his Quarrel. §. 29. In the mean time, the *Ro-* 20th CON-
mans elect new *Conſuls*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and *Sp. Lartius*, (the latter a ſecond time.) And SULSHIP.
this being a Year of Peace, Superſtition prevails. Nothing is talk'd of but Viſions, Spectres, miraculous Voices, Monſters, *&c.* *T. Latinus*, an old Man, and Bed-rid, makes himſelf be brought to *Rome* in a Litter, and tells the *Conſcript Fathers* of a Dream, in which *Jupiter Capitolinus* had appeared to him, and commanded him to tell the Senate, *That they muſt repeat the Celebration of the Publick Games; becauſe in the laſt, a bad Dancer had led up the Dances.* He adds, *That having neglected the Admonition*, Jupiter, *in Revenge, had firſt kill'd his Son, and afterwards thrown himſelf into the Condition, in which he then was.* As faſt as the old Man diſcharges his Commiſſion, ſo faſt he recovers the Uſe of his Limbs: and this puts the Senate into a terrible Fright. Great Enquiries are made after the bad Dancer: and he is at laſt found to be a ſubſtantial Citizen, who, the Morning of the Proceſſion, had cauſed one of his Slaves to be whipped in the Croſs-ways, the *Forum*, and the *Circus*, i.e. the Places through which the Holy Proceſſion was to paſs. And it ſeems this had offended *Jupiter.* The Criminal is fined; and Preparations are made at double Expence, to begin the Games again. [The manner of their Celebration is deſcribed.] §. 30. While *Manner of*
theſe things are doing, *Coriolanus* is meditating Revenge: And calling to mind one *celebrating*
Attius Tullius, a conſiderable Man in *Antium*, an old Warrior, and who in Battel *the Publick*
had been often his Rival for Glory; he judges, that he can no where intruſt his Life *Games.*
more ſafely than with him. At his Houſe therefore he reſolves to ſeek an Aſylum, without any previous Enquiries into his Inclination. He comes to *Antium*, enters the Houſe of *Attius*, wraps his Head in his Robe, and ſits down by the *Sacred Hearth.* *Attius* was at Supper in an inner Apartment, when News is brought him, That a Stranger, of a very majeſtick Air, is, without ſpeaking to any body, come into his Houſe, and ſet down by the Hearth of his *Lares.* *Attius*, ſurprized at the Novelty, riſes and comes out. *Coriolanus* diſcovers his Face, and throws himſelf at his Feet: but the other not recollecting him, he declares his Name, tells his Caſe, and offers to aſſiſt the *Volſci* againſt *Rome*, not only with his Sword, but with all his Experience in War. *Attius* gives him his Hand to riſe, receives him graciouſly, and promiſes him the Friendſhip of the *Volſci*. But the great Difficulty is, how to bring the whole Nation into a War. *Coriolanus* propoſes, That ſome means be found to make *Rome* take Umbrage againſt the *Volſci*, and be the Aggreſſor. In the mean
264. time, he lies conceal'd at *Attius*'s Houſe. §. 31. The renewing the Games at 21ſt CON-
Rome, had been deferred till after the Election of the new *Conſuls*, who were *C. Ju-* SULSHIP.
lius Iülus, and *P. Pinarius*. The Concourſe of Strangers to ſee them, was incredibly great; and the *Volſci* eſpecially came thither in great Numbers; but they met with little Hoſpitality, and few Friends. They went about the City in Companies, and their Numbers gave the *Romans* Uneaſineſs, which was increas'd by an Artifice of *Attius*, which he had concerted with *Coriolanus*. He ſuborned one of his Nation, a bold impudent Fellow, to go to the *Conſuls*, and pretend to make a Diſcovery of a Deſign the *Volſci* had to burn *Rome*, while the *Romans* were taken up with the Games of the *Circus*. Upon this, the Senate, in a Fright, order all the *Volſci* to leave the City before Sun-ſet, on Pain of Death; and they are driven out at the Gate *Capena*. *Attius* gets before them upon the great Road, and ſtanding on a Hillock, ſtops his Countrymen as they paſs, and exaggerates the Affront they have receiv'd. The *Volſci* are eaſily exaſperated, a General Diet is held at *Ecetræ*, when all the Deputies are of opinion, That they are at liberty to begin the War, without waiting till the Truce is expired: And *Attius* perſuades them to ſearch for *Coriolanus*, as a Man very capable of doing them eſſential Service. *Marcius* is eaſily found; he comes to the Aſſembly, relates his Misfortunes and Affronts, makes a Merit of chuſing a Retreat among the *Volſci*, rather than with the *Latins* or *Hetrurians*, quickens their Jealouſy of the *Romans*, perſuades them to demand back all that the Republick has conquer'd from them, and offers to aſſiſt their General with his Counſel and his Sword. His Diſcourſe is receiv'd with Applauſe; and a Deputation is order'd to go make the Demand propoſed. But the only Anſwer brought back from *Rome*, is this, *The* Volſci *will be the firſt to take up Arms, and the* Romans *the laſt to lay them down.* Upon this, *Tullus* and *Coriolanus* are unanimouſly appointed Generals. They immediately

raiſe two Armies of Volunteers, of which one covers the Country on the Side of the *Latins*; while *Coriolanus*, with the other, enters the Territory of *Rome*, and commits inconceivable Devaſtations; only he ſpares the Houſes of his Friends the *Patricians*. This increaſes the Miſunderſtandings and Jealouſies at *Rome*. The *Romans* dare not appear in the Field; ſo that *Coriolanus* returns home loaded with Spoil, and in great Credit with the *Volſci*. A regular Army is then raiſed, and divided into two Bodies, one conſiſting of Veterans, the other of young Soldiers; and *Attius* compliments *Coriolanus* with the Command of the former, which is to act abroad. §. 32. And now at the Head of a noble Army, he firſt marches to beſiege *Circæum*; but it immediately ſurrenders. The *Romans* are terrify'd; and the mutual Jealouſies of the two Parties increaſe. *It was you*, ſaid the *Patricians*, *who drove away* Coriolanus. *It is you*, replied the *Plebeians*, *who now bring him upon us by your ſecret Sollicitations.* But as urgent Neceſſity often unites divided Minds, the *Tribunes* at length come to a good Underſtanding with the Senate. The *Conſuls* give Orders to raiſe an Army in the legal Way, and to get Auxiliaries from their Allies. And the *Latins* are allow'd, contrary to Cuſtom, to arm in their own Defence. But before the *Romans* take the Field, new *Conſuls* are choſen, *Sp. Nautius*, and *Sextus Furius*. *Coriolanus* in the mean time recovers from the *Romans* all the Places they had taken from the *Volſci*. He then marches into *Latium*, takes *Toleria* by Aſſault, defeats the Troops of *Bola*, enters the City with the Fugitives, plunders and burns it. Thence he haſtens to *Labicum*, ſets fire to the Corn-fields about it, ſtorms the Town, and ſells the Inhabitants for Slaves. And now the Torrent grows impetuous. *Pedum*, another Town of *Latium*, is carried by Aſſault; and then, ſuch a Terror is every where ſpread, that all the Places ſurrender without fighting, as ſoon as the Conqueror appears before them; and theſe Experience his Clemency. §. 33. All this time the *Romans* dare not appear in the Field. Their *Conſuls* are not Soldiers, and the People have no Confidence in the *Patricians*. Their Allies are not in a Condition to help them; and the *Æqui* have now join'd the *Volſci*: So that *Coriolanus*'s Army is very numerous, when he ſets down before *Lavinium*. During this Siege, the *Romans* have ſome thoughts of appeaſing their injur'd Countryman, and the People cry out to have the Decree of his Baniſhment repeal'd. But, which is very ſurprizing, the Senate, who had formerly been his Protectors, oppoſe it: Which *Coriolanus* no ſooner underſtands, but, leaving one Part of his Army before *Lavinium*, he comes and encamps with the other, within forty *Stadia* of *Rome*, at the *Foſſa Cluilia*. As he continues there that Evening, and a good Part of the next Day, without making any Motion, the *Romans* imagine he only waits an Opportunity of reconciling himſelf with his Country. The Senate ſend therefore a Deputation to him of five illuſtrious Senators, who had all been *Conſuls*. §. 34. When *Coriolanus* underſtands that the Deputies are coming, he pleaſes himſelf with the Thought of humbling thoſe proud Republicans. He gives them Audience ſitting, and ſurrounded by the moſt conſiderable Men among the *Volſci*. *Minutius*, who had been his chief Advocate, is their Speaker. He puts him in mind of the Regard the *Patricians* had always ſhewn him, and even excuſes, in ſome meaſure, the People, of whom nine *Tribes* had voted for him. He expoſtulates with him concerning the Unreaſonableneſs of carrying his Reſentments to an unbounded Exceſs, reminds him of the Inſtability of Fortune, tho' it has hitherto favour'd him; and in fine, invites him to throw himſelf into the Arms of his Mother-City, which opens her Boſom to receive him.

Year of ROME 265.

22d Conſulship.

Coriolanus anſwers with a haughty Air, That he has more Parts to act than one: That he is *Coriolanus*; That he is *an injur'd Roman*; and That he is *General of the Volſci*. That as to the *firſt*, he remembers with the utmoſt Pleaſure all his Obligations to the Deputies, and eſpecially their generous Protection of his Mother, Wife, and Children, ſince his Baniſhment. He bids them make their Demands, and they ſhall ſee how far his Gratitude will carry him. *But as I am an injur'd* Roman, adds he, *is a bare Re-eſtabliſhment in* Rome *a ſufficient Satisfaction for the Affronts I have receiv'd? Can there be any Safety for me, while a* Sicinnius, or *a* Decius, *is able to arm the Populace againſt my Life? No!* Rome *is an unnatural Mother, who has caſt off a Son who was uſeful to her, and zealous for her Glory, and ſhe ſhall ſoon know by the Effects of my juſt Reſentment, whoſe Cauſe it is that the Gods eſpouſe.* He then tells the Deputies, That, as General of the *Volſci*, he muſt direct them to apply to the Nation he ſerves, and in a ſuppliant manner ask Peace. And he engages to procure it for them upon Condition, that *Rome* reſtores all ſhe has taken from the *Volſci*, makes a Treaty of Union with them on the ſame Foot as that with the *Latins*, *&c.* He allows them thirty Days to conſider of it. In the mean time, he promiſes, that for *Minutius*'s ſake, he will draw off his Troops further from *Rome*. §. 35. It was *Coriolanus*'s Fate to be the Object of Jealouſy wherever he came. *Attius Tullus* becomes of a ſudden his moſt implacable Enemy, and whiſpers Calumnies every where againſt him, as betraying the *Volſci*. The *Roman* has no Suſpicion of this, and employs the thirty Days Truce in making new Conqueſts in *Latium*. He takes *Longula*, *Satricum*, *Ecetræ*, *Setia*, *Poluſca*, *Albicum*, *Mugilla*, and at laſt *Co-*

Year of ROME *rioli*, which he reſtores to its old Maſters. He then returns, and encamps before *Rome* with all his Forces. §. 36. The *Romans* had ſpent the thirty Days in Deliberations, and the Reſult of the Senate's Debates, may ſerve to give a true Notion of the Temper of thoſe Republican Spirits. They reſolve never to receive Law from their Enemy, nor ſo much as treat of Peace with him, till he has laid down his Arms, is retired into the Country of the *Volſci*, has ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, and the *Roman* People have conſented to accept the Terms propoſed. They chuſe ten new Deputies to carry this Meſſage to *Coriolanus*. He gives them a ſhort and diſdainful Anſwer, refuſes to hear their Reply, threatens to treat them as Spies, if they don't immediately quit the Camp, and allows the Republick but three Days to change her Reſolution. The Report of the Deputies terrifies the City. All the Miniſters of Religion are ordered to go in Proceſſion to the Camp of the *Volſci*; and without abating any thing of the Pretenſions of the Senate, to exhort him to lay down his Arms. But this Deputation is as fruitleſs as the former ones. The Conſternation among the Citizens is univerſal; yet they are reſolved to run all the Hazards of a Siege. In this Diſtreſs the Ladies fly to the *Capitol*, and proſtrate themſelves before the Statue of *Jupiter*. There, *Valeria*, Siſter of the Great *Poplicola*, is ſtruck with the Thought, that Women may perhaps accompliſh what Men cannot; and ſhe perſuades the reſt of the Ladies to follow her to the Houſe of *Veturia*, the beloved Mother of *Coriolanus*. §. 37. *Veturia* is ſurprized at the Sight of ſo much unexpected Company; but *Valeria* tells her, ſhe is the only Refuge they have left in their Misfortunes: and after much Reaſoning and Intreaty, perſuades her to make a laſt Attempt to ſoften her Son. *Veturia* takes *Volumnia*, her Son's Wife, and his Children with her; and attended by a Train of other Ladies, ſets out in her Chariot for the Camp. *Coriolanus* has notice, by Scouts, of their Approach, and reſolves to hold out againſt this new Deputation: but as ſoon as he hears who the Ladies are, he is half ſubdued, and walks out of his Tent to meet his Mother. He orders the *Lictors* of his Guard to lower their *Axes*, and lay down their *Faſces* before her. He comes to embrace her: But the haughty Matron, inſtead of appearing a Suppliant, aſſumes the imperious Mother, and thus addreſſes her Son: *Before I receive your Embraces*, Coriolanus, *let me know whether I am your Mother, or your Captive?* She then expoſtulates with him in a moving manner, and the proud *Roman* is ſtruck dumb at her Preſence. He ſeems to relent; and *Veturia* ſeizing the lucky Moment, falls down at his Feet, and intreats him, for her ſake, to ſpare his native City. *Volumnia*, and her Children, at the ſame time proſtrate themſelves on the Ground; and *Coriolanus* at this Sight, can hold out no longer. He cries out, *Mother, you diſarm me. May the Gods grant, that my reſpectful Compliance may not turn to my Deſtruction! You gain a Victory over your Son, which is indeed advantageous to your Country, but will prove fatal to him.* This ſaid, he retires with his Mother and Wife to his Tent, where the Conditions of his Retreat are adjuſted. *Veturia*, and her Companions, are receiv'd with Acclamations at their Return; and the Senate allow them to chuſe their Reward. *We ask nothing*, replies *Veturia*, *but leave to build a Temple, at our own Expence, to* THE FORTUNE OF WOMEN. The Senate are charm'd with her Diſintereſtedneſs, but order the Temple and Statue to be erected at the Expence of the Publick. *Valeria* is the firſt Prieſteſs in it. §. 28. *Coriolanus* leads back his Troops into the Country of the *Volſci*, and divides all the Spoil among his Soldiers, without reſerving any thing for himſelf. However, ſome murmur at the Reſpect he has ſhewn for his Mother and his Country. *Attius* foments theſe Uneaſineſſes, and at length prevails to get him cited before the *Antiates*, to anſwer a Charge of High Treaſon. He makes himſelf the Accuſer; and when *Coriolanus* attempts to ſpeak in his Defence, the oppoſite Faction cry out, *Kill him, Stab him*; and immediately he is murder'd. The Soldiers exceedingly lament his Death, and regret the Loſs of him. Magnificent Obſequies are order'd for him by the *Volſci:* And tho' the Senate have Reaſons of State for not doing him the ſame Funeral Honours, yet they give the Ladies leave, at their Requeſt, to go into Mourning for ten Months. [The Character of *Coriolanus*.] Upon the News of his Death, the *Conſuls* venture to take the Field. But tho' the Confederate *Æqui* and *Volſci* quarrel among themſelves about the Choice of a General, and fight a bloody Battel; yet the Coward-*Conſuls* dare not attack them in their Retreat home; but chuſe to return to *Rome*, where they are receiv'd with the Hiſſes of the People.

FORTUNA MULIEBRIS.

BOOK VIII.

266. §. 1. THE *Romans* had of late placed ſuch Perſons only at their Head, as were pliable and ſubmiſſive, without much regard to other Qualifications: But having experienced the Inconveniences of being govern'd by Men of little Merit, they reſolve for the future to change their Politicks; and therefore chuſe now two *Conſuls*, who

have

23d Consulship. have ſignalized their Bravery and Capacity in War, *Aquilius Tuſcus*, and *Sicinnius Sabinus*. The former marches againſt the *Hernici*, and the latter againſt the *Volſci*. *Aquilius* gains a complete Victory, and takes the Enemy's Camp. This Succeſs rouzes the Indolence of the *Romans*, and animates them to aſſume their former Aſcendant over the neighbouring Nations. §. 2. Nor indeed can the *Volſci*, who were ſo formidable under the Conduct of *Coriolanus*, withſtand the brave Troops commanded by the *Conſul Sicinnius*. They are entirely defeated, and their General, *Attius Tullius*, is ſlain in the Battel. This Victory being of greater Conſequence than that of *Aquilius*, *Sicinnius* is decreed a Triumph, and the other only an *Ovation*. §. 3. Theſe great Succeſſes make the *Romans* take delight in beſtowing the *Conſulſhip* only on brave Warriors; ſo that *Sp. Caſſius*, (who had been twice *Conſul* before) and *Proculus Virginius*, are choſen for the preſent Year. It falls to *Virginius*'s Lot to make War with the *Æqui*, who, upon the Rumor of the *Roman* Army's approach, retire with all their Effects within their Cities: and the *Conſul* not being in a Condition to undertake a Siege, returns to *Rome*. *Caſſius* marches againſt the confederated *Volſci* and *Hernici*, who ſubmit, without fighting, but not the latter, till they are deſerted by the former. The *Conſul* has ſo much Deference for the Senate, that he will conclude no Alliance with them, till the *Conſcript Fathers* have paſſed a Decree for their Admiſſion into the Friendſhip of *Rome:* And this ſo obliges the Senators, that they empower *Caſſius* to draw up the Conditions of the Treaty himſelf. This Mark of Diſtinction emboldens the ambitious *Conſul* to demand the Honours of a Triumph; and tho' not due to him, as not having gained any Victory, yet it is granted: but his Pride is ſo viſible, that many begin from this time to ſuſpect his Deſigns. §. 4. *Caſſius*, in drawing up the Conditions of a Treaty with the *Hernici*, only copies thoſe which had been formerly granted the *Latins*, a Nation long attached to *Rome*. This Condeſcenſion gives umbrage to ſome penetrating Republicans, and is thought ſo unreaſonable, that it is enacted, that two thirds of the Lands belonging to the *Hernici*, ſhall be taken from them. But then the difficulty is, How theſe Lands ſhall be diſpoſed of. *Caſſius*, who has his private Views of Ambition, and is deſirous to attach the Allies of the Republick to him, propoſes a Law for the dividing theſe, and ſome other Lands uſurped by the *Patricians*, in equal Portions between the People of *Rome* and the *Latins*. The Senators being jealous of *Caſſius*'s Deſigns, as well as touched in private Intereſt, oppoſe the Law. *Virginius* joins with the Senate, inveighs bitterly againſt his Collegue, and is ſeconded by *Appius Claudius*. So that *Rome* is divided into two Factions. The *Tribunes of the People*, (whether diſpleas'd to ſee a *Conſul*, Author of a Law which favour'd the People, or afraid of aggrandizing a Man who would have it in his Power to ſubdue them, when he had made himſelf Maſter in the Republick) ſide with *Virginius*, and oppoſe the paſſing of the Law. Nay, they have addreſs enough to bring over to them a good Part of the People, who at firſt had been fond of *Caſſius*, and blamed both *Tribunes* and *Patricians*, as betraying their Intereſts. *It is a Shame*, ſaid the *Tribunes*, *to ſuffer Lands which you have acquired by the Sweat of your Brows, and by your Blood, to be profuſely diſtributed among Allies who had no ſhare in your Conqueſts. Why are the* Hernici *to have one third of their Lands left to them? Ought they not, as a conquer'd People, to be entirely depriv'd of them? There is undoubtedly,* Romans, *a Deſign upon your Liberty: Your Slavery will be the Conſequence of this fatal Diviſion of Lands, which the artful* Conſul *would make between you and Foreigners.* One Day, when *Caſſius* and *Virginius* are diſputing before the People, *Rabuleius*, a cunning *Tribune*, addreſſes himſelf thus to both of them: *Is not your Diſpute*, ſays he, *whether the People of* Rome *ſhall themſelves take Poſſeſſion of all the conquer'd Lands, or ſhare them with the* Hernici *and* Latins? The *Conſuls* agree it is. Upon which the *Tribune*, turning to the People, ſays, *Our* Conſuls *are agreed as to the main Point; they are neither of them for excluding you from one third of the Lands in Diſpute. Loſe no time then,* Romans, *in ſeizing what is unanimouſly granted you. As for the reſt, let it continue in Suſpence.* This Advice pleaſes the People, and they are for having the Clauſe, in favour of Foreigners, dropt. But *Caſſius*, who is fond of his own Scheme, diſmiſſes the Aſſembly, and nothing is concluded. The People now all favour *Virginius*; ſo that *Caſſius* pretends to be indiſpoſed, and does not appear abroad; but is contriving how to force the paſſing his Law. To this end he brings as many *Latins* as he can to *Rome*; for they had the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. *Virginius*, aware of his Collegue's Deſign, commands all ſuch as are not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Caſſius* publiſhes a Counter-Order; ſo that a Sedition is like to enſue. The Senate aſſembles; *Appius Claudius* ſpeaks firſt, and oppoſes the *Caſſian* Law in both its Parts. He is not for diſtributing the Lands, either to *Romans* or Foreigners, and inveighs againſt *Virginius*, who had ſhew'd too much Indulgence to the People and their *Tribunes*. He propoſes to have Part both of the newly-conquer'd Lands, and of thoſe old Lands which ſome of the Nobility had uſurp'd, ſold, and the Produce put into the Treaſury, for defraying the Expences of the Army; and laſtly, moves that a College of ten Senators, under the Name of *Decemviri*, may be created to meaſure theſe Lands,

Year of ROME 267.

24th Consulship.

Cassius *propoſes a Law.*

Year of ROME Lands, and determine the Differences which may ariſe about their Limits. *Sempronius Atratinus* ſpeaks next, and propoſes a new Method. He obſerves, that there are two Sorts of Lands to be diſpoſed of; ſome, which were formerly conquer'd by the *Romans*, without the Aſſiſtance of their Allies; and theſe he would have divided between the Publick and the indigent *Romans* only. Others, that had been lately conquer'd from the *Hernici*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Latins*; and theſe latter he would have divided between the Publick, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. As to the Creation of the *Decemviri*, he ſeconds that Motion. *Sempronius*'s Scheme is univerſally applauded, and drawn up into a Decree of the Senate, by which it is enacted, *That ten of the Fathers, who had been* Conſuls, *ſhall be appointed to divide the conquer'd Lands, between the Treaſury, the* Romans, *and their Allies. That for the future, all the Lands the* Romans *ſhall conquer, with the Aſſiſtance of their Allies, ſhall be divided between the Publick Treaſury, the Citizens of* Rome, *and thoſe Allies. And* laſtly, *That the Choice of the firſt* Decemviri *ſhall be left to the* Conſuls *for the enſuing Year.* AGRARIAN LAW.

268. §. 5. *Q. Fabius* and *S. Cornelius* are elected in the *Campus Martius*; and at the ſame time two young *Patricians* of Diſtinction, *Cæſo Fabius* (Brother to the firſt nam'd *Conſul*) and *L. Valerius*, (Nephew of *Poplicola*) are appointed *Quæſtors*. Theſe latter are no ſooner enter'd into Office, but they ſummon the old *Conſul Caſſius* to appear at their Tribunal, to anſwer the Charge of endeavouring to rob the publick Treaſury of its Effects, in order to give them to Foreigners, of aiming at Tyranny, *&c.* All the Particulars are prov'd againſt him by the Teſtimony of the People aſſembled; and ſome ſay that his own Father condemn'd and put him to Death. §. 6. But *Dion. Hal.* relates, that at the Motion of the *Quæſtors* he was led up to the *Capitol*, and thrown headlong from the *Tarpeian* Rock into the *Forum*. The People would have involv'd his three innocent Children in the ſame Puniſhment, it being cuſtomary, till this time, to extend the Puniſhment of Criminals to their Poſterity. But this unjuſt Uſage is now aboliſh'd by the Senate. §. 7. But the Pride of the *Patricians*, and their contemptuous Treatment of the Commons, make the Citizens ſoon regret the Loſs of *Caſſius*, who had been their zealous Defender. The Nomination of the *Decemviri* is delay'd, notwithſtanding the Sollicitation of the *Tribunes* to have the *Agrarian* Law executed. The *Conſuls* have Recourſe to their old Expedient, of amuſing the People with a War. But they dare not attempt to make Levies in a legal Way, leſt the *Tribunes* ſhould oppoſe it. To intimidate the People, and terrify them to Obedience, they cauſe a Rumour to be ſpread, that the Senate is going to appoint a *Dictator*, and that *Appius Claudius* is to be the Man. This dreadful Report makes ſuch an Impreſſion on them, that they inliſt themſelves in the Troops, without Delay. *Cornelius* enters the Country of the *Veientes*, and *Fabius* marches againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. Both *Conſuls* have happy Expeditions. *Fabius* ſells all the Spoils taken from the *Volſci*, and puts the Money into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*, without giving the leaſt Part

269. of it to his Soldiers. And now, this Year being expired, his Brother *Cæſo Fabius*, the *Quæſtor*, and *Æmilius Mamercinus*, are choſen *Conſuls* in the *Comitia by Centuries*. §. 8. *Æmilius* marches againſt the *Volſci*, and is worſted in the firſt Engagement; but the Enemy coming to beſiege his Camp, and he receiving a Reinforcement ſent by his Collegue *Fabius*, ſallies out upon them, routs them, and then pillages their Country. §. 9. During the Abſence of the *Conſuls*, the Senate, to divert the People's Minds from the *Agrarian* Law, order the Conſecration of the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, which had been vow'd by *Poſthumius*, at the Battle of *Regillus*; and they appoint his Son *Poſthumius* to perform the Ceremony. In the mean while, the

270. Time comes for electing new *Conſuls*; and *M. Fabius* (Brother of *Quintus* and *Cæſo*) and *L. Valerius* (who in his Queſtorſhip had got *Caſſius* condemn'd) are choſen. *Rome* has now two Enemies to deal with, the *Volſci* and the *Veientes:* But *Mœnius* the *Tribune* oppoſes the Edict of the Senate, and the Orders of the *Conſul* for raiſing Troops, till the *Decemviri* are named, for executing the *Agrarian* Law. The *Conſuls* have no Expedient but to remove their Tribunal out of the City, beyond the Gates of which the *Tribunes* have no Juriſdiction; and there two Armies are preſently form'd; one to march againſt the *Veientes*, the other againſt the *Volſci*. The *Conſuls*, being diffident of the Good-will of their Troops, agree to act only upon the defenſive; and *Fabius*, who has to do with the *Veientes*, obſerves the Agreement. But *Valerius* has a deſperate and bloody Battle with the *Volſci*, without much Advantage to either Side. The Friends of *Valerius* in *Rome* give out, that it was the Want of Affection in the Soldiers to their General, that a complete Victory was not gained: But the Soldiers, in all their Letters, lay the Fault on the Incapacity of their General. In the mean time, *Rome* is alarm'd with Prodigies, Spectres, *&c.* the Gods are ſuppos'd to be provok'd at being ſerv'd by impure Hands; *Opimia*, an unfortunate *Veſtal*, is buried alive, and expiatory Sacrifices are offer'd. §. 10. When the Time comes to elect new *Conſuls*, the *Patricians* are for promoting *Appius Claudius*, (Son of the famous *Claudius*, who had ſo ſignally ſhew'd his Averſion to the People,) but as often as the *Conſuls* order the *Centuries* to aſſemble, the *Tribunes* oppoſe

25th CONSULSHIP.

26th CONSULSHIP.

27th CONSULSHIP.

pose the Election; and on the other hand, the *Consuls* oppose the *Comitia* summon'd by the *Tribunes*. This they had a mutual Right to do. But these Disputes threatening a Sedition, the Senate agree to reduce the Republick, for some time, to an *Interregnum*. *Semp. Atratinus* is the first *Interrex*, and has the Care of the publick Affairs for a few Days. To him succeeds *Sp. Lartius*, who orders the *Centuries* to assemble in the *Campus Martius*, where they come to a peaceable Election of *C. Julius*, and *Q. Fabius*; the former a Favourer of the People, the latter a Partisan of the *Patricians*, but not violent. The *Tribunes* make some Opposition to new Levies, on the old Pretence; however, both Generals march against the *Veientes*, who at their Approach retire into their Forts, and leave the *Consuls* Masters of the Country. §. 11. And now *Rome* becomes sensible what a Wound the Party-Zeal of the People and *Patricians* had given to the antient Form and original Liberty of Elections. As the Commons insist on chusing *Patricians* of their Party, and the Senate of such as are in the Interest of the Nobility, one of each is appointed. The Senate name *Caeso Fabius*, and the People chuse *Sp. Furius*. The Danger of the *Roman* Allies, and of *Rome* it self, which is threatned with a Siege by the *Hetrurians*, calls for a speedy Defence. But when two Armies come to be raised, *Icilius* the *Tribune* revives the old Quarrel about the Division of Lands. To remove this Obstacle, *Appius Claudius* advises the *Consuls* to sow Division among the *Tribunes* themselves. The Project succeeds, and the Troops are rais'd. *Furius* is to act against the *Æqui*, and being belov'd by his Soldiers has a successful Campaign. But the Troops of *Fabius*, who are to engage with the *Veientes*, chuse rather to lose their own Glory, than gain any Honour to their General. They refuse to pursue the Enemy after they have broke them; and the following Night strike their Tents, without Orders, and march back to *Rome*. §. 12. The *Patricians* cast their Eyes on *M. Fabius*, and the People on *Cn. Manlius Cincinnatus*, to be *Consuls* for the next Year; and all the Hopes of *Rome* is founded in their Wisdom and Unanimity; for she is now threatned by a prodigious Army of *Hetrurians*. *Pontificius* the *Tribune* would have renew'd the old Complaint, but the Senators successfully repeat the Artifice of *Claudius*. The Forces raised amount to 20000, which are equally divided between the two *Consuls*. They encamp near each other, but have so little Dependance on the Affection of their Troops, that they keep quiet within their Entrenchments; at which the Enemy triumph, believing it to proceed from Fear. §. 13. At this Time an Accident happens which employs the Divination of the *Hetrurians*. Lightning falls upon *Manlius*'s Tent, throws down a Pan of Coals, damages his Arms, kills his War-Horse, and some of his Servants. The *Augurs* who attend the *Roman* General, declare that his Camp will be taken by the Enemy. And upon their Credit he decamps the same Night, and joins his Army to that of *Fabius*. The *Hetrurians* interpret the Omen to their Advantage; first seize the deserted Camp, and then insult the *Romans* in their Entrenchments. *These are a Parcel of Women*, say they, *whom the Republick has sent hither to rid her self of them. If she has no better Defenders, she ought to abate much of her Pride.* Upon this, those very Soldiers who a little time before had plotted together not to come to a Battle, now murmur and mutiny at their Commanders for delaying to lead them on. The Generals Policy is, by refusing them Leave to fight, to make them the more eager; and accordingly, they grow so impatient to engage, that the *Consuls* are forc'd to take away their Arms, lest they should fall upon the Enemy without Orders. But then the Soldiers come in Crowds about their Generals Tents, making great Clamours; and *Fabius* takes that Opportunity to reproach them with their former Behaviour, and to encrease their Ardour by expressing some Remains of Diffidence he has of them. The Soldiers immediately cry out, *Lead us on, and lay aside your Suspicions.* And then one *Flavoleius*, a Man in great Esteem among the Troops, getting upon an Eminence, *Fellow Soldiers*, says he, *do you take the same Oath I am now going to do.* At which Words, he draws his Sword, and lifting it up to Heaven, cries out, *O Great* Jupiter, Mars, *and Thou God, whosoever thou art, who punishest Breach of Faith, I call you to witness that I will never return to* Rome *till I have conquer'd.* The *Consuls*, inferior Officers and Soldiers, all take the same Oath, and confirm it by Sacrifices. [A Description of the Battle with the *Hetrurians*.] The *Romans* gain the Victory; but *Manlius*, one of the *Consuls*, and *Quintus Fabius*, Brother of the other *Consul*, are kill'd. While *M. Fabius* is yet in his Camp, a Triumph is decreed him at *Rome*. But when the *Romans* expect to see him enter the City in a magnificent Chariot, they are surpriz'd to see him enter it in Mourning, and bringing with him the Bodies of his Collegue and Brother. He declines the Honours of a Triumph, but mounts the *Tribune*, and there makes a Panegyrick on the two illustrious Heroes who fell in Battle; without saying any thing of his own Exploits. He then abdicates the *Consulship*, that he may not countenance the least Appearance of Monarchy, and leaves the Government in an *Interregnum*, while he retires to his own House to take care of the Wounds he had receiv'd in the Action. From this time the *Fabii* become popular. §. 14. The *Roman* People assemble in the *Campus Martius*, and chuse *Caeso Fabius* (now a third time)

INTERREGNUM. — 28th CONSULSHIP. — 29th CONSULSHIP. — 30th CONSULSHIP. — BATTLE OF VEII. — 31st CONSULSHIP.

Year of ROME 271. 272. 273. 274.

Year of time) and *T. Virginius*, *Conſuls*. *Fabius* endeavours to perſuade the Senate to quiet
ROME all domeſtick Diſſentions, by putting in execution the *Agrarian* Law. But ſome rally, others murmur at his new Zeal for the Intereſts of the Populace. He is order'd to march againſt the *Æqui*; whom he ſoon diſperſes; and afterwards goes ſeaſonably to the Relief of his Collegue, who, with his Troops, is ſurrounded by the *Veientes*, and, without timely Aſſiſtance, will be forc'd to ſurrender at Diſcretion. §. 15. The *Roman* Territory being perpetually infeſted by the *Hetrurians*, who, like Robbers, make miſchievous Incurſions into it; and the Senate being greatly at a Loſs how to put a Stop to them, the *Conſul Fabius* forms a Deſign worthy of his Affection for his Country. He aſſembles his own Family, and FABII. having communicated to them his Project, which was, That the Family of the *Fabii* ſhould alone, and at their own Expence, take upon them to ſecure the Frontiers from the Invaſions of the *Veientes*; he then imparts it to the Senate, obtains their Approbation, and then the *Fabii* ſet out, with the univerſal Applauſe and good Wiſhes of the People. They are three hundred and ſix in Number. *M. Fabius* commands the Troop; and he carries with him about 4000 Men, Vaſſals and Clients of his Family. They arrive at length upon the Banks of a little River call'd the *Cremera*. There they build a Fort in a ſteep Place, ſurround it with a double Ditch, and erect Towers at certain Diſtances. Their Manner of making War is to divide their Men into four ſmall Parties, one of which is left to guard the Fort, while the other three march into three ſeveral Parts of the Enemy's Country, and pillage it; and nothing
275. can be more ſucceſsful than their firſt Expeditions. §. 16. In the mean time 32d CONnew *Conſuls* are choſen, *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Servilius*. As for *Cæſo Fabius*, his Year SULSHIP. is no ſooner expir'd, but he deſires the Senate's Permiſſion to go join his Family on the Frontiers; and the *Conſcript Fathers*, to gain him the more Reſpect, create a new Office for him, and give him the Title of *Proconſul*, by which he is inveſted PRO- with the ſame Power over the Troops he commands, as a *Conſul*; but it gives him CON- no other Authority. The Republick being like to have a ſerious War with all *He-* SUL. *truria*, and the *Æqui* and *Volſci* beginning to ravage the Country of the *Latins*, the *Conſuls* raiſe three Armies. *Æmilius* leads one againſt the *Hetrurians*, *Servilius* another againſt the *Volſci*, and *S. Furius* (made *Proconſul*) the third againſt the *Æqui*. The *Æqui* fly at the Approach of *Furius*. The *Volſci* repulſe *Servilius*, and force him to keep within his Camp. The *Veientes* are defeated by *Æmilius*, who treats them with Indulgence, upon their Submiſſion. At this the Senate are angry, and refuſe him a Triumph; but invite him to aſſiſt *Servilius* againſt the *Volſci*; and on that Condition, promiſe to receive him into Favour. He being piqued, returns to *Rome*, disbands his own Army, recalls the *Proconſul Furius*, and complains to the People, that the Senate prolong the War, only to delay the Execution of the *Caſſian* Law. And from this time, the *Tribunes* renew the Pretenſions of the Commons
276. to the Diviſion of the conquer'd Lands. §. 17. Such is the Situation of Affairs 33d CONat *Rome*, when *C. Horatius* and *T. Menenius* enter upon the *Conſulate*. The *Fabii* ſtill SULSHIP. keep their Poſt, and it is not long before the faithleſs *Veientes* give them freſh Occaſion to employ their Valour. The reſt of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* being diſſatisfy'd with the Treaty the *Veientes* had made with *Rome*, reduce them to the *Dilemma* of either breaking with the Republick, or ſuſtaining a War with all *Hetruria*. They chuſe the former, and give the *Fabii* Notice to quit the Frontiers. Upon this, Hoſtilities are renewed. The *Veientes* lay Snares for the Brave *Romans*, and at length ſurprize them in an Ambuſh. The *Fabii* are all cut off; not one of the whole Fa- FABII *all* mily eſcapes. [The Particulars of the Action are related.] *Rome*, at ſuch a Loſs, *ſlain*. ſhews all the Concern which Gratitude can expreſs; the Gate *Carmentalis*, through which they had paſs'd when they left the City, is henceforward call'd the *Accurſed* *Porta Sce-* *Gate*; the Day of their Defeat is reckon'd among the unlucky Days, and it is for- *lerata*. bidden to begin any thing of Conſequence upon it. §. 18. The *Conſul Menenius*, who had Orders to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, might, if he had uſed Diſpatch, have deliver'd the *Fabii* in their Diſtreſs: But he is thought to have deſignedly and out of Jealouſy, given them up to Deſtruction. He encamps diſadvantageouſly on the Side of a Hill, without ſecuring the Top of it, ſo that the *Hetrurians* encamp above him, attack him from the higher Ground, give him an entire Defeat, and take his Camp. Thence they advance as far as the Hill *Janiculus*; but the *Conſul Horatius* gives them a ſevere Blow, near the Temple of *Hope*, and revives the Courage of the *Romans*. §. 19. The *Hetrurians*, however, do not decamp from the *Janiculus*, but keep the City block'd up, and the Lands having been left unſown the laſt Year, a Famine begins to be felt in *Rome*. The meaner People go together in Companies to plunder the Granaries of the Rich; and the *Tribunes* encourage their Clamours and Mutinies, by laying the Scarcity to the Fault of the Senate. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſcript Fathers* give the beſt Orders poſſible for the Relief of the People. It is all in vain; and the *Romans* are under a Neceſſity of ſtarving, or of driving the Enemy farther off. They march out therefore, under the Command of their
277. two new *Conſuls*, *A. Virginius*, and *P. Servilius*, and give the *Hetrurians* an entire 34th CONOverthrow SULSHIP.

Overthrow. The two Generals are decreed a Triumph: But when they ſee the great Number of *Romans* who periſh'd in the Battle, and who are brought to the City to be burn'd, they decline it. Year of *ROME*

And now the Complaints about the *Agrarian* Law are renew'd; but the Senate quiet them by ſetting *Tribunes* againſt *Tribunes*, as formerly. Nevertheleſs, that the People may have ſomething to amuſe them, the *Tribunes* begin a Proſecution againſt the late *Conſul Menenius*, whom they hate, merely for his Adherence to the *Patricians*. They accuſe him at the Tribunal of the Commons, of having loſt the Fort of *Cremera*, and ſuffer'd the *Fabii* to periſh, by his Dilatorineſs; to which Crimes are added, the imprudent Operations of his Campaign. The People are aſſembled by *Tribes*, and condemn him to Death; but the Sentence is chang'd into a Fine of 2000 *Aſſes of Braſs*, which reduces him to Indigence. He is ſo ſenſible of the Affront done him, that he grows ſullen, moroſe, refuſes the Liberality of his Friends, and pines away for Want. He was the Son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*. His Death affected even thoſe who had condemn'd him, and it greatly augmented the Animoſity between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. The former keep no longer any Meaſures with the latter. §. 20. Such is the State of *Rome*, when *P. Valerius Poplicola*, and *C. Nautius*, take upon them the Government of it. The *Tribunes* are grown fond of humbling the Nobility, and take a particular Delight in ſummoning the *Conſuls* to appear before the Tribunal of the People, as ſoon as they have laid down their Office. And becauſe *Servilius*, in the laſt Action in which the *Hetrurians* were routed, had raſhly purſu'd them too far, and thereby loſt a good Number of his Men, *Cædicius* and *Statius*, two of the *Tribunes*, cite him to appear before the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ*, to anſwer for his Indiſcretion. *Servilius* has too much Confidence in the Goodneſs of his Cauſe to apply to the Senate to intercede for him. When he comes upon his Trial, his Behaviour is noble and modeſt, and his Defence judicious and full of Reaſon. *Virginius*, who had been his Collegue, makes likewiſe an Apology for him; and not only juſtifies him from the Accuſation of the *Tribunes*, but enlarges upon his Ability in War, and aſcribes the Victory chiefly to him. So that *Servilius* is unanimouſly acquitted. §. 21. The *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* having juſt now jointly declar'd againſt *Rome*, the *Conſul Valerius*, by a quick and ſecret March ſurprizes the *Sabine* Camp in the Night, kills many in their Beds, and thoſe who fly are overtaken and cut to Pieces by the *Roman* Cavalry. He then, without loſing Time, marches ſtrait to the Camp of the *Hetrurians*, which was not far off, forces them to an Engagement, and gives them an entire Overthrow. The Honour of this Victory is aſcrib'd to the brave *Servilius*, who had acted as Lieutenant-General; it is acknowledg'd, that he has effectually wiped off the Ignominy of his Accuſation, by his laſt Conduct; and the *Conſul* does him Juſtice in the Diſtribution of Rewards. But *Valerius* is decreed a Triumph. The People come out of the City a great way, crown'd with Flowers, to meet the Army, burn Perfumes as the Conqueror paſſes by, and treat his Soldiers with Wine. *Nautius* had kept near *Rome*, to hinder the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*, in caſe they proved victorious, from ſeizing any advantageous Poſt in its Neighbourhood; but upon the News of *Valerius*'s Victory, he is order'd to march to the Aſſiſtance of the *Latins*, againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. He cannot bring the Enemy to a Battle, and is forced to content himſelf with burning their ripe Corn. §. 22. *Aulus Manlius*, and *L. Furius*, are choſen *Conſuls* for the new Year; and it falls to the former's Lot to lead the victorious Army into the Country of the *Veientes*. The Enemy ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, where they are ſo diſtreſs'd by Want, that they turn Suppliants, beg Peace, and are granted a forty Years Truce. *Manlius* is decreed an Ovation. But inteſtine Broils are revived by the *Tribunes* as ſoon as there is Quietneſs Abroad. The *Conſuls* declare reſolutely for the *Patricians*, notwithſtanding the Threats of the Commons. §. 23. In this cloudy Seaſon, *L. Æmilius*, and *Vopiſcus Julius*, enter upon the *Conſulate*. The *Conſuls* of the laſt Year are cited by *Genucius* the *Tribune*, to appear before the People, *for having refuſed to execute the Decree of the Senate, and the* Caſſian *Law, concerning the Diſtribution of Lands*. The Day comes for the Trial. The Accuſed appear; but the Aſſembly is ſurprized to ſee no Accuſer. Some impute his Delay to Buſineſs, others to his being gained over by the *Patricians:* But while every one is interpreting the Abſence of the *Tribune* according to his own Fancy, his Collegues come and inform the Aſſembly, that *Genucius* is found dead in his Bed, without any Marks of Poiſon, or Violence. The People diſperſe like Troops who have loſt their General; the *Tribunes* are terrify'd, and ſilent; the old *Conſuls* are acquitted for Want of an Accuſer, and the *Patrician* Party triumph with Levity. Even thoſe, who had no hand in the *Tribune*'s Death, boaſt that they have been the Authors of it, and publickly declare, that ſuch Strokes are neceſſary, to humble the Pride of the *Tribunes*. At the ſame time, many ſenſible Men among the *Plebeians* condemn the too violent Meaſures of *Genucius*; while the common People in a Rage cry out, That *Liberty is buried with* Genucius. *We have nothing now to do, but to take Arms, or make a Seceſſion.* §. 24. The firſt Fury of the Commons would have been laid aſleep,

35th CONSULSHIP. 278.

36th CONSULSHIP. 279.

37th CONSULSHIP. 280.

GENUCIUS *the Tribune.*

Year of *ROME* asleep, if a Moment's Superiority over the *Plebeian* Party had not made the *Conſuls* haughty and unjuſt. As they are chuſing Soldiers for the Army, they cauſe one *Volero Publius* to be called, to be inliſted as a common Foot-Soldier. *Volero*, tho' of no great Family, had raiſed himſelf, by his Merit, to be an Officer, and expected to have been promoted to the Poſt of a *Centurion* at leaſt. Not able therefore to ſtifle his Reſentment, he complains to the *Conſuls* of their Injuſtice, demands to be reſtor'd to his former Poſt, or to know for what Fault he is degraded. The *Conſuls*, in great Anger, order the *Lictors* to beat him with Rods, in ſight of the People. In vain does the Brave *Roman* appeal to the *Tribunes*. The Death of *Genucius* has terrify'd them, and they dare not appear. He calls out therefore to the Company about him, *Help*, Romans, *help*, he cries; *it is your Protection I implore, ſince our* Tribunes *had rather ſee a* Roman *Citizen beaten with Rods, than run the Hazard of dying in their Beds, by the Treachery of the* Conſuls. The Spectators aſſiſt him, he frees himſelf from the *Lictor*, and a Scuffle enſues. The *Lictors* are repulſed, their *Faſces* broken, and the *Conſuls* themſelves obliged to fly to the Senate-houſe for Refuge. The *Tribunes* recover their Spirits, and level all their Fury at the *Conſuls*, who had ſhewn a Contempt for their Authority, by taking no Notice of *Volero*'s Appeal. They, on the other hand, aſſemble the Senate, and bitterly complain of the Inſult upon their Dignity. And theſe reciprocal Complaints continue till §. 25. *L. Pi-*
281. *narius* and *P. Furius* are choſen *Conſuls*. And then the People immediately proceed to the Election of a *Tribune* in the room of *Genucius*; and they chuſe *Volero*. The Diſturbances are ready to be renew'd, when a dreadful Plague ſuſpends the Animoſity of both Parties. Proceſſions are made, the Diviners and *Pontifices* are conſulted, and the Gods are at length appeas'd, by the Puniſhment of *Urbinia* a *Veſtal*, who by her Incontinence is ſuppos'd to have drawn down the Anger of Heaven upon *Rome*. 38th CONSULSHIP.

The Plague no ſooner ceaſes, than the Spirit of Faction revives. But *Volero* does not attack the *Patricians* in ſuch an ill-bred manner as might be expected from one of his Birth and Education. He endeavours to ſap their Authority by imperceptible Means. He preſents a Petition to the People, deſiring, *That the Magiſtrates appointed by the Commons, may not for the future be elected in* Comitia by Curiæ, *but in* Comitia by Tribes. In this the ſubtle *Tribune* had two Views, very prejudicial to the *Patricians*. In the firſt place, the *Curiæ* were never aſſembled for the Elections, till the Senate had conſented to it by a Decree. In the ſecond place, the *Patricians* being able to command the Suffrages of their Clients, they often got ſuch *Tribunes* of the People elected in *Comitia* by *Curiæ*, as were agreeable to themſelves. But neither of theſe Inconveniences would attend the *Comitia* aſſembled by *Tribes*. The *Tribunes* would be at liberty to aſſemble them without the Conſent of the Senate, and the *Country-Tribes* would not be ſo devoted to the *Patricians*, as thoſe in the City. *Volero* gets two of his Collegues to declare for the Law, and the other two do not diſapprove it. But when the People are aſſembled to deliberate upon it, the *Conſuls* and oldeſt Senators make warm Remonſtrances againſt it. The whole Day is ſpent in ſerious Debates between the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes*; and the Affair is poſtponed to the third Market-Day. During this Interval, the *Patricians* do their utmoſt to engage one *Tribune* at leaſt to proteſt againſt *Volero*'s Law; but to no purpoſe. However, they get the Affair poſtpon'd for three Market-days, *i. e.* twenty-ſeven Days more. And then they place Numbers of their Clients up and down in the *Comitium*, who by their Clamours are to interrupt thoſe who ſpeak for the Law, and by their Applauſes encourage thoſe who ſpeak againſt it. *Volero*, to remedy this Diſorder, forms a Deſign to hinder the *Conſuls* from ſpeaking, and the *Patricians* from appearing, in the next Aſſembly. But a more violent Plague than the laſt, puts a ſtop to all Aſſemblies for ſome Months. In the mean time, *Volero*'s *Tribuneſhip* expires: but he is choſen again; and this diſconcerts all the Meaſures of the *Patricians*. They have but one Expedient left, which is, to ſet up againſt him, *Appius Claudius*, the moſt intrepid and inflexible Man in the Senate. In his Hatred to the *Plebeians*, he equal'd, if not ſurpaſs'd, his Father, the famous *Claudius*. This Man they chuſe *Conſul* for the next Year, and join with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable Senator, and of a ſweet Temper, who deſired to hold the Balance even between the two Parties, and had an excellent Talent at finding Expedients to reconcile them. §. 26. *Appius* following the Dictates of his natural Severity, propoſes to the Senate, to raiſe an Army among the People, and ſend them to vent abroad that martial Courage which made them untractable at home. But *Quinctius* oppoſes this Motion, as violent, unſeaſonable, and unjuſt: And it being his Month of preſiding in the Aſſemblies, both of Senate and People, his Opinion prevails by the help of Authority as well as Reaſon. The Diviſion of the *Conſuls*, and the Union of the *Tribunes*, make *Volero* believe he ſhall now get his Law paſt; and he has the Confidence to add two important Articles to it, *That all Affairs relating to the People, ſhall no longer be brought before the* Curiæ, *but before the* Tribes; and *That the* Ædiles *ſhall be choſen by them*. When the Senate meet to conſult how to ward off this Blow, *Appius* is for making a Decree, to invite all Lovers of their Country to take Arms, *&c.* But the more moderate Coun-

VOLERO'S *Law*.

282. 39th CONSULSHIP.

ſels of *Quinctius* prevail; and the *Tribunes* are deſir'd to appoint an Aſſembly to debate the Merits of *Volero*'s Law; and the *Conſuls* demand leave to ſpeak in it. This latter is granted, but not without difficulty. When the time comes, *Quinctius* ſpeaks, and by his ſoft and inſinuating Eloquence, makes ſuch an Impreſſion upon the People, that *Volero* would certainly have loſt the Day, if *Appius*, when his Turn came to ſpeak, had not by his imperious Behaviour, his Threatnings, and his Invectives againſt the People, and eſpecially againſt their *Tribunes*, render'd all that his Collegue had ſaid, abortive. *Lætorius*, (who paſs'd for the boldeſt and moſt enterprizing Officer in the *Roman* Soldiery, and had for that Reaſon been rais'd to the *Tribuneſhip* at a time when the Civil Broils were like to end in Blows) riſes up to anſwer the *Conſuls*, and without taking notice of *Quinctius*'s Arguments, inſiſts only on the Invectives of *Appius*; which he retorts, and thus concludes his Speech: *But to what purpoſe is it to fight with Words againſt a wild Beaſt? The Sword is the proper Weapon to be uſed in ſuch Engagements.* That *may perhaps make you ſenſible, that the* Roman *People are not ſo deſpicable as you think them. In the mean time, you ſhall experience the Authority of thoſe* Tribunes, *who are the Objects of your Contempt, but whom the Laws have made your Judges.* Upon this, there was a profound Silence; and *Lætorius* lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, ſwore that he would get *Volero*'s Law paſs'd, or periſh: And then, *I command*, ſays he, *I command the* Conſul Appius *to leave the Aſſembly. Appius* makes a Sign, and his Friends and Clients gather about him. The *Tribune* renews the Charge, and commands one of his Officers to carry *Appius* to Priſon. A Scuffle begins between one of the *Conſul*'s *Lictors*, and the *Tribune*'s Officer. However, as Arms were forbidden in the *Comitia*, little Blood is ſpilt in the Fray. *Quinctius*, attended by ſome old Senators, throws himſelf into the midſt of the contending Parties, and ſeparates them; and Night approaching, every one returns home.

LÆTORIUS.

§. 27. As many Perſons are provok'd by the Blows they have receiv'd, it is neceſſary to appeaſe them, before any Determination upon *Volero*'s Law. *Quinctius* undertakes it, goes from the *Conſul* to the *Tribunes*, and from the *Tribunes* to the *Conſul*, and prevails with them to refer their Grievances to the Senate; and there a Decree is made, *That as the Scuffle was not premeditated, but the Effect of a ſudden Commotion, ariſing on both Sides from a pretended Zeal for the Republick, all Injuries committed and receiv'd, ſhould be forgotten.* And now the *Tribunes*, to prevent any Tumult in the next Aſſembly, where the Affair of *Volero*'s Law is to be decided, think fit to ſeize the *Capitol:* Upon which, *Quinctius* finding it is to no purpoſe to hold out any longer, prevails with the Senate, notwithſtanding the Remonſtrances and Reproaches of *Appius*, to conſent to the Law with a good Grace.

VOLERO'S *Law paſs'd.*

§. 28. Soon after this, the *Conſuls* are obliged to take the Field. *Quinctius* marches againſt the *Æqui*, and *Appius* againſt the *Volſci*. The former is ſo much eſteemed and loved by his Army, and they have ſuch a Zeal to gain him Honour, that the *Æqui* do not care to appear againſt Troops ſo diſpos'd. They ſhut themſelves up in their Cities; and the *Conſul* returns to *Rome*. But while *Quinctius* is call'd the Father of his Soldiers, *Appius* is ſtiled by his Troops, *The Tyrant of the Army*. Never was Army more ſeverely govern'd, or Diſcipline executed with more Rigour. The Conſequence of which is, that the Soldiers firſt do their Duty negligently and unwillingly, and at laſt come to an avowed Diſobedience. If *Appius* commands them to make haſte, they march more ſlowly. If he orders them to halt, they run. If he comes to inſpect their Works, their Arms fall down by their Sides, as if they were tired. As ſoon as he appears, they all fix their Eyes on the Ground, without ſaying a word; or if they break ſilence, it is only to curſe him. *Appius* however ventures to lead out his Troops to Battel: but they are no ſooner drawn up, than Officers and Soldiers all fly with one Conſent, and return to the Camp. The raſh *Conſul* would have led them again to face the Enemy the next Day; but they cry out to decamp, and he is forced to comply. As ſoon as *Appius* is enter'd the *Roman* Territory, where he is in a Condition to revenge the Affront offer'd him in the Enemy's Preſence, he, by his own abſolute Authority, condemns ſome of the *Centurions*, and other Officers, to die by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*; others to be beaten to death; and the common Soldiers to be *decimated:* And then returns to *Rome* univerſally hated, as the Cauſe of all the Diſaſters of the Year.

Decimation.

§. 29. And now the Republick chuſes new *Conſuls*, *L. Valerius*, (a ſecond time) and *Tib. Æmilius*; and the *Tribes* create new *Tribunes*. *Æmilius* hates the Senate, becauſe it had refuſed his Father a Triumph; and *Valerius*, to remove the People's Hatred, which he had drawn upon himſelf by his Proſecution of the popular *Caſſius*, devotes himſelf entirely to their Intereſts. The *Tribunes* therefore hope, that they ſhall now, after ſeventeen Years Delay, get the *Caſſian* Law executed. Accordingly, the Senate is convened: The *Tribunes* take their Places as uſual; and the *Conſuls* report their Petition to the Houſe. *Æmilius*, the *Conſul*'s Father, ſpeaks firſt, and votes for creating *Decemviri*, to diſtribute the Lands, and put the *Agrarian* Law in Execution. But *Appius*, that ſworn Enemy of the People, oppoſes it with ſo much Warmth, and ſo much Strength of Reaſon, that the Senate reject the Requeſt of the *Tribunes*, tho' preſented by the *Conſuls*.

40th CONSULSHIP.

283.

Year of *ſuls.* Upon this, the *Tribunes* reſolve to deſtroy ſo violent an Adverſary. They agree
ROME to accuſe him before the People, and make his Behaviour in his *Conſulſhip* amount to a capital Crime. And now no Intreaties can prevail with *Appius* to humble himſelf like a Suppliant. He forbids his Friends to leſſen him by any Sollicitations in his Favour: And when he appears upon his Tryal, his Harangue to the People is rather an Invective, than a Defence. His Steadineſs puts his Enemies into a Conſternation; and tho' under Proſecution as a Criminal, he gains more Reſpect than when he was *Conſul.* So that the *Tribunes* being bent upon his Deſtruction, are forc'd to poſtpone his Sentence to another Day. But *Appius* prevents the Shame of a Condemnation, and kills himſelf. The *Tribunes* endeavour to deprive him of the Funeral Honours due to his Rank and Merit; but the *Conſuls* allow his Body to be carried into the *Forum*, and his Son to pronounce his Funeral Oration. The People hear the Praiſes of the Deceas'd with Patience, and ſhew him great regard after his Death. [His Character.] §. 30. *Æmilius* marches againſt the *Sabines*, and *Valerius* againſt the *Æqui*; but Superſtition in the latter, and Want of Precaution in the former, are the Cauſe, that they both return home without deſerving a Triumph.

284. §. 31. The Beginning of the Adminiſtration of the new *Conſuls*, *A. Virginius* and *T. Numicius*, is diſturb'd by freſh Diſputes about the *Caſſian* Law: but all Seditions are ſtopped by an Alarm from the *Æqui*. *Virginius* leads an Army againſt them, but with little Advantage. But *Numicius*, who marches againſt the *Volſci*, has better Succeſs. And then the two *Conſuls* join their Forces, enter *Sabinia*, and return loaded with Spoil. §. 32. Soon after the Return of the Army, the Commons ſhew their Reſentments againſt the *Patricians*, by refuſing to appear at the *Comitia* for electing new *Conſuls*. To puniſh this Perverſeneſs, the Nobility alone, with their Clients, who repreſent the People, proceed to an Election without them; but being guided by Prudence, 41ſt CONSULSHIP.

285. they chuſe two Men agreeable to both Parties, *T. Quinctius* and *Q. Servilius*. The Commons like them too well to quarrel with the want of Form in their Election. However, they preſs their old Pretenſions about the *Caſſian* Law, till Foreign Wars extricate the *Conſuls* out of the Difficulty. *Servilius* has great Succeſs againſt the *Sabines*; yet his Glory is not equal to what *Quinctius* gains by his Victory over the united Forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. In the Heat of the Battel, and when he is like to be worſted by the Enemy's Superiority of Numbers, he tells his Left Wing, that the Right is victorious, and by that means makes the Left really ſo: he then flies to the Right Wing, informs them of the Defeat of the *Volſci*; and crys out, *Shall I find leſs Valour among you, than among your Fellow-Soldiers? Are not you* Romans *as well as they?* And then nothing can ſtand before them: But *Quinctius* does not think fit to purſue the Enemy; he ſounds a Retreat, and makes a Truce with them for ſome Days. §. 33. The Truce is ſcarcely expired, when the *Conſul* finds his Camp inveſted, about Midnight, by a Multitude of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, five times as numerous as his Army. However, by his able Conduct, he defeats them, and afterwards lays Siege to *Antium*, one of the two chief Cities of the *Volſci*, [the other was *Ecetræ.*] The Inhabitants ſurrender upon Conditions; and *Quinctius* is decreed a Triumph. The Senate and People go without the Walls to meet him, and attend him in his Proceſſion to the *Capitol.* 42d CONSULSHIP.

BOOK IX.

§. 1. IN the ſpace of almoſt three *Centuries*, in which the *Romans* had always had their Swords in their Hands, they had ſcarcely extended their Conqueſts twenty Leagues from *Rome*. To the *Eaſt*, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the *Antiates*, were the only Nations they had ſubdued; and their Dominion over the laſt was as yet but wavering. To the *Weſt*, the Progreſs they had made in *Hetruria*, was ſo inconſiderable, that they had not above two or three Leagues of Land beyond the *Tyber* within their Diſtrict. To the *North*, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* ſtill defended their Territories, and preſerved their Liberty.

286. The *Conſuls* choſen for the Year 286, are *Tib. Æmilius* (a ſecond time) and *Q. Fabius*, Son of one of the three famous Brothers who periſh'd in the Battel of *The Cremera*. *Æmilius*, who had favour'd the People in his firſt *Conſulate*, renews his Endeavours to get the *Caſſian* Law executed. But when Commotions are like to enſue, *Fabius* finds an Expedient to appeaſe both Commons and *Patricians*. He propoſes to ſend a Colony of the poorer ſort, to people and cultivate that pleaſant and fruitful Canton of the *Volſci*, which *Quinctius* had juſt conquer'd; and this Motion is approv'd, and paſs'd into a Decree by the Senate. Three Senators, of whom *Quinctius* is one, are named to make the Diſtribution of the Lands. But ſo fantaſtical are theſe People, who had ſo long ſeditiouſly demanded Lands, that they now refuſe them, when offer'd. They change their Style, and complain of the Senate, who, they ſay, are ſending brave Men out of their Country, becauſe they oppoſe their Oppreſſions. 43d CONSULSHIP.

The People refuſe Lands when offer'd.

Oppreſſions. The greateſt Part chuſe rather to ſtay at *Rome*, and go on, begging Lands, than leave it, in order to take Poſſeſſion of them in another Place. Such Charms do the moſt indigent Citizens find in the Buſtle of great Cities, eſpecially if the People have Authority in them. The Lands of the *Antiates* are divided by three Commiſſioners between the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and ſome of the old Proprietors. Year of *ROME*

Fabius marches an Army againſt the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* another againſt the *Sabines*. The Expedition of the latter has nothing remarkable in it; but the *Æqui* ſubmit to *Fabius*, firſt buy a Truce very dear, and then obtain a Peace, on the Condition of being ſubject to the Republick.

44th CONSULSHIP. §. 2. Upon the Return of the *Conſuls* to the City, *Sp. Poſthumius*, and *Q. Servilius*, (now *Conſul* a ſecond time) are choſen to ſucceed them. The old Inhabitants of the Canton of *Antium*, being almoſt totally deprived of their Lands, take Refuge among the *Æqui*, and turn Robbers. Some of the *Æqui* join them, and make miſchievous Incurſions into the Territory of the *Latins*. Nevertheleſs, theſe faithful Allies are not allow'd to arm in their own Defence, nor will the *Romans* ſend them Troops to defend them. The Senate chuſe rather to appoint a Deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*; and *Fabius*, who had made the Peace with them, is at the Head of the Embaſſy. He finds that they have no mind to give Satisfaction, but only endeavour to amuſe him. He therefore makes his Obſervations, by viſiting their Temples and publick Buildings, and diſcovers that they are filling their Magazines, and preparing for War. Of this he makes a Report to the Senate; and an Army is form'd under *Servilius*; but, by Sickneſs, is hinder'd from entering upon Action till next Year. In the Interval, a Temple, which had been built on the Hill *Quirinalis*, by the laſt King of *Rome*, to DIUS FIDIUS, *i. e.* Jupiter *the Witneſs of Treaties, and the Preſerver of Fidelity*, is dedicated. 287.

DIUS FIDIUS.

45th CONSULSHIP. The War which the Republick was going to renew with the *Æqui* and Fugitive *Antiates*, made the Republick chuſe two *Conſuls*, whoſe Names were formidable to the two Nations; *T. Quinctius*, who had conquer'd *Antium* in his ſecond Conſulate; and *Q. Fabius*, who had forc'd the *Æqui* to ſue for Peace, in his firſt. *Fabius*, who is order'd to march againſt the *Æqui*, tries firſt in vain to reduce them by Negotiation. The two *Conſuls* then join their Forces, and come to a bloody Battel with the Enemy, near *Algidum*, fifteen Miles from *Rome*. There is little Advantage on either Side. The *Æqui* then divide their Army into ſmall Parties, make Incurſions into the *Roman* Territory, and appear where they are leaſt expected. The Senate and City are alarm'd; but the Preſence of *Quinctius* encourages them. He marches out in queſt of the Enemy, to no purpoſe; but *Fabius* by an Ambuſh intercepts them in their Retreat, recovers the Booty they had taken, and then encamps in their Country, to keep them within Bounds. In the mean time, *Quinctius* appoints a *Cenſus* of the *Roman* People, and a *Luſtrum*. The Number of Men able to bear Arms, appears to be 124215. 288.

46th CONSULSHIP. §. 3. In the Election of the new *Conſuls*, the Choice falls upon *A. Poſthumius*, and *Sp. Furius*, Men little skill'd in the Buſineſs of War. The latter commands the Army againſt the *Æqui*, while the former ſtays behind to cover the Country. *Furius* encamps imprudently, decamps, engages raſhly with the Enemy, is defeated, and then ſo cloſely beſieged by them in his new Camp, that not a Man can go out to give notice at *Rome* of his Danger. However, the Senate have notice of it, and in ſo great a Diſtreſs, reſolve upon an Expedient, never uſed but in great Extremity. They give up the *Roman* Government abſolutely into the *Conſul*'s Hands, by theſe Words: *Videret Conſul ne quid Reſpublica detrimenti caperet*; i. e. *Let the* Conſul *take care that the Republick ſuffer no Detriment*. *Poſthumius*, who receiv'd this Commiſſion, makes all take Arms who are able, and gives *T. Quinctius* the Command of the Army, with the Title of *Proconſul*. As ſoon as *Quinctius* comes within ſight of the inveſted Camp, the *Æqui* leave the Attack, and retire in haſte; but *Furius* had before made a Sally, in which his Brother *L. Furius*, and two Cohorts, conſiſting of a thouſand Men, had been ſurrounded by the Enemy, and all ſlain, having choſen rather to die fighting, than ſurrender their Arms. The *Conſul* being now equal in Numbers to the Enemy, becomes the Aggreſſor, and obliges them to keep within their Camp, while *Poſthumius* attacks a great Body of their Pillagers, loaded with Spoil, and makes a great Slaughter of them: And by theſe Succeſſes *Rome* is again in Tranquillity. 289.

47th CONSULSHIP. §. 4. The *Conſuls* for the new Year are *P. Servilius Priſcus*, and *L. Ebutius Elva*. They enter on their Office the firſt of *Auguſt*. A dreadful Plague ſweeps away almoſt all the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, and a fourth Part of the Senators. The Dead are ſo numerous, that they are thrown into the *Tyber*, without Burial. Upon the News of this Mortality, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* enter into a League to go and beſiege *Rome*. They begin with committing Hoſtilities in the Territories of the *Latins* and *Hernici*, who apply to the *Roman* Senate for Succour. But their Deputies find *Ebutius* breathing his laſt, and *Servilius* not far from Death. However, the latter makes himſelf be carried to the Senate-houſe, whither ſome of the Senators likewiſe crawl: But all they can do, is to give leave to the Allies to arm and defend themſelves, and to promiſe them Aſſiſtance in better times. The *Latins* and *Hernici* are forc'd therefore to ſhut themſelves up in their Towns, 290.

and

Year of *ROME* and leave their Country open to the Ravages of the Enemy, who at length appear before *Rome*. The two *Conſuls* are dead, the greateſt Part of the *Tribunes* of the People are carried off, and the reſt unable to give any Help, either with their Hands or Advice: So that the *Ædiles* are the only Magiſtrates in a Condition to aſſiſt the Republick. But notwithſtanding ſo many Calamities, the *Romans* ſeem to have loſt nothing of their antient Steadineſs. They crawl to the Ramparts, and put a good Face upon their Affairs. The very Senators mount the Guard, and ſtand Centinels, and the City is ſtrong on every Side. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* at length lay aſide their Thoughts of a Siege, and turn their Arms towards *Tuſculum*. Juſt as they are decamp'd, an Army of *Latins* and *Hernici* comes to the Relief of *Rome*, and purſues the Enemy; but is defeated by them. In the mean time, the Plague ſtill rages; the People turn their Thoughts wholly to divine Aſſiſtance, all make their Vows upon the Altars, the Ladies ſweep the Temples with their Hair, and continue proſtrate in the Preſence of the Gods; till at length a more wholſome Seaſon puts an End to the Diſtemper, and *Rome* in a Condition to apply her ſelf to Affairs. Several *Patricians* had preſided in the *Interregnum*, ſince the Death of the *Conſuls*; and now *Valerius Poplicola*, being *Interrex*, aſſembles the People by *Centu-*

291. *ries*, for the Election of new ones. §. 4. The *Comitia* elect *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus*; but they do not enter upon Office till the ninth of *Auguſt*. Paſt Afflictions have neither corrected the factious Spirit of the *Romans*, nor diminiſhed their Ardour againſt their Enemies Abroad. The *Tribunes* of the Commons are for immediately reviving the Diſputes about the Diviſion of Lands, but the People are more eager upon revenging the Inſults of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* the laſt Year. Even thoſe whom the Laws exempt from going to War, neglect their Privileges, and voluntarily inliſt themſelves for the Service. So that two *Conſular* Armies are preſently form'd, and it is *Lucretius*'s Fortune to engage with the Confederate Army, and give them a dreadful Overthrow. They loſe 13460 Men in the Battle and Flight. They rally again, and are again defeated by the Forces of the two *Conſuls* united; and theſe Succeſſes ſeem a juſt Pretence for the Abſence of the *Conſuls* from *Rome*; but it occaſions fatal Diſſentions.

TERENTIUS *propoſes a new Law.*

Terentius the *Tribune* pitches on the Time when *Lucretius* and *Veturius* are purſuing their Victories, to repreſent to the People the Iniquities committed in Courts of Juſtice. That the *Conſuls* having no Rule to go by in deciding Cauſes, but their Caprice, are guilty of Tyranny and Oppreſſion. He propoſes therefore, That five Men of known Integrity may be choſen to draw up Rules, whereby the *Conſuls* ſhall govern themſelves in all their Deciſions concerning Eſtates, Honours, Contracts, Wills, *&c.* This reforming Scheme is very diſagreeable to the *Patricians*; and in the Abſence of the *Conſuls* they apply to *Q. Fabius*, Governour of the City. He upbraids the *Tribune* with Baſeneſs, in attacking the Characters of the *Conſuls* in their Abſence; and by his Authority and Diſcourſe obliges *Terentius* to be leſs haſty in purſuing his new Law. At length *Lucretius* and *Veturius* return to *Rome*. The former is decreed a Triumph; but refuſes to accept of it till *Terentius* has conſented to

292. deſiſt from his Purpoſe. (*Veturius* has only an Ovation.) §. 5. However, the Change of *Conſuls* revives the *Terentian* Law. As ſoon as *P. Volumnius Amintinus*, and *Serv. Sulpitius Camerinus*, are enter'd upon Office, all the five *Tribunes*, of whom *Virginius* is the moſt zealous, (*Terentius* being out) uſe their Efforts to get it paſs'd. The Diſſentions on this Head riſe to a great Height, and the publick Uneaſineſs is increas'd by Prodigies, Spectres, Earthquakes, and particularly by the falling of a Sort of Snow like little Pieces of chopp'd Fleſh, of which the Birds eat plentifully. The *Sybil*'s Books are conſulted, and they are made to ſay, that *Rome* is threatned with an Incurſion of Foreigners, who will almoſt reduce her to Slavery; that this foreign War, will be preceded by inteſtine Diviſions, and that the Gods muſt be appeas'd by Sacrifices, in order to make her ſuperior to her Enemies. This, with a Report ſpread by the *Hernici*, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* are arming again, is a ſufficient Pretence for the *Conſuls* to raiſe and march away an Army of thoſe Citizens, who are the main Supports of the *Tribunes*. But as the latter give no Credit to this Report, they exhort the People not to take Arms on any Pretence, till the *Terentian* Law be ſecured. The *Conſuls* come into the *Forum*, ſeat themſelves there in their *Curule Chairs*, and order an Army to be rais'd; but the *Tribunes* openly oppoſe it, and the People pay no Obedience. On the other hand, the *Patrician* Youth make Diſturbances in the *Comitia*, diſperſe the People by Violence, and hinder the reading of the Law, which was drawn up in theſe Words: *Let the People in lawful* Comitia *elect ten Men, of a mature Age, conſummate Wiſdom, and unſpotted Reputation, to draw up a Body of Laws, as well for the publick Adminiſtration, as for the Determination of private Affairs. Let theſe Laws be fixed up in the* Forum; *and let the annual Magiſtrates, as well as other Judges, be obliged to conform themſelves to them in their Deciſions of the Controverſies which may ariſe in* Rome. But at length the *Tribunes* prevail to have the Law propoſed to the People, and then new Intrigues are ſet on foot to hinder its being approved. The young *Patricians* will not ſuffer the

49th CONSULSHIP.

Virginius.

TERENTIAN LAW.

Populace to be preſent where the *Tribunes* are haranguing. And when the Day comes for the *Comitia* by *Tribes* to determine the Affair, they uſe ſuch Violence that the Voting-Place is deſerted. *Cæſo Quinctius*, a tall young Man, of great Strength, Bravery and Eloquence, is at the Head of them, and is always attended by the moſt ſhining Part of the Nobility. At him therefore the *Tribunes* level all their Strength, and reſolve to deſtroy him. *Virginius* declares himſelf his Accuſer, and ſummons him before the People, to anſwer a Charge of a capital Nature. This Affront makes *Cæſo* more violent in his Oppoſition to the *Terentian* Law; and by his Indiſcretions he gives his Adverſary great Advantages. The *Tribunes* enrage the *Plebeians* againſt him; while the Senate and Nobility promiſe him their Protection at the critical Moment. When the Day comes for his Trial, *Cæſo*, whether for Want of true Courage, or at the Requeſt of his Friends and Family, condeſcends to mean and unworthy Sollicitations to ſave his Life. However, he refuſes to ſubmit to be try'd by the People; and this ſets them more againſt him. His Accuſation was, *The having hindered, by Violence, the meeting of ſome judicial Aſſemblies, legally called.* *Cæſo* refuſing to plead, his Father undertakes his Defence, denies the capital Points of the Charge, and as to haſty Words or Blows, he excuſes them as the Indiſcretions of Youth, which deſerve Pity more than Reſentment. Then *T. Quinctius*, (the Uncle of the Accuſed, and who had been three times *Conſul*,) *Sp. Furius*, and *Lucretius*, all give Teſtimony to his Bravery in Battle, and his other good Qualities. Upon which, the People are inclin'd to favour him. But *Virginius* ſtarts a new Crime, which he had ſuborned *Volſcius*, one of his Collegues, to charge upon him. The falſe Witneſs accuſes *Cæſo* of having murdered the Deponent's Brother, and almoſt kill'd the Deponent himſelf, in the Year of the laſt Plague. Upon this, the *Plebeians* are ready to ſtone him; but the *Tribunes* interpoſe, and prevail to have the Sentence deferr'd to another Day. They are afraid to put the Accuſed to Death before he has made his Defence. The only Queſtion is, Whether he ſhall be impriſon'd? *Virginius*'s Officers have already ſeiz'd young *Quinctius*; but his Uncle oppoſes his Impriſonment. To this time no Criminal had been arreſted till he had either confeſs'd his Crime, or been convicted. The *Tribunes* therefore being conſulted, take a middle Way, and conſent to releaſe the Priſoner, upon his giving Bail for his Appearance. The Sum is fixed by the Senate to 3000 *Aſſes of Braſs*, and the *Tribunes* demand ten Citizens to be Security. This was the firſt time that Bail was ever given at *Rome* in Publick and Capital Affairs. *Cæſo* is no ſooner at Liberty, but he leaves *Rome*, and flies to *Hetruria* for Refuge. The *Tribunes* inſiſt on the Security-Money; and *Quinctius* the Father pays the whole, which reduces him almoſt to Want. He is forced to go live in a Cottage, and cultivate with his own Hands a little Field of about four Acres of Ground, on the other Side the *Tyber*.

Year of *ROME*

Cæſo Quinctius.

Bail for Appearance.

The *Tribunes* imagine now that the Baniſhment of *Cæſo* will facilitate the paſſing of the *Terentian* Law, and order all the *Patricians* to be driven away from the Aſſembly of the People. But the Nobility, attended by their Clients, make the *Tribunes* feel the ill Conſequences of their Raſhneſs. Nevertheleſs, out of the *Comitia*, and when the *Terentian* Law is not in queſtion, a good Underſtanding, and good Manners are preſerv'd, between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*; and thus, partly by Violence, and partly by Moderation, the Law is hindered from paſſing this Year.

50th CONSULSHIP. §. 6. The following Year, when *L. Valerius Poplicola* (a ſecond time) and *C. Claudius* are raiſed to the *Conſulate*, the *Tribunes* finding the Zeal of the People for the *Terentian* Law abated, endeavour to revive it by a ſham Plot. They forge Letters, which they pretend to have receiv'd from Abroad, giving Advice of a Deſign, in which many of the *Patrician* Body were engaged, to ruin the Republick; and they demand Power from the Senate to draw up Informations againſt the Conſpirators. But *Claudius*, perceiving the Artifice, deſires them to declare who are their Correſpondents, who brought thoſe Letters, and why the Couriers have diſappear'd. In ſhort, he makes it evident to the Senate, that the Plot is only a wicked Invention of the *Tribunes*, to be revenged on thoſe who had oppoſed the *Terentian* Law; upon which, thoſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates are not ſuffer'd to reply, and the Aſſembly is diſmiſs'd. 293.

§. 7. The inteſtine Broils of the Republick encourage one *Herdonius* a *Sabine* to get together his Friends, Clients and Slaves, to the Number of four thouſand, and make an Attempt upon *Rome*. The Number was ſmall; but he hoped that not only the Malecontents in the City, but likewiſe the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, would join him, on the firſt Rumour of his Enterprize. He embarks by Night on the *Tyber*, which brings him to the Foot of the *Capitol*. The *Romans*, thro' ſome Superſtition, always left one Gate of it open. By this he enters, and makes himſelf Maſter of that Citadel, and then takes Poſſeſſion of the Hill *Quirinalis*. It is in the dead of Night; and upon the firſt Alarm, the City is in the utmoſt Fright, Hurry and Confuſion. The *Conſuls* reſolve at length to arm all the Citizens, without Diſtinction. But the *Tribunes* ſeize this Juncture, to preſs the Acceptance of the *Terentian* Law, and exhort the People to give no Aſſiſtance till that Affair is determin'd. *Claudius* in a Rage is for having the *Patricians* attack the Citadel, attended only by their Clients, and ſome Volunteers;

HERDONIUS *ſurprizes the* CAPITOL.

Year of ROME and is for ſetting the Slaves at Liberty, rather than borrowing any Succour from the refractory Commons. But *Valerius* is more moderate and popular. He reaſons with the People, and threatens the *Tribunes* to treat them as his Father had done the Tyrant *Tarquin*. By this means, he hinders the paſſing the Law for the preſent, and raiſes an Army to ſcale the Capitol. It falls to his Lot to command it. After a ſtout Reſiſtance, the *Sabines* are overcome, and *Herdonius* kill'd; but *Valerius* likewiſe loſes his Life in the Attack. The *Romans* purify the Temple of *Jupiter*, and make a magnificent Funeral for the dead *Conſul*. The People contribute towards it, every one throwing his Piece of Money into *Valerius*'s Houſe. §. 8. *Valerius* had promiſed the People, upon their Submiſſion, to favour the Pretenſions of the *Tribunes*; and the latter require of *Claudius* to make good his Collegue's Word. But he finds ſeveral Pretences for delaying the Matter, and at length brings on the Election of a new *Conſul*. *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, the Father of the baniſh'd *Cæſo*, and an implacable Enemy of the *Tribunes*, is unanimouſly choſen by the firſt Claſs, containing a Majority of the *Centuries*. A Deputation is ſent to the new *Conſul*, to bring him from his Cottage, where he had lived ſince the Baniſhment of his Son. He is hardly perſuaded to leave it. It happens to be Sowing Time; *Alas*, ſays he, *my little Field will be left unſowed, and we ſhall be in danger of Want*. But he is no ſooner entered upon Office, than he turns his Thoughts to reform the Senate, as well as reſtrain the People. He reproaches the *Conſcript Fathers* with their exceſſive Indulgence to the *Tribunes*; tells the *Tribunes*, that the *Terentian* Law ſhall not paſs in his Time, and threatens to make the People march into the Field in ſpight of them. And when the *Tribunes* talk of hindering the Soldiers from taking the military Oaths, the *Conſul* anſwers, that there is no Occaſion for new Engagements, the Oaths they had taken to *Valerius*, whoſe Place he ſupply'd, being ſtill binding. So that *Quinctius* giving Orders for the Army to appear the next Morning at *Regillum*, all that the *Tribunes* can do, is only to delay its Departure for ſome Days. In the mean time, he cauſes a Report to be ſpread, that the Augurs are gone to conſecrate a Place near the Lake *Regillus*, for holding *Comitia*, in which all the Laws introduced by the *Tribunes* are to be abrogated. He declares every where, that in the preſent Situation of Affairs it is neceſſary to name a *Dictator*, whoſe Power may not be curbed by perpetual Oppoſitions. Theſe Rumours terrify the *Tribunes*. They think themſelves undone. They come to the Capitol, (where *Quinctius* now aſſembles the Senate,) ſeem all in a Conſternation, and refuſe no Submiſſion. They addreſs themſelves, as humble Petitioners, ſometimes to the *Conſuls*, ſometimes to the Senators. *Quinctius* is inflexible, till they promiſe to be more ſubmiſſive; and then, at their Requeſt, pronounces a Decree, dictated by the Senate, importing, *That the* Terentian *Law ſhall no more be brought into Diſpute this Year; and on the other hand, that the Citizens ſhall not take the Field all that time.* To this is added, *That it is againſt the Publick Good, for either* CONSULS *or* TRIBUNES *to be continued in their Offices beyond their Year. Quinctius* then applies himſelf to hear and determine private Cauſes, and gives ſuch entire Satisfaction, that the People feel no Neceſſity for the *Terentian* Law. But notwithſtanding the Senate's Decree, the *Tribunes* get themſelves continued in their Poſts. Upon which, the *Patricians* are for continuing *Quinctius* in the *Conſulate*. But he upbraids the Senators with their contemptible Levity, in being ſo ready to infringe their own Decrees, and thereby countenancing the Breach of them by the Commons; and he abſolutely refuſes to ſtand. But before he retires to his Farm, he preſides at the *Comitia Centuriata* for electing new *Conſuls*. §. 9. *Q. Fabius* (a third time) and *L. Cornelius* are choſen. News comes that *Antium* has revolted to the *Volſci*, who, with the *Æqui*, are in Motion. This Alarm ſuſpends *Virginius*'s Purſuit of the *Terentian* Law. It falls to *Fabius*'s Lot to march againſt the *Volſci*, with an Army one third *Romans*, the reſt *Latins* and *Hernici*, who all make three ſeparate Corps. *Cornelius* ſtays with an Army, all *Roman* Citizens, to cover the Territory of *Rome* from the *Æqui*. *Fabius* defeats and makes a great Slaughter of the *Volſci*: But in the mean time the *Æqui* ſurprize *Tuſculum*, and treat the Inhabitants, thoſe affectionate Allies of *Rome*, inhumanly. *Fabius* marches to recover it, (tho' the *Tribunes* oppoſe the ſending him Succours,) and ſtarves the Garriſon out. They are all made to paſs under the Yoke. He then haſtens to the Country of the *Æqui*, ſurprizes them aſleep near *Columa*, and (as ſome Hiſtorians ſay) does not let a Man of them eſcape. After this, he penetrates into the Territory of the *Volſci*, who take Refuge in *Ecetræ* their Capital. The Plunder which the *Roman* Soldiers get in this Expedition makes them rich for a great while after. And now *Cornelius* enters upon Action. He routs an Army of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* near *Antium*, takes the Town by Aſſault, orders the chief Men to be firſt whipp'd in the Market-place, and then beheaded; and the rich Spoils of all Sorts found in the City are put into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*, to be ſold for the Benefit of the Publick. The *Æqui* being diſheartened after ſo much ill Succeſs, ſue for Peace; which is granted, on the ſame Terms as that with the *Latins* and *Hernici*. They ſubmit to be under the Dominion of *Rome*.

QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

294. 51ſt CONSULSHIP.

But while the *Conſuls* are thus employ'd abroad, the *Tribunes* at home continue to

murmur

murmur about the *Terentian* Law, and pretend, that the Troops are kept ſo long in the Field, only to hinder its being paſs'd in lawful *Comitia:* And *Lucretius*, the Governor of *Rome*, has ſome difficulty to hinder them from paſſing it before the Army's Return. At this time the Uneaſineſs of the *Tribunes* is increas'd by an Accident. The *Quæſtors* being Men of Probity, had diſcover'd, that *Volſcius* the *Tribune* had borne falſe Witneſs in the Affair of *Cæſo Quinctius*, and had been ſuborned by *Virginius*. It appear'd, that the Brother of *Volſcius* had died of Sickneſs, and that *Cæſo* was in the Army at the time of the pretended Murder. The *Quæſtors* therefore cite *Volſcius* to appear before the People. His four Collegues defend him, and proteſt againſt holding any *Comitia* by the *Quæſtors*, till the *Terentian* Law is determin'd. And theſe Conteſts are ſpun out till the Return of the *Conſuls*, who enter *Rome* in Triumph. They now finiſh a *Cenſus*, begun the laſt Year, and find 132419 Citizens, fit to bear Arms, excluſive of the Slaves, and meaneſt of the Artificers. §. 10. The new *Conſuls*, *C. Nautius*, and *L. Minutius*, find themſelves immediately incumbered with two Affairs which diſturb the Beginning of their Adminiſtration, the *Terentian Law*, and *the Proſecution of Volſcius*. The *Tribunes* and *Quæſtors* come at length to this Compromiſe: That the *Conſuls* ſhall have two Months to examine the Law, and make a Report to the *Centuries* of the Merits of it; after which the *Tribunes* are to make their Report of it; and then to ſuffer the People to determine the Affair of *Volſcius* by their Suffrages. The *Conſuls* think by this to get two Months of Tranquillity: But the *Æqui*, with one *Cluilius* at their Head, make an Irruption into the Territory of *Tuſculum*. Deputies are ſent to demand Satisfaction; but to no Purpoſe. The *Sabines* at the ſame time enter upon the *Roman* Lands, commit Ravages, and advance as far as *Fidenæ*. *Nautius* marches ſucceſsfully againſt them. But *Minutius* with his Troops, is by a Stratagem of *Cluilius* led into a Valley, near the *Algidus*, where he is ſhut in, and inveſted by the *Æqui*, and is in danger of being ſtarv'd into a Surrender at Diſcretion. *Rome* is in a Conſternation at the News, and the Expedient thought beſt in this Extremity is to create a *Dictator*. §. 11. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* is immediately named. Deputies are ſent to fetch him from his Cottage, and they take with them the Purple Robe, twenty four *Lictors* with their *Faſces* and *Axes*, a long Train of Attendants, and a great Number of led Horſes, to wait upon him to the City. He was at Work in his Field, with his Wife *Racilia*. Seeing a numerous Company coming towards him, he ſends *Racilia* to fetch his Robe, (for he was undreſs'd, to be more fit for Work;) and when he has got it on, *How go Affairs?* ſays he to the Deputies, ſtill keeping his Spade in his Hand. *Rome*, reply they, *being in great Danger, ſtands in need of a* Dictator, *and has pitch'd upon You to be the Man. You are the only Refuge your Country has.* At theſe Words he ſighs, as formerly, and is ſorry to leave his Field uncultivated. But he obeys the Orders of the Senate, and when he has clean'd himſelf, takes the Habit of his new Dignity, and goes down the *Tyber* in a Boat to *Rome*. He immediately names *L. Tarquilius*, a *Patrician*, as poor and as brave as himſelf, to be his General of Horſe. He then orders all Tribunals and Shops to be ſhut up, commands all the Youth both in City and Country to take Arms, and aſſembles the Troops of his Allies. The *Dictator* tells the Soldiers that all depends on their Expedition; upon which they march ſo quick that the Army comes near the *Algidus* about Midnight. *Quinctius* ſeizes the Eminencies round about the *Æqui*, and inveſts them, as they do the *Conſul*. They are forced to ſubmit at the Diſcretion of the *Dictator*, who requires to have *Cluilius*, their chief Officers, and the Heads of the Revolt, deliver'd up to him in Chains, and makes the reſt all *paſs under the Yoke, to imprint it ſtrongly on their Memories*, as he tells them, *That the* Æqui *are a conquer'd Nation*. He won't allow the Troops of *Minutius* to have any Share of the Spoil, and degrades *Minutius* himſelf to the Poſt of Lieutenant-General under him, bidding him, *ſtudy the Trade of War in an inferior Rank, before he pretended again to command in Chief*. The *Conſul* is obedient; and his Army are ſo far from thinking themſelves ill uſed by the *Dictator*, that they make him a Preſent of a Crown of Gold of a Pound Weight; ſo impartially juſt are the *Romans* at this time. *Quinctius* is decreed a Triumph with particular Marks of Honour. Both his own and *Minutius*'s Army march into *Rome* before him; and the General of the Enemy, with the other Officers of the *Æqui*, walk before his Chariot in Chains, two and two, with ſuch Yokes about their Necks as were put upon Oxen (doubtleſs to ſhew that the Victor had been taken from the Plough.)

The *Dictator* having finiſh'd his Expedition in ſixteen Days, is going immediately to lay down his Office, and retire to his beloved Solitude; but his Friends perſuade him to continue in the *Dictatorſhip* till he has done Juſtice to the Memory of his Son *Cæſo*, by finiſhing the Proſecution againſt *Volſcius*. He aſſembles the *Curiæ*, where the infamous *Tribune* is condemn'd to Baniſhment. This done, *Quinctius* immediately quits the Purple, refuſes all Offers of Wealth from the *Romans*, and retires again to his little Field. §. 12. Soon after this, the *Centuries* chuſe new *Conſuls*, *C. Horatius Pulvillus*, and *Q. Minutius Augurinus*. The People chuſe their *Tribunes*, and, in ſpite of the Decrees of the Senate, *Virginius* and his Collegues are continued a fifth

Year of *ROME*

295.

4th DICTATORSHIP. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Corona obſidionalis.

53d CONSULSHIP.

296.

ROME a fifth time; and what is more ſurprizing, *Volſcius* is recalled from Baniſhment, and Year of reinſtated in his Office. The *Romans* being now inſulted again by the ſubjugated *Æqui* on one Side, and by the *Sabines* on another; the *Conſuls* order two Armies to be raiſed: but the *Tribunes* renew their Chicane about the *Terentian* Law; and the two Parties grow furious. An extraordinary Aſſembly of the Senate is ſummoned to deliberate on the preſent Troubles, and *Quinctius Cincinnatus* is called to it. His Opinion is firſt ask'd; and he propoſes that the *Patricians*, without the Commons, ſhould raiſe an Army of themſelves and their Clients, to deliver their Country. His Advice is receiv'd with Applauſe, and *Horatius* is entruſted with putting it in Execution. But he thinks proper firſt to inform the People of it. He aſſembles the *Curiæ*, and asks whether they are willing to join the *Patricians* in their Deſign. *Virginius*, in the Name of his Collegues and the People, refuſes to ſerve in the Army, till the *Terentian* Law be accepted. Upon this, *Horatius* makes a reproachful Speech to the *Curiæ*, which, with the Concern expreſs'd by the old Senators, makes an Impreſſion on them. But when they begin to be moved, the artful *Virginius* takes this Opportunity to diſcover a Deſign he had before form'd. *No*, ſays he, *we don't pretend to obſtruct the publick Good. As to the* Terentian *Law, we are ready to ſacrifice our Intereſts, for the preſent, to the common Neceſſity. We have only one Favour to ask, which if granted, may perhaps put an end to our Deſires of obtaining a Law to reſtrain the arbitrary Proceedings of the* Conſuls. *Double the Number of the* Tribunes, *and the People, will readily conſent to enter into the Service. But if you give us a refuſal in an Affair of ſuch little Importance, then accuſe yourſelves only of all the Misfortunes the Republick ſhall ſuffer.* This unexpected Requeſt of the *Tribunes* divides the Senate. Few of them foreſee the Conſequences of it. *Q. Cincinnatus* declares for it: But *Appius Claudius* is of a different Opinion, (poſſibly becauſe he is govern'd by this invariable Maxim in his Family, *That all Requeſts of the* Tribunes *ought to be ſuſpected*) and remonſtrates vehemently againſt it. However, *Quinctius*'s Opinion prevails, and the Senate make a Decree, giving the People leave to chuſe ten *Tribunes* annually, provided they do not continue the ſame Men in Office above a Year. Accordingly the *Tribes* are immediately aſſembled, and they chuſe two out of each of the firſt five *Claſſes*. §. 13. The *Tribunes* being ſatisfy'd, two Armies are rais'd without Oppoſition. *Minutius* marches into *Sabinia*, but finds no Enemy. *Horatius* leads his Troops againſt the *Æqui*, retakes *Corbio* and *Ortona* from them; and then both *Conſuls* return to *Rome*, in order to the Election of their Succeſſors.

TRIBUNES *increas'd to Ten.*

297. *M. Valerius Lactucinus*, and *Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus* are choſen. And now the *Tribunes* being grown ſtronger, renew their Efforts to weaken the *Patrician* Party. *Icilius* is at the Head of them, and he undertakes to make the Senate (which has hitherto been convened only by the *Conſuls*) aſſemble at the Pleaſure of the *Tribunes*, and by his Art, Eloquence, and Intereſt, gains a Point ſo contrary to the Dignity of the *Conſcript Fathers*. The *Conſul* endeavours in vain to ſow Diviſions among the *Tribunes*, in order to hinder the Innovation. The College had agreed among themſelves, to be determin'd in all Affairs by a Plurality of Voices; whereas formerly it was enough to render any Decree of the *Tribunes* ineffectual, if only one of them oppos'd it. *Icilius* forces the Senate likewiſe to paſs four other Laws, the laſt of which enacts, *That all Ground belonging to the Publick, and not built upon, ſhall be diſtri-*
298. *buted among the People*, gratis. §. 14. The great Wound which the *conſular* Authority has receiv'd, is felt by the new *Conſuls*, *T. Romilius* and *C. Veturius*. The *Tribunes* make more noiſe than ever, and reſolve to preſs the Acceptance of the *Terentian* Law. The *Conſuls* Refuge is to raiſe Armies; but they do it in ſo ſevere and indiſcreet a manner, that the Citizens appeal to their *Tribunes*, and Scuffles enſue, in which the *Tribunes* Officers are ill-treated. Upon this, *Icilius*, one Market-Day, when the Country-People are in the City, and aſſembled with the reſt in *Comitia*, makes his Complaints to the Aſſembly, of the Outrages committed on them by the *Conſuls*. The People in a Rage, come to violent Reſolutions, and ſummon the *Conſuls* to appear before the *Curiæ*, to anſwer for the Diſorders they had occaſion'd. The *Conſuls* refuſe to appear. The *Tribunes* bring their Complaints to the Senate, (which happens to be ſitting) and threaten, that in caſe the *Conſuls* don't come and clear themſelves before the People, they will aſſemble the *Tribes* to judge them. Upon this, the *Conſuls* accuſe the *Tribunes* of being the Aggreſſors, and threaten them with the Reſentments of the *Patricians*, if they perſiſt in their Inſolence. The Senate is embaraſſed by theſe Conteſts, and adjourn the Sitting to another Day. In the mean time, *Icilius* convenes an Aſſembly of the People. Some are for taking Arms, and retreating to the *Mons Sacer*; others, for proceeding againſt the *Conſuls* in a legal Way, in order to get them condemn'd to Death or Baniſhment; and the moſt moderate are for letting the *Conſuls* alone, and only proſecuting ſome of the moſt furious *Patricians*. At length it is agreed to ſummon the *Conſuls* to appear the third Market-Day. §. 15. In the mean time, the *Tribunes* conſider better of the furious Steps they had taken, deſiſt from ſummoning the *Conſuls*, declare in an Aſſembly of the People, that they forgive the *Conſuls* the perſonal Injuries they have receiv'd from them, but cannot neg-

54th CONSULSHIP. ICILIUS *the* Tribune.

ICILIAN *Law.*

55th CONSULSHIP.

lect the Intereſts of the Commons; and therefore propoſe both the *Agrarian* and *Terentian* Laws to their Deliberation. *Speak*, ſay they, ROMANS, *declare your Opinions without Fear.* Upon this, many brave *Romans* make their Complaints concerning the Non-execution of the *Agrarian* Law. Particularly, *Sicinnius Dentatus* enumerates his Exploits in War during forty Years Service, tells them, that he has been in an hundred and twenty Actions, and has receiv'd forty five Wounds before, and not one behind: And yet all the Recompence hitherto given him, has been military Toys, fourteen *Civic* Crowns, one *Obſidional*, three *Mural*, eight others for different Services, eighty three Collars, ſixty Bracelets, eighteen Lances, twenty five Sets of Furniture for Horſes; that he had likewiſe got nine Sets, from ſo many Enemies conquer'd in ſingle Combat. *This*, adds he, *is all my Fortune. No Land, no Share of the conquer'd Countries. Uſurpers, without any Title but that of* Patrician *Extraction, and many Friends, keep Poſſeſſion of them. Let us revive, let us revive, the* Agrarian *Law. If the young* Patricians *oppoſe it, do you*, Tribunes, *make them feel your Power.* No body, in ſo numerous an Aſſembly, dares contradict *Sicinnius*; and the *Tribunes* appoint *Comitia* for the next Day to determine concerning the Law. When the greateſt Part of it has been ſpent in Wranglings and Noiſe, and the People are preparing to divide themſelves into *Tribes*, in order to vote, the young *Patricians* overturn the Baskets in which the Suffrages are put, ſnatch away the Tablets on which they are written, and beat the Officers appointed to take them; the *Sempronii*, *Poſthumii*, and *Cloelii*, being the foremoſt in this Fray. The *Tribunes* therefore ſummon one of each of theſe Families to appear before the People. But before the Tryal, they firſt ſettle the Puniſhment. Some are for Death, others for Baniſhment; but the brave *Sicinnius* prevails to have it only Confiſcation of Goods to the Uſe of the Temple of *Ceres*. The Accuſed don't appear on the Day of Tryal; Judgment paſſes on them by Default; and the Body of the *Patricians* raiſe a Tax among themſelves, to redeem the confiſcated Eſtates of the young Men. However, the Deference of the Senate for the People, in ſuffering this Proceſs, procures the Republick ſome Moments of Tranquillity. §. 16. But this Peace is ſoon diſturbed by the *Æqui*, who make an Irruption into the Territory of the *Tuſculans*. The Senate order the *Conſuls* to march immediately to the Defence of thoſe faithful Allies; but the *Tribunes* oppoſe the Levies; ſo that a Decree is made to raiſe a *Patrician* Army, and that Prayers ſhall be offer'd for whatever *Plebeians* ſhall join the *Conſular* Troops. *Sicinnius* is one of the firſt: He puts himſelf at the Head of a *Cohort* of eight hundred Soldiers, all Men of Experience and Bravery. A few Minutes before the *Conſuls* come to an Engagement with the Enemy, *Romilius* puts *Sicinnius* upon a deſperate Attempt to take their Camp, which was on a ſteep Rock. *Sicinnius* is aware of the Snare, and deſires more Strength to execute the Deſign. The General with a Sneer accuſes him of Cowardice. The brave *Plebeian* anſwers, *I ſee the extreme Danger to which you expoſe my Honour or my Life. I have hitherto always preferred the former to the latter, and I now chuſe to die. My dear Fellow-Soldiers*, ſays he to his Troop, *let us go wherever Honour and the Command of the General call us: But bear witneſs, after I am dead, that I have been deſtroyed, only for defending the publick Liberty.* However, his Anger does not make him loſe his Preſence of Mind. By his wiſe Precaution and Conduct, he ſurprizes the Camp of the *Æqui*, defeats the Troops left to guard it, then falls upon the Enemy in the Plain, and gains the Victory for the *Romans*. The next Morning he marches away for *Rome*, gets there before the *Conſuls*, tells his Story, prevents their having a Triumph, and is himſelf elected a *Tribune*. §. 17. *Rome* is govern'd the next Year by more popular and leſs odious *Conſuls*, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*. The *Tribunes* undertake to get the two laſt *Conſuls* condemn'd. *Sicinnius* is to proſecute *Romilius*, and the *Ædile Alienus* is to accuſe *Veturius*. *Romilius* inſiſts on this old Maxim, *That a* Conſul *is not accountable for his Adminiſtration.* However, he is convicted before the *Tribes* of Sedition and Cruelty, and is fined 10000 *Aſſes* of Braſs. *Veturius* is fined 15000. §. 18. This firſt Act of *Sicinnius* makes him Maſter of the Commons, and intimidates the *Conſuls* and the Senate. *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* diſclaim being any longer the Heads of the *Patrician* Faction. They ſhew themſelves Friends of the People in the firſt *Comitia by Centuries*. *Poplicola* had made a Law, *That the Fine for Diſobedience to a Magiſtrate, ſhould be two Sheep and five Oxen.* The *Conſuls* get it raiſed to thirty Oxen and two Sheep; every Ox valued at an hundred *Aſſes* of Braſs, and every Sheep at ten. And the Word *Magiſtrates* is made to include the *Tribunes* as well as *Conſuls:* And this new Regulation puts the former almoſt upon a level with the latter. But the brave *Sicinnius* has it at heart to get the *Terentian* Law paſs'd in his Time. Accordingly, he petitions the Senate; and to the Surprize of every body, *Romilius* ſpeaks ſtrenuouſly in behalf of it: and he reaſons upon the Folly of having any more Conteſts with the People about Laws. *Sicinnius* immediately riſes up, and ſpeaks in Commendation of *Romilius*. Never was a more ſudden Reconciliation. He would have remitted the Fine, which *Romilius* had not yet paid: But the latter declines the Favour, becauſe the Money is conſecrated to the Gods. As to the *Terentian* Law, it paſſes by a Majority; and *Sp. Poſthumius*,

Year of ROME

SICINNIUS DENTATUS.

56th CONSULSHIP. 299.

ÆTERNIAN *Law.*

TERENTIAN *Law paſſes.*

The CONTENTS.

Year of ROME *mius, S. Sulpicius,* and *A. Manlius,* are deputed to go to *Athens,* to get Copies of the Laws of *Draco, Solon,* and other Law-givers, and to ſtudy the Manners and wiſe Inſtructions of the Cities of *Greece.*

BOOK X.

300. §. 1. THE Year 300, in which *Sex. Quintilius* and *P. Horatius* are *Conſuls*, is a Year of Peace both at home and abroad. But *Rome* was ſaid to be like a muddy Lake, which, if not kept in Motion by the Winds of War or Sedition, threw out peſtilential Vapours, which infected the Air. A moſt cruel Plague now makes exceeding havock; and as it takes off the Husbandmen, the Ground is neglected, and a Famine enſues. The *Romans* invent new and illegal Sorts of Worſhip, to appeaſe the Gods; but all is fruitleſs. *Quintilius* the *Conſul*, *Sp. Furius*, nominated to ſucceed him, *Serv. Cornelius*, High Prieſt of *Jupiter*, *Horatius Pulvillus* the *Augur*, and four *Tribunes*, with many of the wiſeſt Senators, are involved in the common Deſtruction. 57th CONSULSHIP.

301. §. 2. Early the next Year, in the *Conſulſhip* of *P. Seſtius* and *T. Menenius*, firſt Health and then Plenty returns. The three Deputies likewiſe come back from *Greece*, and petition the Senate to nominate ten Commiſſioners who, as Law-givers, are to draw up *Ten Tables* of Laws, out of the Materials which they have brought with them. But what is very ſtrange, their Arrival, which had been ſo impatiently expected, is agreeable hardly to any body but the *Tribunes*. Every one ſeems afraid of Innovations. The *Conſuls* prolong the Affair, under pretence that they ſhall ſoon be out of Office. This haſtens the Election of new *Conſuls*; and *Appius Claudius* and *T. Genucius* are choſen before the uſual time. The *Conſuls Elect*, plainly foreſee, that the *Decemviri* muſt neceſſarily take their Places in their Year, and be Maſters of all Power in the Republick. So that they join with the *Tribunes*, in order to get the ten Lawgivers appointed, in hopes to be themſelves of the Number. *Appius Claudius* particularly, who had long valued himſelf on his firm Attachment to the *Patricians*, publickly undertakes the Defence of the popular Faction, and thereby ſhews, that he had been always actuated by Ambition. His intended Collegue enters into his Meaſures, and they force the *Conſul Seſtius* to preſide in the Senate alone, and declare for the Creation of the *Decemviri*. The other *Conſul*, *Menenius*, pretends Sickneſs, and abſents himſelf. The Affair is not carried without Oppoſition; but *Appius*, who votes firſt, gets a Majority, and obtains a Decree, That Ten Men, venerable for their Wiſdom, ſhall be choſen, to whom ſhall be referred the Examination of the Laws brought from *Greece*; and that each ſhall take his Part, and reduce under proper Heads, what concerns the Rights of private Families, the Government of the State, the Rites of Religion, and the Worſhip of the Gods. That the Authority of the *Conſuls*, *Tribunes*, *Ædiles*, and *Quæſtors*, ſhall ceaſe: That there ſhall be no Appeal from the *Decemviri* elſewhere; and in ſhort, That during their Adminiſtration, they ſhall be ſole Judges of War and Peace, and of all Matters of Right and Wrong. 58th CONSULSHIP.

§. 3. When the new Governours come to be choſen, the *Tribunes* at firſt demand to have a Part of them *Plebeians*; but at length they yield this Honour wholly to the Nobility; on Condition nevertheleſs, That the *Decemviri* make no Alteration in two Laws, favourable to the People, The *Icilian*, and that of the *Mons Sacer*. The Ten Legiſlators choſen in *Comitia by Centuries*, are *Appius Claudius* and *Genucius*, (the *Conſuls Elect*) *Seſtius*, (the preſent *Conſul*) *Sp. Poſthumius*, *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *A. Manlius*, (the three Deputies) *T. Romilius*, *C. Julius*

302. *Iülus*, *T. Veturius*, and *P. Horatius*. §. 4. When the time comes for *Appius* and *Genucius* to enter upon the *Conſulſhip*, they decline it; and the whole Care of the Republick falls upon the *Decemviri*. Theſe agree among themſelves, That only one of their Body ſhall have the *Faſces* carried before him for ten Days, and wear the Purple Robe like the *Dictators*; that then another ſhall ſucceed to theſe Honours, and ſo every one in his Turn. The *Decemviri* appear every Day early in the Morning upon different Tribunals, hearing Cauſes; and ſuch Suitors as think themſelves injur'd at one, may have a Rehearing (not by Way of Appeal) at another. Tho' theſe new Magiſtrates have abſolute Power, yet in criminal Cauſes they pay a Deference to th People, and refer them to the *Comitia*. Of all the *Decemviri*, *Appius* is the mo popular. He who was formerly ſuch an auſtere Magiſtrate, and ſo difficult of Acceſs, is now the moſt affable and complaiſant of Men. He knows all the Citizens by their Names, receives them with Reſpect, and ſalutes them with great Marks of Affection; ſo that he becomes the Idol of the People. 59th CONSULSHIP. DECEMVIRI. APPIUS CLAUDIUS, *&c.*

§. 5. Before the End of the Year, each *Decemvir* preſents to the People that Part of the Laws which he has drawn up. The Lawgivers had been aſſiſted by one *Hermodorus*, (baniſh'd from *Epheſus*, and then accidentally at *Rome*) in underſtanding the *Greek* Tranſcripts brought from *Athens*. It is ſaid, that *Heraclitus*, the Friend of *Hermodorus*, wrote him a congratulatory Letter on the Pains he had taken in drawing up the *Roman* Laws; adding,

adding, *That in a Dream he had ſeen all the Nations of the Earth bowing down before theſe Laws, and worſhipping them in the* Perſian *manner.* 'Tis certain that the *Roman* Laws extended themſelves as far as the *Roman* Empire, and even ſurvived its Fall. There is no entire Body of theſe Laws remaining, as they were firſt compiled. The *Ten Tables*, as they are given in this Hiſtory, are taken out of antient Writers, where they are found ſcatter'd. Year of *ROME*

They concern,

TEN TABLES OF LAWS. 1. Law-Suits. 2. Robberies. 3. Loans, and the Right of Creditors over their Debtors. 4. The Rights of Fathers of Families. 5. Inheritance and Guardianſhips. 6. Property and Poſſeſſion. 7. Treſpaſſes and Damages. 8. Eſtates in the Country. 9. The common Rights of the People. 10. Funerals and all Ceremonies relating to the Dead.

Theſe *Ten Tables* are propos'd to the *Curiæ* by the *Decemviri*, who harangue them in this Manner: *May the Gods grant, that what we now preſent you,* Romans, *may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the Republick, to you, and to your remoteſt Poſterity! Go, read the Laws we have drawn up. We have uſed all the Care and Attention we could. But after all, a whole Nation muſt ſee further than any ten Perſons. Examine our Laws therefore in private, make them Matter of publick Converſation; confer upon them among yourſelves, and conſult with one another what ought to be taken from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing that we have drawn up, ſhall have the Force of a Law, till it be receiv'd with univerſal Conſent. Be you,* Romans, *rather the* Authors, *than barely the* Approvers *of Laws, which are to eſtabliſh Order and Regularity, and to be the main Foundation of the Happineſs both of Senate and People.* Immediately the *Ten Tables* of Laws are cut in Oak, fixed up in the *Forum*, and all are well receiv'd who come to ſtart any Difficulties about them. At length the Senate is aſſembled to deliberate upon them. They meet with no Oppoſition there; and nothing is now talk'd of, but the getting them confirm'd in *Comitia by Centuries.* The *Decemviri* make the *Comitia* as ſolemn as poſſible; and *Rome* had never ſeen a more regular and orderly Aſſembly, nor one more unanimous: So that the Laws being legally confirm'd, are tranſcrib'd on Pillars of Braſs, ranged in order in the *Forum*; and become the Foundation of all Judicial Determinations, with regard both to publick and private Affairs.

But the ambitious *Appius* had form'd the Deſign of getting the *Decemvirate* continu'd; and to that Purpoſe had cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that two Tables of Laws were yet wanting. When the Motion is made to the Senate, they readily conſent, as being pleas'd to be rid of the *Tribunes*; whom the People on the other hand do not miſs, while they have the Liberty of getting the Judgment of one *Decemvir* rectify'd by another. Never was any Office ſo much ſollicited, by the graveſt and wiſeſt Senators, as the *Decemvirate* at this time. *Claudius*, tho' a *Decemvir*, forgets his Office, and is more cringing, and full of Intrigue, than any of the Candidates: Inſomuch that he raiſes the Jealouſy of his Collegues concerning his Deſigns, and eſpecially when they hear him propoſe to have three of the new *Decemviri* choſen out of the *Plebeians*. In order to exclude him from the *Decemvirate*, they commiſſion him to preſide in the *Comitia* for the Election. Thus it was his Buſineſs to propoſe to the People, the Perſons who were fit to be choſen; and it had never been known that any one had nominated himſelf. But *Appius* turns their Artifice to his own Advantage. He impudently propoſes himſelf, excludes all his Collegues, and all the eminent Men who ſtand Candidates, except *Q. Fabius*, (who had been three times *Conſul.*) The other five *Patricians*, whom he gets choſen, are *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*; Men ſcarce known. The three *Plebeians* are *Cæſo Duilius*, *Q. Petilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*.

2d DECEMVIRATE APPIUS CLAUDIUS, *&c.* When the Day comes for the new Magiſtrates to enter upon Office, the People are ſurprized to ſee them appear early in the *Forum*, each attended by twelve *Lictors* with *Faſces* and *Axes*, and marching with the Pomp and Train of a King. The People draw ſad Prognoſticks from this Sight, and their Fears are not groundleſs. The new *Decemviri* prove ten Tyrants, who by their arbitrary Proceedings, and cruel Executions, make the People ſigh after their old Conſtitution. In the mean time, the *Ides* of *May*, the time fix'd for holding the *Comitia Centuriata*, in order to the Election of Magiſtrates, draws near: But inſtead of new *Decemviri*, the old ones propoſe two new Tables of Laws; the firſt, relating to THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND RELIGION: The ſecond, to MARRIAGES AND THE RIGHT OF HUSBANDS. 303.

TWO NEW TABLES *added to the* TEN. §. 6. Notwithſtanding the Peoples Hatred to the *Decemviri*, they find little to object to the new Laws, unleſs to the laſt, *forbidding* Patricians *to intermarry with* Plebeians. This they imagine to be an Invention of the Tyrants, to keep the two Parties always divided, that they may reign with more Security.

3d DECEMVIRATE. A. CLAUDIUS, *&c.* The *Ides* of *May* are paſs'd. The ſame *Decemviri* illegally continue to govern. The young Nobility declare openly for them, while the Tyrants give them all manner of Power to vex the People, and protect them in their Debaucheries, Cruelties, and 304.

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Year of ROME and Oppreſſions. The People being exhauſted by vexatious Proſecutions, the Storm turns againſt the Senators and *Patricians*. *Rome* is like a City taken by Aſſault, where no Quarter is given. The Goods of the moſt wealthy Citizens are taken from them, tho' depoſited in Sanctuaries; and Violence is offer'd to their Wives and Daughters. If they reſiſt, they are beaten, and treated with the ſame Severity as Slaves. In ſhort, Diſorder is carry'd to ſuch a height, that the Men of Conduct and Sobriety are forced to leave *Rome*, and ſeek a Retreat among the *Hernici* and *Latins*. §. 7. It was impoſſible that the weak Condition of the Republick ſhould be a Secret from her Enemies. Accordingly, the *Sabines* invade the *Roman* Territory. The *Decemviri* are alarm'd, and hold a Conſultation, to which they admit none but thoſe of their own Faction. While they are deliberating, a ſecond Piece of News comes, That the *Æqui* have fallen upon the *Tuſculans*, thoſe faithful Allies of *Rome*, and are encamp'd near the *Algidus*, as uſual. It is neceſſary to make Head againſt both Enemies; but the Difficulty is, how to raiſe an Army when the People are diſſatisfy'd with their Governors. In this Perplexity, the *Decemviri* reſolve to aſſemble the Senate, and endeavour to prevail with the *Conſcript Fathers* to interpoſe their Authority, and make a Decree for legal Levies. The People are ſurpriz'd to hear a Proclamation in the *Forum*, for the Senators to meet. *Thanks to our Enemies*, ſay they, *for the Appearance of this ſingle Spark of our antient Liberty*. §. 8. The Senators who appear on the Day appointed, are ſo few, that the *Decemviri* are ſurpriz'd. They adjourn the Aſſembly to the next Day, and ſend particular Summons to fetch them from the Country. Upon this it happens, that more of the *Conſcript Fathers* appear at the Aſſembly, than the *Decemviri* wiſh'd. *Appius*, in a ſtudied Harangue, repreſents the Danger which threatens the Republick, from the *Sabines* and *Æqui*, and deſires a Decree for Levies, without Delay. He has ſcarce finiſh'd, when *Valerius* riſes up to ſpeak, before his Turn. *Appius*, apprehenſive that he is going to ſay ſomething againſt the *Decemviri*, commands him to hold his Peace. But the Brave *Valerius* deſpiſes the Command, complains of the Pride of the inſolent *Claudius*, and calls upon *Fabius*, one of the *Decemviri*, as a Man of Worth, to rouze, and undertake the Defence of the oppreſſed Republick. *Fabius* bluſhes, but keeps his Seat, and is ſilent. *Appius* and the reſt of his Collegues ſurround *Valerius*, and oblige him to hold his Peace. All the Senate is in a Commotion. Some approve of the Violence of *Appius:* But *Horatius*, an avowed Friend of *Valerius*, cries out, *What hinders us from immediately executing the ſame Vengeance on the new* Tarquin, *as our Anceſtors did upon the former Tyrants? To reſtore Liberty to* Rome, *is an hereditary Honour which belongs to the* Valerii *and the* Horatii. *It is not the Name of* King, *that makes a Tyrant*, &c. §. 9. *Horatius* is going on, when he likewiſe, in his Turn, is ſurrounded by the *Decemviri*, who drown his Voice with their Clamours, give him to underſtand that they are inveſted with the Authority of the *Tribunes*; and threaten to condemn him to be thrown headlong from the Capitol. But at theſe Menaces the Senators hiſs; and then the *Decemviri* repent of their Raſhneſs. *Appius* declares that it is not their Intention to hinder the *Conſcript Fathers* from giving their Opinion, but that it is neceſſary to keep to Order in Speaking, and to confine themſelves to the Matter in hand. He adds, that the Commiſſion of the *Decemviri* was limited to no Period but the Eſtabliſhment of the Laws; and that when the twelve Tables were ſettled in due Form, they wou'd then give an Account of their Adminiſtration. After this, he deſires *C. Claudius* his Uncle to give his Opinion concerning the Levies. Old *Claudius*, in a long Harangue, imputes all the Misfortunes of the State to the Uſurpation and Tyranny of the *Decemviri*, exhorts the Senators to inſiſt on their being depoſed, urges his Nephew to a voluntary aboliſhing an Authority which is become intolerable, and concludes with ſaying, *Let us have no more* Decemviri, *and we ſhall ſoon have no more foreign Enemies*. *Appius* dares not anſwer his Uncle; but his Collegue *M. Cornelius* ſpeaks for him. *We don't want your Advice*, ſays he to *Claudius*; *you may ſave your ſelf the Trouble of giving it. Tell us in plain Terms your Opinion concerning the Levies*. The old Man riſes up a ſecond time, and, after having expoſtulated with his Nephew in a pathetick Strain, votes for coming to no Determination concerning the Levies, till new Magiſtrates are created. And this Opinion is follow'd by *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and the moſt conſiderable Senators. At length it comes to *L. Cornelius*'s Turn to ſpeak; he was Brother to one of the *Decemviri*, and a great Advocate for them. His Speech had been concerted with the Tyrants beforehand. He imputes the Enmity of the old Senators againſt the *Decemvirate*, to Envy and private Reſentment, for having been themſelves diſappointed in the Purſuit of that Office. And he urges the Unreaſonableneſs of loſing Time in Diſputes about new Magiſtrates, when the Enemy is almoſt at the Gates of *Rome*; that it is impoſſible to come to a new Election under twenty ſeven Days; in which Time the City may be beſieged, and reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. What *Cornelius* ſays, ſeems plauſible; and the Majority of the Senators voted with him. But then *Valerius*'s Turn to ſpeak comes, and he endeavours to bring back the Fathers to his

Sentiments. And, to obviate at once all *Cornelius*'s Arguments, propoſes the creating a *Dictator*; an Expedient which had been ſo ſucceſsfully practis'd in great Emergencies. The young Senators all embrace this Opinion, and the old ones ſeem inclined to come over to it; upon which *Valerius* demands, that the two Queſtions concerning the Levies and the *Dictator*, may be again conſider'd. But *Cornelius* oppoſes it; and *Appius* declares that *Cornelius*'s Opinion has prevail'd by a Majority. He had brought the Decree for the Levies ready drawn up, in his Pocket, and he cauſes it to be read. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* cry out, *To the People! To the People then, we muſt have Recourſe!* and advance towards the Door of the Senate-Houſe. *Appius* ſends a *Lictor* to ſtop them. A Scuffle enſues. But the Decree is confirm'd. The moſt honourable Citizens have no Remedy, but to retire to their Country Houſes. Old *Claudius* retires to *Regillum*, follow'd by a great Number of Friends and Clients. As for the illuſtrious Families who ſtay in *Rome*, they make a League for their mutual Defence. The *Valerii* and *Horatii* arm their Slaves, and ſet a Guard before their Houſes. Hitherto the *Plebeians* had rejoiced to ſee the Senate humbled; and the Senators to ſee the People deprived of all their Privileges. But now the Violence of Oppreſſion unites all Minds againſt the Oppreſſors; and both Parties wait only for a favourable Opportunity to recover their Liberty. §. 10. In the mean time the *Decemviri* raiſe ten *Legions*. Q. *Fabius*, with two more of the *Decemviri*, marches at the Head of three *Legions*, againſt the *Sabines*, and encamps in the Enemy's Country. Five other *Decemviri* lead five *Legions* againſt the *Æqui*; and the two other *Legions* ſtay with *Appius* and *Oppius* in the City. Old *Sicinnius* joins *Fabius* with his Cohort of 800 Veterans. But nothing ſucceeds in this General's Camp. The Soldiers deſignedly let the Enemy get all Advantages; and at length feign a ſudden Fright, diſperſe in the Night, and return into the *Roman* Territory. Upon this, the Brave *Sicinnius* will ſtay no longer in an Army where no Glory is to be gained, and marches back his Troop to *Rome*. There he exclaims both againſt the affected Cowardiſe of the Soldiers, and the Tyranny of the *Decemviri*; and drops ſome Words, of the Neceſſity of a *Seceſſion*. *Appius*, who is informed of it, ſends for him, careſſes him, and examines him concerning *Fabius*'s Conduct. He deſires him to ſpeak with Freedom. True Valour is a Stranger to Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, and is often wanting to it ſelf in Circumſpection. *Sicinnius*, without Reſerve, blames the Proceedings of *Fabius* and the other Generals. *Appius* admires his Wiſdom, and prevails with him to go and aſſiſt *Fabius* with his Advice; and, to deceive him the more, creates him Lieutenant-General; a Title which makes his Perſon inviolable. *Fabius* receives him with great Appearances of Joy and Reſpect, is profuſe in Preſents to him, and conſults him concerning the Operations of the Campaign. *Sicinnius* adviſes the encamping in *Sabinia*, that the Army may live at the Enemy's Expence. This was what *Fabius* waited for; and immediately propoſes to him to go in Perſon and find out a proper Place, in order to execute his own Scheme. *I will provide you a Guard*, adds the General; *and tho' contrary to Cuſtom, yet on account of your Age and Merit, you ſhall go on Horſeback.* This ſeem'd to raiſe him to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight; and *Sicinnius* does not decline the Commiſſion. He takes with him only one Servant, on whoſe Courage and Fidelity he can depend. They leave the Camp in the Night. The Guard march before their Commander, and lead him into a narrow Stony Road, in which it is difficult to advance, and where it is impoſſible for him to eſcape to the Right Hand or to the Left. *Sicinnius*'s Servant firſt perceives the Treachery, and informs his Maſter that the villanous Guides are preparing to inveſt him. *Sicinnius* diſmounts, poſts himſelf ſo as beſt to avoid being ſurrounded, draws his Sword, and ſtands upon his Defence, aſſiſted only by his Servant. The whole Band advance againſt him. He lays fifteen of them dead upon the Spot, and wounds above thirty more. The baſe Aſſaſſins think the Hero invincible by the Sword, climb up to the Top of the Hill, and from thence overwhelm him with Stones. The Guard return to the Camp, pretend to have been attack'd by the Enemy, and that *Sicinnius* fell in Battle. But when the Soldiers, who march'd out under Arms to fetch his Body, and give it honourable Burial, come to the Place of the pretended Action, find *Sicinnius* in his Cloaths, and all the *Romans*, who were ſlain, lying unſtripp'd, and with their Faces towards him, and not one *Sabine* kill'd, they immediately conclude his Death to have been the Work of the *Decemviri*, and demand Juſtice upon the Murderers; but the General conceals and protects them. However, he dares not march againſt the Enemy with ſo diſcontented an Army, but keeps within his Entrenchments.

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On the Side of the *Æqui*, *Cornelius* with his five *Legions* has yet leſs Succeſs. He practiſes the ſame Methods of Deceit and Villany to take off thoſe Soldiers of his Army who were Enemies to the *Decemviri*; and by theſe Practices ſo diminiſhes its Strength, that the Enemy attack him, and take his Camp and Baggage. It was not that brave Men were wanting in the *Roman* Army, who would have done Honour to their Country under other Generals. One *L. Virginius* particularly, a *Centurion*, a Man famous for Probity and Valour, was in the Troops of *Cornelius*, and

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diſtinguiſh'd himſelf in the War. §. 11. But whilſt he is ſignalizing his Courage on the Frontiers, his Daughter *Virginia*, at *Rome*, unknowingly makes a Conqueſt of the Tyrant's Heart. *Virginia* was the moſt beautiful Woman there; her Mother (now dead) had given her an Education truly *Roman*, and had fill'd her Heart with the Love of Virtue. As ſoon as ſhe was marriageable, her Father had promis'd her to *Icilius*, a young *Plebeian*, deſcended from the famous *Icilius*, firſt *Tribune* of the People; and during the Campaign had committed her to the Care of *Numitorius*, her Mother's Brother. In theſe Times it was cuſtomary at *Rome* for young Perſons of both Sexes to purſue their proper Studies, in different Schools erected for them in the *Forum*. It was there that *Appius* firſt ſaw her accidentally, and was charm'd with her Beauty, and with her intent Application to her Book. Cruel as he was, and dead as he ſeem'd to all the ſofter Paſſions, *Virginia* quicken'd in his Breaſt a fatal Tenderneſs. The ſevere Magiſtrate, the grave Lawgiver, is often ſeen lingring about the Schools, in the Hours of Study. But what then? his Office requires him to be frequently in the *Forum*. *Appius* is married; and tho' Divorces are allow'd by Law, there had never yet been any Inſtance of one; Poligamy is ſtrictly forbid; and beſides this, the *Decemvir* himſelf had juſt paſs'd a Law, prohibiting all Marriages between *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. What ſhall the amorous Tyrant do in this Perplexity? He hires Women to corrupt the Charmer's Innocence. Theſe Managers carry rich Preſents to *Virginia*, from an unknown Admirer, who, as they inſinuate, is able to do much Good, or much Harm. But the beauteous *Roman* has too exalted a Soul to think any Preſents valuable, which are deſigned to be the Price of yielded Virtue. His Paſſion therefore ſuggeſts a new Scheme, the Execution of which he entruſts to *M. Claudius*, one of his own Clients, an infamous Wretch, and fit for any villanous Enterprize. *Claudius* takes a Band of reſolute Fellows with him to the School, and there ſeizes *Virginia*, with the Authority of a Maſter who is carrying back a Fugitive Slave to his Houſe. The People flock together at the Sight, and are all in a Commotion. *Claudius* requires the Damſel to appear before the *Decemviri*; and in Obedience to the new Laws ſhe is forc'd to follow him to their Tribunal. *Appius* is deſignedly alone upon the Bench, and is juſt ready to adjudge the young Woman to his Client, as his lawful Slave, when the People preſent cry out, That *Virginia*'s Relations ought to be firſt heard. *Appius*, as abſolute, and as enamour'd as he is, dares not refuſe to ſuſpend the Sentence, and give *Numitorius*, the Priſoner's Uncle, Time to appear. He comes to the Tribunal, with young *Icilius*, her intended Husband, and follow'd by a Company of the moſt conſiderable *Plebeians*. *Claudius* repeats his Claim, founded on a Lie, concerted between him and the Judge. He pretends, *That* Virginia *is the Daughter of a She-Slave who belong'd to him, and who had given her Child to* Numitoria, Virginius's *Wife; and that* Numitoria *had impoſed the Child upon her Husband, as her own, and his Daughter.* And he offers to give Security to produce the young Woman again in Court, when *Virginius* returns from the War. *Numitorius* perceives that the Client is only ſerving the Paſſion of his Patron; and he inveighs bitterly againſt the infamous Deſign of the *Decemvir*. He expoſes the Nonſenſe of *Claudius*'s Allegations, inſiſts upon one of the new Laws, *That* in Diſputes of this Kind, *the Preſumption ſhall be in favour of Liberty*; and then adds, *I might demand, that her Cauſe ſhould not be heard till after the Army's Return; and then only in full* Comitia. *But ſince there are private Reaſons (are you ignorant of them,* Appius?) *for haſtening ſo much the Determination of the Affair, give us Leave to call* Virginius *from the Camp; and in the mean time, let me, who have the Care of her Perſon, be the Guardian of her Honour.* This Demand ſeems reaſonable to the whole Aſſembly, who expreſs a Horror at the Proceeding: But *Appius* decrees, *That* Virginia *ſhall be put into* Claudius's *Hands, upon his giving Security to produce her on the Return of* Virginius. The Iniquity of the Judgment incenſes all preſent; and the Women ſhriek ſo loud that they are heard at a great Diſtance: But young *Icilius* breaks thro' the Crowd, and forces his Way to the Tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. A *Lictor* endeavours to oppoſe his Paſſage, and cries to him, *Sentence is paſs'd.* But nothing can ſtop the enraged Lover; he takes *Virginia* in his Arms, *No, Tyrant!* he cries, *Nothing but Death ſhall ſeparate me from my promis'd Wife. Add my Murder to the many Crimes with which thou art already polluted; aſſemble all thy* Lictors, *and, if thou wilt, thoſe of thy Collegues; to my laſt Breath, I will defend her Honour. Have you deprived us of the Protection of our* Tribunes, *only to ſubject our Wives and our Daughters to your Lewdneſs? Go on to exerciſe your Rage upon our Eſtates and Lives; but ſpare the Chaſtity of our Virgins. If any Attempt be made upon* Virginia, *I call the Gods to witneſs, that her Diſhonour ſhall be waſhed off by a Deluge of Blood. What will not* Virginius *be able to do in the Army, and* Icilius *among the People, when the one is to revenge the Cauſe of an injured Wife, the other of a diſhonoured Daughter.* He is going on, when the *Lictors* have Orders to take him away; and *Claudius* lays Hands upon *Virginia*; but the People in a Rage fall upon the Officers of the *Decemvir*, and *Claudius* is obliged to take Refuge under the Tribunal.

Appius seeing this, calls his Client to him, whiſpers ſomething in his Ear, cauſes Silence to be made, and then ſays, *It is not the Fury of the violent* Icilius, *which makes me comply, but the Intreaties of* Claudius *my Client. He is willing to wave the Right he has of carrying home his Slave, upon giving Security. He commits her to the ſame Hands in which ſhe was before; provided they promiſe to bring her into Court again to Morrow. The Perſons concern'd have therefore all the remaining Part of this Day, and four Hours of to Morrow, to fetch* Virginius *from the Camp.* Numitorius demands more Time; but the *Decemvir* orders the *Curule Chair* to be taken away. §. 12. *Icilius* and *Numitorius* immediately diſpatch, the firſt his Brother, the ſecond his Son, to bring *Virginius* from the Camp. *Appius* at the ſame time ſends a Courier, with Orders to the Generals to put him under Arreſt; but he comes too late. The other Meſſengers had been more expeditious; and *Virginius*, upon the firſt Notice of his Daughter's Danger, had left the Army; and he was ſo fortunate to eſcape two Parties of Soldiers, which were ſent, one from the Camp, to overtake him; the other from the City, to ſtop him. He appears the next Morning in the *Forum*, leading his Daughter in deep Mourning, attended by a great Number of Ladies. He addreſſes himſelf to his Fellow-Citizens as he paſſes, and utters his Complaints with an Air of Dignity that ſeems rather to *demand* Aſſiſtance, than to *implore* it. *To what Purpoſe*, ſays he, *do we every Day expoſe our Lives to preſerve our Wives and Children from a foreign Enemy, if our Tyrants at* Rome *exerciſe upon them all the Violence and Oppreſſion which can be ſuffer'd in a City taken by Aſſault? Icilius*, for his Part, breaks into the Throng, rages from Crowd to Crowd, and ſeems to transfuſe his own Reſentments into every Breaſt. The *Roman* Ladies, in the mean while, let fall their ſilent Tears, the moſt perſuaſive of all Eloquence. *Appius* is inform'd of the Diſpoſitions of the People; but his Love will admit of no Fear. He appears upon the Bench of Juſtice. *Claudius* ſpeaks firſt, renews his Claim, and produces the Slave (whom he had alledg'd to be the Mother of *Virginia*) and ſeveral other ſuborned Witneſſes. Their Depoſitions are favourable to his Pretenſions; but all the Marks of Truth are againſt him. *Virginius* lays them open in the plaineſt Manner, and in the artleſs Language of a Soldier. He urges the little Probability of *Numitoria*'s impoſing a Child upon him, having no poſſible Temptation to it; and eſpecially the Child of a Slave. *Beſides*, adds he, *is it likely that a Contrivance carried on between two Women ſhould continue ſo long a Secret? Wou'd not the Slave, at leaſt, have made her Court to her Maſter, by diſcovering it after* Numitoria's *Death, when ſhe cou'd have no Intereſt to conceal it? How came the Myſtery to be unreveal'd till* Appius *was* Decemvir? To theſe Preſumptions, *Virginius* adds Proofs, which are inconteſtable, of *Numitoria*'s Pregnancy, and of her ſuckling her own Daughter. The moſt conſiderable Women in *Rome* are produced as Witneſſes of it. And now all the Attention of the Aſſembly is fixed on *Virginia*. Her modeſt Countenance, her Eyes bath'd in Tears, and her Looks fix'd upon the Ground as a Victim who expects to die, touches every Heart with Pity; and what raiſes their Compaſſion ſtill vaſtly more, is her amazing Beauty: For her Form ſeems more than human; and by her Air one wou'd take her for a Goddeſs. Nothing remains, but for *Appius* to give Sentence. His Paſſion is too ſtrong for any Remorſe. He pretends to be himſelf in the Secret; and that *Claudius*'s Father had at his Death diſcover'd it to him, when he made him his Son's Guardian. And therefore, both as Witneſs and Judge, he declares the young Woman to belong to *Claudius*, and orders her to be deliver'd to him, as his Property. The ill-diſguiſed Iniquity of the *Decemvir* is viſible to all preſent; *Virginius* trembles with Rage; and with a threatning Voice, *Infamous Wretch*, he cries, *I never deſigned my Daughter for thee. I educated her for a lawful Husband, and not to ſerve the Luſt of a brutal Raviſher.* Romans! *Will you ſuffer theſe Things?* The People expreſs their Indignation by an univerſal Out-cry, and ſeem ready to oppoſe the *Decemvir*'s Decree. But *Appius* inſinuates to the Multitude, that he has poſted his Troops up and down the City, and threatens them ſeverely if they don't immediately diſperſe, and return every one to his Houſe. *As for You*, Claudius, adds he, *ſeize your Slave, and make uſe of my Guard to diſperſe the Crowd. Claudius* cauſes *Virginia* to be led towards his Houſe, and *Appius* follows him with his Guard. *Virginius* cannot leave his Daughter; he walks by her Side, and keeps his Arm round her Waſte. But when they come to the fartheſt Side of the *Forum*, over-againſt the Temple of *Venus Cloacina*, he draws near to *Appius*, and in a ſuppliant Manner ſays, *Pardon, Sir, the unguarded Words which eſcaped me in my firſt Tranſports of Grief; and allow me, if you pleaſe, one Moment to ſpeak privately to* Virginia, *and ask her ſome Queſtions concerning her true Parents; that ſo I may carry Home the Conſolation at leaſt of being ſet right in this intricate Affair. Appius* has no Pretence to refuſe ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, and keeps at a Diſtance with his *Lictors*. *Virginia* ſees her ſelf alone with her Father and her Governeſs; and then, either from a greater Flow of Tenderneſs for him to whom ſhe ow'd her Liſe, or from a Horror of the Treatment ſhe is to expect, and which now affects her more than ever, ſhe falls into a Swoon. Her Governeſs holds her up, and *Virginius* for ſome time ſeems very earneſt in endeavouring

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Year of *ROME* deavouring to bring her to her ſelf. Then, under pretence of ſeeking ſome Aſſiſtance, he runs to a Butcher's Stall, ſeizes a Knife, and returns to his Daughter, who is yet in her Swoon. *Here, my dear Daughter,* ſays he, *receive this laſt Pledge of my Love. Go,* Virginia, *go to thy Anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet a free Woman, pure and undefiled.* At theſe Words he gives her the fatal Blow, and then turning to *Appius, By this Blood,* he cries, *I devote thy Head to the Infernal Gods.* The *Decemvir* immediately orders him to be ſeiz'd; but he with the Knife in his Hand, and all bloody, makes his way through the People, who flock about him, gets out of the City, mounts on Horſeback, and takes the Road to the Camp. §. 13. In the mean while, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* raiſe a great Commotion in *Rome* among the People, who will not quit *Virginia*'s dead Body, but utter bitter Exclamations againſt the *Decemviri*, and demand the Re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Government, and of the *Tribunes*. As for *Appius*, he is ſcarce Maſter of his Reaſon. He had waded through a Sea of Villany, to reach a Prize which eſcaped him for ever, in the very Moment he thought to take Poſſeſſion of it. He had been the Cauſe of the Murder of what he lov'd to Exceſs; and beſides the inward Torment of his own Reflections, had made ſure of the eternal Hatred and Indignation of the *Roman* People. Inſtead of endeavouring to appeaſe them, he ſends his *Lictors* to ſeize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead Body; and upon their being repuls'd, is raſh enough to come in Perſon, attended by a choſen Company of young *Patricians*, to ſee his Orders executed. But *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe ſworn Enemies of the *Decemviri*, had put themſelves at the Head of the Multitude, who beat the *Decemvir*'s Officers, and break their *Faſces*. *Appius* flies to the Temple of *Vulcan*, and there pretends to exerciſe the Authority of a *Tribune* of the People, demanding that *Icilius*, and the other Diſturbers of the publick Peace, ſhould be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But his Harangue is often interrupted with Hiſſes; and in the mean time *Valerius* and his Party carry the Body of *Virginia* to the Top of a Flight of Steps, where the People may ſee it, and whence he may be heard by them. So that there are two Aſſemblies, and two Orators, in different Parts of the *Forum*, declaiming againſt each other at the ſame time. But *Appius*'s Auditors ſoon leave him to go to *Valerius*; and the *Decemvir*, to avoid being ſtoned, is obliged to hide his Face with his Robe, and ſeek Refuge in a neighbouring Houſe. §. 14. But juſt as *Horatius* and *Valerius* have gain'd great Advantages over *Appius*, *Oppius*, the *Plebeian Decemvir*, arrives to defend his Collegue. And he judges, that the wiſeſt Method is to aſſemble the Senate. The People are immediately quieted, as hoping that the *Decemvirate* will now be aboliſhed. But the Fathers then in *Rome* are Friends to the *Decemviri*, order the People to behave themſelves peaceably, and commiſſion ſome young Senators to go to the Camp near the *Algidus*, to prevent the Seditions *Virginius* might cauſe in it. In the mean time, there is a wonderful Emulation in the City, who ſhall make the richeſt Preſents for the Decoration of *Virginia*'s Funeral; nothing elſe is talk'd of, and all poſſible Honour and Reſpect is ſhewn to the Memory of the innocent Victim of *Roman* Chaſtity. §. 15. But in the Camp of the five *Legions*, the Commotion rais'd by *Virginius* is yet greater. He arrives there at Night, when the Soldiers are at Supper. He is attended by four hundred Citizens, who enter the Camp in ſmall Companies. As for himſelf, with the fatal Knife in his Hand, and cover'd with Blood, he paſſes through the Tents, and places himſelf on an Eminence where ſeveral Ways meet. The Soldiers crowd about him. His Tears and his Geſture increaſe their Curioſity. He relates to them the Plot laid by *Appius* againſt his Daughter's Liberty and Honour, and the cruel Method he had been forc'd to take to preſerve her Chaſtity. The Citizens who come with him from *Rome* confirm his Relation, and exaggerate the Miſeries of the City under the Government of the *Decemviri*. They report likewiſe, that *Appius* has been forc'd to baniſh himſelf. The Soldiers upon this News are ready to ſnatch up their Standards, and march away. The five *Decemviri* who command the Army, hold a Conſultation upon the proper Means to appeaſe the Tumult. In the mean time, word is brought them, that the Soldiers are retired to their Tents, and that all is quiet. Upon this, it is determined that *Virginius* ſhall be put in Arreſt the next Day, and that the Army ſhall march into the Enemy's Country, that they may be out of the hearing of what paſſes at *Rome*. But theſe Generals do not know that the *Centurions* have conſpired to aboliſh the *Decemvirate*. The next day, they refuſe to march againſt the *Æqui*; and not only protect *Virginius*, but at his Inſtigation (who removes their Scruples about the military Oaths, which did not bind them to obey Uſurpers) ſnatch up the *Roman* Eagles, march out of the Camp, and take the Road to *Rome*. The Army follow their Standards, and come and intrench themſelves on the Hill *Aventinus*. *Oppius* convenes the Senate (for *Appius* appears no more in publick) and the *Conſcript Fathers* ſend three of their Body to the Army, to ask the Reaſon of their leaving their Generals. The Anſwer was eaſy: but the Deſerters had not choſen a Head; and they therefore all cry out with one Voice, *Let* Valerius *and* Horatius *be ſent to us, we will return no Anſwer to the Senate but by them.* *Virginius* being alarm'd at the

Timorouſneſs of the Troops, when queſtion'd by the Deputies from the Senate, is ſenſible that they want Chiefs to govern them, and to anſwer for them. Ten are choſen under the Name of MILITARY TRIBUNES. The Army are deſirous to have *Virginius* at the Head of them; but he declines the Honour. *My Daughter*, ſays he, *is dead, and I have not yet reveng'd her Death. No kind of Honour will become me, till her* Manes *are appeas'd. Beſides, what prudent or moderate Counſels can you expect from one who is all Rage againſt the Tyrants? I ſhall be of more Service to the Common Cauſe by acting in it as a private Man.* §. 16. In the mean time, the three *Legions* ſent againſt the *Sabines*, pay as little Deference to their Generals. The Murder of the incomparable *Sicinnius* had provoked them. *Numitorius* and *Icilius* increaſe their Diſpoſition to revolt, by their Account of the Death of *Virginia*; and the News of the Defection of the five *Legions*, determines them to take the ſame Steps. *Icilius* is at their Head. They alſo chuſe ten *Military Tribunes*, and march to the Hill *Aventinus*, where the two Armies united under the Govervment of twenty *Military Tribunes*, reſolve for the future to obey only two Generals, *Oppius* and *Manlius*. Theſe appoint themſelves a Council, conſiſting of all the *Centurions* in the Army, and govern it with unexpected Prudence. §. 17. While theſe things are doing, *Oppius* the *Decemvir* thinks to put an end to all Misfortunes, by the Intervention of the Senate. But the *Conſcript Fathers* only diſpute, without coming to any Determination. The Majority are for deputing *Horatius* and *Valerius* to the revolted Army; but they refuſe to accept the Commiſſion, till the *Decemviri* have laid down. Theſe Delays tire out the two Armies, and they march to the *Mons Sacer*, entrench themſelves there, and obſerve the ſame good Diſcipline their Anceſtors had formerly done. They are follow'd by ſuch numbers of the Citizens with their Wives and Children, that *Rome* is in a manner deſerted. The Senators are ſurpriz'd to ſee the Streets ſo thin of Inhabitants, and unanimouſly reſolve to aboliſh the *Decemvirate*, reſtore the People their *Tribunes*, and the Senate its *Conſuls*. *Valerius* and *Horatius* being now inveſted with full Power to treat with the People, accept of the Deputation to the *Mons Sacer*. The Joy of the Army on the Arrival of theſe Senators is inexpreſſible. *Icilius*, who is their Speaker, after having return'd the Deputies thanks, demands in the Name of the Revolters, 1. *The Re-eſtabliſhment of the* Tribunes *of the People, with a Right of Appeal to them from the Deciſions of the Conſuls.* 2. *The Puniſhment of the* Decemviri, *who, they deſire, may be burnt alive.* But the prudent Deputies make a great difference between the two Articles. *One*, ſay they, *is the Dictate of Reaſon, the other is the Effect of Paſſion. You are offer'd a Shield, do not pretend to take a Sword too. The Senate has not yet declared you innocent, and will you already take upon you to give Law to it?* The People ſubmit to the Reaſons of the Deputies, and empower them to make what Terms for them they think fit. *Valerius* and *Horatius* return to *Rome*; and their Report is receiv'd with Joy by the Senate. Nine of the *Decemviri*, when they hear that the People do not demand their Heads, readily conſent to every thing ask'd. *Appius* is the only Man who thinks himſelf loſt. *To re-eſtabliſh the* Tribuneſhip, ſays he, *is only to put Arms in the Hands of the People. I find my Execution is only poſtponed, and my Life muſt be ſacrificed to the publick Hatred. But ſince it muſt be ſo, let us begin by diveſting ourſelves of the* Decemvirate. Accordingly, a Decree is paſs'd to aboliſh the *Decemvirate*, and reſtore the *Tribunes*.

INTER-REGNUM. The News is carried to the Army; they come and encamp a ſecond time on the Hill *Aventinus*, where they proceed to chuſe ten *Tribunes*, the *Pontifex Maximus* preſiding at the Election. *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*, the Father and Defenders of *Virginia*, are firſt named. (Nothing was more glorious in the antient *Romans*, than this ſteady Love of Chaſtity, by which alone the two firſt Revolutions in their State were brought about.) §. 18. The only thing which remains now for the perfect Re-eſtabliſhment of the Republick, is to hold an Aſſembly of the *Centuries* for the Election of

60th CONSULSHIP. new *Conſuls*; and *Valerius* and *Horatius* are choſen. They keep the Promiſe they had made the People on the *Mons Sacer*, to favour them in every thing, in caſe they came into Office; and they are wholly bent upon giving the *Plebeians* a Superiority over the Senate. This is evident by the Laws they introduce. Formerly the Ordinances made by the People in *Comitia by Tribes*, obliged only the *Plebeians*; and to make them of general Obligation, it was neceſſary that they ſhould be confirm'd in *Comitia by Centuries*. But now it is enacted, *That the Decrees of the* Tribes *ſhall be as univerſally obſerved by the* Patricians, *as thoſe of the* Centuries *are by the* Plebeians. And that the *Tribunes* may be maintain'd in perpetual Poſſeſſion of their Right of judging Cauſes brought before them by Appeal, it is likewiſe enacted, *That for the future no Magiſtrates of any kind ſhall be inveſted with ſupreme Authority, without Appeal; and that it ſhall be lawful for any one to kill the Author of ſuch an Innovation.* The Ceremonies are likewiſe renewed, whereby the Perſons of the *Tribunes* were made ſacred. And to theſe Regulations another is added, *That the Decrees of the Senate ſhall for the future be carried to the* Ædiles, *and kept in the Temple of* Ceres. This is done for fear the ſucceeding *Conſuls* ſhould ſuppreſs the Decrees now made, and render them uſeleſs. §. 19. The *Tribunes* now finding themſelves in a Condition

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Year of ROME to undertake whatever their Revenge can dictate, resolve to humble the proud *Decemviri*, and begin with *Appius*, who is cited to appear. *Virginius* is his Accuser, and without enumerating all his Crimes, insists only on *his having, contrary to Law, refused a young Woman, who was in Possession of her Liberty, the Right of enjoying it, on her giving Security. Name your own Judge*, adds he, *to determine the Cause. If you don't, I order you to be laid in Irons in a Dungeon.* *Appius* names no body; he has neither the People nor the *Tribunes* on his Side, and the Senate are not Judges in Capital Causes. But when the *Tribunes* Officers are just seizing his Person, he cries out, *I appeal.* He enumerates the Services done the Republick, by his Family; reminds them of his own Zeal for the publick Good, with relation to the Twelve Tables; and claims the Benefit of the Laws just made in favour of Appeals. *Virginius* answers, *That such a Monster as the Accused, is not worthy to partake of the common Benefits of Society, nor to be allow'd to escape Imprisonment on giving Security, since be had refused that Privilege to* Virginia, *when it was to preserve her from Slavery.* Accordingly, *Appius* is carried to the Prison he himself had built, and named the *Habitation of the Romans.* However, the Sentence against him is deferred to the third Market-Day; and in the Interval, old *Claudius*, who had so much disapproved of his Nephew's Proceedings, yet upon hearing of his Danger, and of the Shame that is like to come upon the *Claudian* Family, comes to *Rome*, and intercedes with the People; but to no Purpose. It is uncertain whether *Appius* kill'd himself, or was dispatch'd by Order of the *Tribunes*. §. 20. The Prosecution of *Oppius* the *Plebeian Decemvir*, follows next; and *Numitorius* is his Accuser. The main Witness against him, is a Man who had serv'd twenty seven Years in the Army, and had been eight times honour'd with military Rewards. He uncovers his Shoulders, on which appears the Marks of the Rods, with which he had been whipped by *Oppius*'s Orders; and he offers to undergo the same Treatment again, if *Oppius* can assign any good Reason for his Cruelty. This is enough. The Accused is order'd to Prison, and dies the same Day. There yet remains to punish *Claudius* the suborn'd Client of *Appius*. He is condemn'd, but *Virginius* has pity on a Wretch who had acted in compliance with a sovereign Magistrate, from whom he could have no Appeal. So that his Sentence of Death is chang'd to Banishment, upon his confessing that he had been suborned. After this, *Duilius*, one of the *Tribunes*, persuades the College to carry Vengeance no farther. A general Amnesty is granted to all, and the State is wholly taken up with making Preparations for War. §. 21. For during these Broils, the *Æqui* had join'd the *Volsci* to give the finishing Stroke to the divided Republick, and she is attacked on another Side by the *Sabines*. *Valerius* is appointed to march against the former, and *Horatius* against the latter. But first the Two new Tables of Laws which had not been yet establish'd in due Form, receive a proper Sanction, are graven in Brass, and fixed up in the *Forum*. *Valerius*, by his wise Conduct, and the affectionate Zeal of his Soldiers to gain him Honour, obtains a complete Victory over the *Æqui*. §. 22. And this Success raises an Emulation in *Horatius*'s Army. The *Consul*, with the Approbation of his Troops, resolves to come to a decisive Battle. He gains the Day by the Bravery of his Cavalry, who dismount to cover his Left Wing, which by a Stratagem of the *Sabine* General, is surrounded soon after the Action begins. §. 23. But though these two Victories are of great Importance to the Republick, yet the Senate being dissatisfied with the *Consuls*, on account of their Popularity, and of the Laws they had made in favour of the *Tribunes*, decree, contrary to Custom, but one *Supplication* for both; but the People, to make them amends, prolong the Ceremony all the next Day. The Generals, upon their Return to *Rome*, petition the Senate for a Triumph. Old *Claudius*, piqued at the little Regard which had been shewn to his Intercessions in favour of his Nephew *Appius*, opposes it with Warmth, and taxes them with Partiality to the *Plebeians* in their Civil Administration; upon which the *Conscript Fathers* declare them unworthy of the Honour they request. But this Opposition serves only to gain the People a new Prerogative, the Right of decreeing Triumphs. *Valerius* and *Horatius* apply to them, the *Tribunes* back their Suit, and *Icilius* declares in the Name of the Commons, that the *Consuls* shall have the Honour of a Triumph; which was afterwards thought so legal a one, as to be mention'd in the *Fasti Capitolini*. §. 24. The Remainder of these *Consuls* Year is spent in canvassing for Elections. The greater Part of the *Tribunes* form a Scheme for continuing themselves in Office the next Year; and the better to cover their Ambition, are willing that the *Consuls* should continue also in theirs. But *M. Duilius*, one of the College, is a Man of Probity, and undertakes to defeat their Design. It falls to his Lot to preside in *Comitia Tribes* for electing the new *Tribunes:* And he there declares, that all Votes for continuing his Collegues in the *Tribuneship*, shall go for nothing. The rest of the *Tribunes* oppose this, and insist, that the People be left free. Upon which he brings the *Consuls* into the *Comitia*, and asks them whether they will accept of the *Consulship*, in case the People offer to continue them in it for another Year. They answer, *That they shall be far from imitating the odious Usurpation of the* Decemviri. And their Moderation

Supplication.

The People take upon them to decree the Consuls *a Triumph.*

is much commended. But when the Election of *Tribunes* comes on, the People, instead of chusing Ten, can agree on no more than Five; and the old *Tribunes* therefore contend, that they are hereby authorized to continue in their Offices. So that *Duilius* is forced to propose this new Law to the People. *When in the* Comitia *for chusing the* Tribunes *of the People, the Electors cannot agree upon Ten; let those who shall be agreed upon, be empower'd to chuse the rest of their Collegues.* The Law is passed; the five *Tribunes* chosen, nominate five others; and by the Advice of *Duilius*, chuse two of them out of the *Patricians*, *Sp. Tarpeius* and *A. Æternius*, who had been *Consuls* in the Year 299. Year of *ROME*

DUILIUS's LAW.

Two PATRICIANS *chosen* TRIBUNES *of the* PEOPLE.

BOOK XI.

61st CONSULSHIP.

§. 1. *ROME* is in perfect Tranquillity, when *Lart. Herminius* and *T. Virginius* take Possession of the *Consulship*. The new Governors endeavour to hold the Balance even between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*. But *Trebonius*, one of the *Tribunes*, who for his restless Spirit, gets the Surname of *Mutinous*, is dissatisfied to see two *Patricians* in the College, and likewise with the *Duilian* Law, relating to the Election of *Tribunes*. By his Credit therefore with the People, he procures this new Law to be pass'd. *Whenever the* Tribunes *of the Commons are to be chosen, let not him who presides put an end to the* Comitia, *till the Tribes have chosen Ten.* He judges, that the *Tribes* will never chuse *Patricians*. §. 2. The following *Consulate* of *M. Geganius* and *C. Julius*, proves a Year of little less Tranquillity than the past, and produces nothing remarkable. §. 3. But the succeeding *Consuls*, *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* (a fourth time) and *Agrippa Furius*, find the People highly exasperated against the Nobility; the young *Patricians* having been guilty of new and provoking Insults, both on the People and their *Tribunes*. Upon the News of these fresh domestick Broils, the *Æqui* and *Volsci* resolve to seek the Wolves (so they stiled the *Romans*) in their Dens. They enter the Country of the *Latins*, lay it waste, and advance into the *Roman* Territory, whence they carry off a great deal of Booty to *Corbio*. The *Consul Quinctius* has no hopes of bringing the *Tribunes* to consent to the raising an Army; but he assembles the People, and expostulates with them on the Shame both to them and him, of letting the Enemy insult *Rome*, without revenging it; and imputes the Insolence of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* to the intestine Divisions of the *Romans*. *I grant*, adds he, *that the* GREAT *set no Bounds to their Ambition. But do not the People likewise carry their Love of Liberty to an Excess? They desired* TRIBUNES; *we established them. They wanted* DECEMVIRI; *we consented. They insisted upon these new Magistrates being deposed; we deposed them. They demanded to have the* Tribuneship *restor'd; we suffer'd it. They desir'd to have popular Men chosen* Consuls; *we chose them. In short, we have suffer'd them to enjoy the Protection of their own Magistrates, with a Right of Appeal to their Tribunal; and we have subjected ourselves to the Laws made in their* Comitia. *Are not the Nobility sufficiently humbled? What have you to ask more?* He then ascribes all their shameful and unworthy Conduct to the seditious Harangues of their *Tribunes*, and exhorts them to resume the old *Roman* Spirit, and follow him into the Field. Never was the Harangue of any *Tribune* more favourably receiv'd by the People, than that of this venerable *Consul*. A Decree is unanimously pass'd for making the necessary Levies; and all the young Men are summon'd to appear in the *Campus Martius* to be inlisted. Every *Cohort* consisted then of six *Centuries*, and every *Legion* of ten *Cohorts*. Each *Cohort* had leave to chuse its own *Centurions*; and besides them, two Senators were placed at the Head of it. These Dispositions are so expeditiously made, that in four Hours time, the Troops are ready to fetch the *Roman* Eagles from the Houses of the *Quæstors*, (to whose Care they were always committed.) They encamp the same Day ten Miles from *Rome*, and the following come in sight of the Enemy near *Corbio*. §. 4. The third Day they come to a pitch'd Battel with them. [The Particulars of it are related.] But tho' the Victory be complete on the Side of the *Romans*, the *Consuls* have no Triumph. §. 5. Soon after this, the *Roman* People are chosen Arbitrators in a Dispute between the Inhabitants of *Ardea* and those of *Aricia*, concerning a large Tract of Land, to which each of the Cities laid claim. The *Tribes* are assembled, the Cause is heard, and the Votes are just going to be taken, when one *Scaptius*, a *Roman*, a very old Man of the meanest of the People, desires to be heard. He pretends to have known the District in question about forty seven Years, that it formerly belong'd to *Corioli*, and consequently now to the *Romans*, who ought therefore to make no scruple of seizing it. This Motion gives the *Consuls* a great deal of Concern, when they find it favourably listen'd to. They use their utmost Endeavours to dissuade the People from taking a Step which must cast a Blemish on the *Roman* Probity. But they strive in vain. The *Romans* adjudge the Territory to themselves. §. 6. The *Plebeians* have now gain'd such an Ascendant over the

TREBONIAN LAW.

62d CONSULSHIP.

63d CONSULSHIP.

305.

306.

307.

Year of ROME

Nobility, that the *Tribunes* think themſelves in a Condition to attempt what they pleaſe. And being jealous of the Prerogative, which the *Conſuls* enjoy, of chuſing the *Quæſtors*, they contrive to deprive them of that Privilege; and accordingly the People for the firſt time appoint the *Quæſtors*, but adhere to the old Cuſtom of nominating only *Patricians*.

308. §. 7. The new *Conſuls*, *M. Genucius Augurinus* and *C. Curtius Philo*, are no ſooner in Office, than the *Tribunes* form new Deſigns. *Canuleius*, an active Man at the Head of them, preſents a Petition to the People, deſiring, *That the Law, forbidding* Patrician *and* Plebeian *Families to intermarry, may be aboliſh'd*; and likewiſe, *That* Plebeians *may have leave to ſtand for the* Conſulſhip. The Diſputes which ariſe upon theſe two Articles, put the Enemies of *Rome* in motion again.. The Defection of the *Ardeates* is followed by a Declaration of War on the Part of the *Veientes*; and the *Æqui* and *Volſci* at the ſame time prepare great Armies to enter the *Roman* Territory. However, the *Tribunes* obſtinately oppoſe all Levies, till the Senate ſhall paſs a Decree, authorizing them to aſſemble the People to determine upon the new propoſed Laws. Many of the Senators make warm Speeches againſt the Pretenſions of the Commons; but *Canuleius* encourages them not to abate any thing of their Pretenſions, and by a long and artful Harangue, makes ſuch an Impreſſion on them, that they bind themſelves by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, not to ſubmit to any Orders about Enrollments, till the Senate have complied with their Demands. The *Conſuls* are terrify'd, and hold private Meetings, to which only the graveſt and oldeſt Senators are invited. Here *C. Claudius* propoſes an Expedient which is receiv'd with Applauſe, and which we ſhall ſoon ſee put in Execution. §. 8. When the Senate aſſembles to put ſome end to the Affair, the *Tribunes* are order'd to explain their Pretenſions, and give their Reaſons for the two Laws in queſtion. But inſtead of this, the Harangue of *Canuleius*, who is their Speaker, turns wholly upon the Irregularity of ſecret Aſſemblies, and the double Dealings of the *Conſuls*, who propoſe an Affair to the Deliberation of the Fathers, which has been already determin'd in private: And laſtly he complains, that *Valerius* and *Horatius* had not been call'd to the ſecret Council. *Genucius* proteſts, that the *Conſuls* had had no other View in calling a private Aſſembly, than to pave the Way for Concord: That they had not invited *Valerius* and *Horatius* to it, leſt it ſhould leſſen their Intereſt with the People; and as a Proof of his Eſteem for them, he invites them to ſpeak out of their Turn, and before the more antient *conſular* Senators. (To engage thoſe two Senators to ſpeak firſt in the Debate, was a Part of old *Claudius*'s Scheme.) *Valerius* is of opinion, *That the Enemy ought to be firſt conquered before the Senate hear even the juſt Deſires of the People; but that they ought to be encouraged to contend for Victory by a Decree, or written Promiſe, to empower the* Tribunes *to propoſe the two Laws to the People, as ſoon as the Campaign ſhould be ended.* *Horatius* ſeconds this Motion. Long and warm Debates ariſe; till at length old *Claudius*, (as had been agreed) declares *againſt the Suffering the two Laws to be propos'd to the People in* Comitia, *either now or hereafter.* Then *Genucius*, the *Conſul's* Brother, plays his Part, and propoſes as an Expedient for Reconciliation, *That the* conſular *Power be divided among ſix Perſons, three choſen out of the Nobility, and three out of the Commons; that they be call'd* Military Tribunes; *and that when their Year ſhall be expired, the Republick may continue the ſame kind of Government, or return to her* Conſuls *as ſhe ſhall ſee proper.* This Motion is approv'd of both by Senate and *Tribunes*. A Decree for this third Revolution in the *Roman* Government is paſt; and there is an univerſal Joy in *Rome*. *Comitia* are held without delay. But when theſe new Governors come to be choſen, it is with great difficulty that any of the *Patricians* are prevail'd upon to ſtand Candidates, while the *Plebeians* ſollicit the Office with Earneſtneſs: And it now appears how different the ſame People are from themſelves, when ſpirited up by ſeditious Harangues, and when left to their own Reaſon. When they come to vote, they only promote three *Patricians*, and refuſe to nominate any *Plebeians* to be joined with them in the *Military Tribuneſhip*. As to the foreign Enemies of the Republick, they ſeem to be diſpers'd by the Reeſtabliſhment of Concord in *Rome*, and there is no Neceſſity of raiſing Troops to

309. oppoſe them.

§. 9. *A. Sempronius*, *L. Attilius*, and *T. Clœlius*, the firſt *Military Tribunes*, do not continue long in Office. *Curtius* the late *Conſul*, who had preſided at their Election, declares three Months after, that the *Auguries* preceding it had been inauſpicious, which diſannulled their Promotion. (This was probably an artful Contrivance of the Nobility, not to let the new Form of Government take root.) The three Magiſtrates readily abdicate their Dignity, and *Rome* thereby falls into an *Interregnum*. *T. Quinctius*, when *Interrex*, aſſembles the People to determine, whether the *conſular* Government ſhall be reſtored, or that of *Military Tribunes* continued. The Senate are for the former, the *Tribunes* of the Commons are for the latter, while the People being reſolv'd to confer the ſupreme Dignity only on *Patricians*, are indifferent whether it be call'd *Conſulſhip* or *Tribuneſhip*. At length all agree to reſtore the old Form of Government; *Patricians* only are ſuffer'd to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, and *L. Papyrius Mugillanus*, with *M. Sempronius Attratinus*, are choſen

64th Consulship. Canuleius *the* Tribune.

MILITARY TRIBUNES.

1ſt Military Tribuneſhip.

Interregnum.

65th Conſulship.

choſen by the *Centuries*. The Union which now reigns among all Orders of Men in the Republick, keeps the neighbouring Powers quiet. Even the *Ardeates* return to their Duty, and renew their Alliance with *Rome*. The Senate give them good words concerning the Reſtitution of their Lands in due time; but cannot repeal a Decree of the People. §. 10. The *Conſuls* for the next Year, are *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, (a fifth time) and *M. Geganius*, (a ſecond.) There had been no *Cenſus* for ſeventeen Years, which occaſion'd great Diſorders. The new *Conſuls* undertake to remedy them: but as they have ſo many Affairs both Civil and Military upon their Hands, they deſire the Senate to diſcharge them of the Care of numbering the People, and taking an Account of their Effects, and to lay it upon two Magiſtrates, created on purpoſe, who ſhould be ſtiled *Cenſors*. The Fathers readily conſent to it, and the *Tribunes* think the Employment of too little Importance to oppoſe its Eſtabliſhment. They do not foreſee to what a pitch of Grandeur and Power the Office of *Cenſor* will in time arrive. The Law which ſettles the Functions of the new Officers, is drawn up in theſe Words. *Let the* Cenſors *enquire into the Ages and Number of the Perſons in every Family, and the Value of the Effects which belong to them. Let them have the Inſpection of the Temples, Streets, Fountains, publick Treaſure, and Taxes. Let them determine to what* Tribe *every Citizen ſhall belong. Let them inform themſelves of every one's Age and Income, that they may place all in their Order. Let them keep a Regiſter of the* Roman *Knights, and of the Foot-Soldiers. Let them take care that no body lives ſingle. Let them inſpect the Manners of the People, and not ſuffer any Stain to reſt upon the Senate. Let there be two* Cenſors, *and let them continue in their Office five Years, tho' other Magiſtrates be changed annually. And laſtly, let this Office continue in the Republick for ever. Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, *Conſuls* of the laſt Year, are the firſt *Cenſors*. The numbering of the People is follow'd by a LUSTRUM, being the eleventh from its Inſtitution. §. 11. In the mean time, the *Ardeates* are involv'd in a Civil War, occaſion'd by two Citizens of *Ardea*, one of a Noble Family, the other of a *Plebeian*, who had both fallen in love with the ſame Woman. It becomes a Party Quarrel, and riſes to ſuch a height, that the *Plebeians* leave the City in great Numbers, encamp on a Hill in the Neighbourhood, pillage and lay waſte the Lands of the Nobility. The Mutineers are join'd by the *Volſci*, and having choſe themſelves a Commander, one *Cluilius*, lay ſiege to *Ardea*. The Nobility apply to the *Romans*. The Senate ſend to their Relief the *Conſul Geganius*, who inveſts the Beſiegers, reduces them to ſurrender their Arms, and makes them *paſs under the Yoke*. §. 12. But tho' *Geganius* returns to *Rome* with all the Glory of a Conqueror, his Triumph being attended with uncommon Pomp and Solemnity; yet his Collegue *Quinctius Capitolinus*, who had continued in *Rome*, is for his admirable Conduct rather more eſteem'd. He was an excellent Soldier, an incomparable Stateſman, and ſcarce inferior in Merit to his Brother *Quinctius Cincinnatus*. He was not one of thoſe Men who have no Weight any longer than they are in Office. He ſeem'd a *Conſul* in all the Parts of his Life; and when advanc'd to the higheſt Poſt, leſs Reſpect was ſhew'd to his Office than to his Perſon. No body ever knew ſo well how to temper Severity and Mildneſs together. The Senators themſelves thought him too ſevere to the People, and yet the People were perfectly ſatisfy'd with his Goodneſs to them. In his happy *Conſulſhip*, *Herodotus* came into *Italy*, and reſided ſome time at *Thurium*, near *Tarentum*, where it is probable he compos'd ſome Part of his Hiſtory. §. 13. The ſucceeding *Conſuls* are *M. Fabius* and *Poſthumus Ebutius*, who make it their Buſineſs to bury in Oblivion the Remains of that Infamy which the *Roman* People had brought upon themſelves by the unjuſt Judgment formerly paſs'd againſt the *Ardeates*. They prevail on the Senate to paſs a Decree for ſending a Colony of *Romans* to *Ardea*, to defend and re-people the City, much depopulated by the Civil War. It is agreed, but ſecretly, for fear of the *Tribunes*, that only a ſmall Part of the Lands, formerly in Diſpute, ſhall be divided among the new Colony, and the reſt reſtor'd to the *Ardeates*. This was diſannulling the Judgment of the People by an Act of Power. And accordingly *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Cloelius*, and *M. Ebutius*, the Commiſſioners for making the Diſtribution, are, after a faithful Diſcharge of their Truſt, cited to appear before the People. But theſe three *Patricians* avoid the Proſecution, by declaring themſelves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continuing there. §. 14. The new Year of *C. Furius* and *M. Papirius*, is as peaceful as the foregoing. *Petilius*, one of the *Tribunes*, endeavours to engage the *Conſuls* to preſent a Petition to the Senate, concerning the Diſtribution of Lands among the People, and to move, that *Military Tribunes* may be choſen for the following Year, inſtead of *Conſuls*: But both to no Purpoſe. The *Romans* adhere to their old Government; and, §. 15. *Proculus Geganius* and *L. Menenius* are promoted to the *Conſulſhip*. The Harangues of the *Tribunes*, and the Storms of the *Comitia*, having of late diſtracted the Minds of the *Roman* Citizens, who are almoſt all Husbandmen, the Lands are but indifferently cultivated; and it proving, beſides, a bad Year, a Famine begins to be ſenſibly felt. The People, to prevent the ill Conſequences of it, create, with the Conſent of the Senate, an extraordinary Magiſtrate,

Year of *ROME*

66th CONSULSHIP. 310.

CENSORS.

Character of QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

67th CONSULSHIP. 311.

68th CONSULSHIP. 312.

69th CONSULSHIP. 313.

Year of ROME

Magiſtrate, with the Title of SUPERINTENDENT OF PROVISIONS. His Name is *Minucius*. He ſends into ſeveral Provinces by Sea and Land, in queſt of Corn: but no Supplies can be got, except from *Hetruria*; and even thence he gets but little for the Publick, becauſe one *Sp. Mælius*, an eminent Corn-Merchant, who by his Riches had rais'd himſelf to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight, cauſes ſo great a Quantity to be brought to *Rome* on his own Account. But as this *Mælius* is partly the Cauſe of the Scarcity, ſo he in part removes it, by diſtributing Corn *gratis* to ſome, and ſelling to others at a low Price. And this makes him ſo popular, that he firſt aſpires to the *Conſulate*, and ſoon carries his Views beyond it. He thinks it will be as eaſy to invade the *Regal*, as the *Conſular* Authority, and looks on the former as more worthy of his Purſuit; ſo that he does not appear among the Candidates for the *Conſul-*

314. *ſhip.* §. 16. And it is happy for the Republick, that *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* is now elected a ſixth time. (His Collegue is *Agrippa Menenius.*) However, *Minucius* the *Superintendent* has the Glory of firſt diſcovering *Mælius*'s Plot to raiſe himſelf to a Throne. He makes a Report of the Conſpiracy to the Senate; upon which, the *Conſcript Fathers* inveigh againſt the *Conſuls* of the laſt Year, for ſuffering *Mælius*'s Liberalities, and the private Meetings at his Houſe: and they accuſe the preſent *Conſuls* of Want of Vigilance in detecting the Plot, and of Want of Expedition in puniſhing the Conſpirators. *Quinctius* anſwers, That the Delay ought not to be imputed to the weak Conduct of the *Conſuls*, but to the narrow Compaſs of their Power. *The People*, ſays he, *have a Privilege of appealing from our Sentences to their* Tribunes, *and this Uſurpation cuts all the Sinews of the Government. I therefore declare my ſelf for creating a* Dictator; *and as it is my Right to appoint the Man, I nominate my Brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus. This Step is applauded; but *Cincinnatus* at firſt declines the Office, being now fourſcore. However, he is at length perſuaded to accept it; and then, that the Change, made in the Senate, may not be known in the City, no body is ſuffer'd to leave the Houſe all day. In the Night, the *Dictator* chuſes *Servilius Ahala* to be his General of Horſe; then ſeizes the *Capitol*, and poſts his Horſe to guard it. As ſoon as it is Day, he ſurprizes the City, by appearing in the Habit, and with all the *Inſignia*, of a *Dictator*. *Mælius* is ſummon'd to appear before him, and anſwer to the Crimes laid to his Charge. Upon this he retires among his Friends, who defend him from the Officer ſent to ſeize him. But *Ahala* comes up with him as he is flying, and calling upon the People for Aſſiſtance, and with a Sabre cuts off his Head. The News of this Action pleaſes the generous, old *Dictator*; he congratulates *Ahala* upon it, and becomes his Apologiſt with the People. He further orders *Mælius*'s Houſe to be razed, and his Corn to be ſold to the Citizens at a very low Price. A Statue is erected to *Minucius*, and a Field and an Ox are given him for his Reward. However, three of the *Tribunes*, who had doubtleſs been Confidents and Accomplices of *Mælius*, do not forgive *Minucius* and *Servilius Ahala*. They refuſe to confirm by a Law the Honours done to *Minucius*; and to revenge themſelves on the *Patricians* in general, get the *Military Tribuneſhip* reviv'd, in hopes that the People will now divide the Government between three *Patricians* and three

315. *Plebeians.* §. 17. But they chuſe only three *Patricians*, *Mamercus Æmilius*, *L. Quinctius*, (Son of *Cincinnatus*) and *Julius Iülus*. In this Year *Fidenæ* revolts from the Republick to *Tolumnius*, (Chief of the *Hetrurian* Nation) and to the *Veientes* his Subjects; the Senate ſend four Ambaſſadors to ask the Reaſon of the Revolt; but they are murder'd by the *Fidenates*, and the *Romans* erect four Statues to their Memory. As a War muſt neceſſarily enſue, it is thought more proper to chuſe *Conſuls* than

316. *Military Tribunes*, for the next Year. §. 18. *M. Geganius*, (a third time) and *L. Sergius*, are elected. It falls to the latter to make War with *Tolumnius*. But tho' he gains ſome Advantage over the Enemy, it coſts the *Romans* dear, and they don't think fit to continue a General at the Head of the Army who is ſo prodigal of *Roman* Blood. The Senate order a *Dictator* to be created, and *Mamercus Æmilius* is nominated by the *Conſuls*. He chuſes young *Quinctius Cincinnatus* to be his General of Horſe, and appoints *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*, two great Commanders, to be his Liutenants General. The *Faliſci* join the *Fidenates* and *Veientes*. The *Dictator* comes to an Engagement with them. [The Particulars of the Engagement are related.] *Cornelius Coſſus*, a *Legionary Tribune*, having kill'd King *Tolumnius* with his own Hand, and ſtripp'd him of his Armour and Royal Robes, carries (in the *Dictator*'s Triumph) thoſe Spoils, call'd *Opima Spolia*, on his Shoulders, and depoſits them in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. They were the ſecond of the Sort known in *Rome*. The firſt were born by *Romulus*, who kill'd

317. King *Acron* in ſingle Combat. §. 19. In the following Year of the *Conſuls*, *M. Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, one *Sp. Mælius* a *Tribune*, and a Relation of the famous Corn-Merchant, cites *Minucius* and *Servilius Ahala* to anſwer for what they had done againſt his Kinſman. But his Efforts are fruitleſs. *Rome* is this Year af-

318. flicted by the Plague and an Earthquake. §. 20. In the following *Conſulſhip* of *Julius Iülus*, (a ſecond time) and *L. Virginius*, the Plague rages with greater Fury than before. The *Veientes* and *Fidenates* come and encamp near *Rome*, on the Side of

70th CONSULSHIP.

5th DICTATORSHIP. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS *a 2d time.*

2d MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

71ſt CONSULSHIP.

6thDICTATORSHIP. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

72d CONSULSHIP.

73d CONSULSHIP.

the Gate *Collina*. Upon which the Senate, being terrify'd, think it neceſſary to nominate a *Dictator*; and the *Conſuls* pitch upon *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, who chuſes *Poſthumius Ebutius*, to be his General of Horſe. The next Morning, he commands all thoſe whoſe Health will permit, to march out of the City. The Enemy immediately retire: But *Servilius* comes up with them near *Nomentum*, routs them, and afterwards takes the City of *Fidenæ* by Sap. However, this being look'd upon as a Civil War, becauſe *Fidenæ* was a *Roman* Colony, the General is not granted a Triumph, tho' he probably took then the Name of *Fidenas*. This Succeſs is follow'd by a *Cenſus* of the *Roman* People, which after the Eſtabliſhment of the *Cenſors*, never fail'd to be renew'd every five Years. §. 21. It is not agreed, whether *Rome* in the beginning of the Year 319, was govern'd by the former *Conſuls*, JULIUS IÜLUS and L. VIRGINIUS, or by new ones, M. MANLIUS and Q. SULPICIUS, or by three *Military Tribunes*. But be that as it will, it is certain that theſe *Tribunes* or *Conſuls* were ſo little concern'd in the Events of the Year, that they were ſoon forgotten. The *Romans* thought proper to appoint *Mamercus Æmilius Dictator*, (who choſe *Poſthumius Tubertus* to be his General of Horſe;) being apprehenſive of the Reſolutions that might be taken in the Diet of *Voltumna*, whither the *Faliſci* and *Veientes* had invited the Deputies of the twelve *Lucumonies* of *Hetruria*. But theſe Fears are vain. *Hetruria* refuſes to declare War againſt the Republick. *Æmilius* therefore having no Hopes to gain Glory abroad, reſolves to do ſomething remarkable at home, and propoſes to the People to ſhorten the Duration of the *Cenſorſhip* to eighteen Months. The Motion is receiv'd with Applauſe, and paſs'd into a Law without delay. And the *Dictator*, to ſhew by his Example the Diſlike he has to long Continuance in Offices, lays down his own at the ſame time. But the *Cenſors*, to be reveng'd on him, ſtrike him out of the Roll of his *Tribe*, take away from him the Privileges of Citizenſhip, reduce him to the Condition of thoſe who are ſubject to all publick Taxes, without enjoying the Rights of Citizens, and laſtly increaſe his Taxes an eighth Part. However, this great Man bears all theſe Indignities with ſingular Moderation, and even uſes his Intereſt with the People, to hinder them from ſhewing a ſevere Reſentment againſt the *Cenſors* for the ill Uſage he had ſuffer'd from them. §. 22. The *Tribunes of the People* prevail to have MILITARY TRIBUNES, appointed to govern the Republick the next Year. However, the People chuſe only three *Patricians*, *M. Fabius*, *M. Foſlius*, and *L. Sergius*. Nothing remarkable happens in their Year, but a Plague, which ceaſes in the following Year of *L. Pinarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. But Ambition raiſes ſome freſh Diſturbances at *Rome*. The wealthy *Plebeians* complain of the inferior ſort, as not well enough affected to their Intereſts, having never choſen any but *Patricians* to be *Military Tribunes*, notwithſtanding the Law which allows three *Plebeians* to be choſen. They meet at the Houſes of the *Tribunes of the People*, and there conclude that this Neglect of them is owing to the Influence the Nobility by Intreaties or Menaces have on the lower People in Elections. A Scheme therefore is propoſed, to prevail on the *Comitia* to paſs a Law againſt the *Patricians* making Intereſt in Elections, and to aboliſh the Cuſtom of the Pretenders to the ſuperior Offices wearing Clothes of an extraordinary Whiteneſs, (whence they were call'd *Candidates*) careſſing the People, *&c.* The Law is paſs'd, and is the firſt made at *Rome* againſt canvaſſing for Elections. But it does not continue long in force. And to avoid all Danger of having *Plebeian Military Tribunes* for the next Year, the Senate, on pretence of being threaten'd with a War by the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, decree, that *Conſuls* ſhall be choſen in the next *Comitia*. §. 23. Accordingly, the *Centuries* chuſe *T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus* and *C. Julius Mento*. But the Report concerning the formidable Preparations of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* proving too true, the Senate think it neceſſary to create a *Dictator*. *Quinctius* and *Julius* however are piqued at the little Confidence the Republick ſeems to have in their Courage and Conduct, and refuſe to nominate a ſupreme Magiſtrate: And the Senators to bring them to Reaſon, are forc'd to have recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*, whom they exhort to force the *Conſuls* to lay down the Command of the Army, and put it into the Hands of a *Dictator*. Accordingly, the *Tribunes*, charm'd with a Motion which tended to increaſe the Authority of their College, threaten the *Conſuls* with Impriſonment, if they don't comply with the Senate's Requeſt. They ſubmit at length; but juſtly reproach the Senators with betraying the Intereſts of their own Body. Another Difficulty ſtill remains: The *Conſuls* cannot agree upon a Man; ſo that they are forc'd to caſt Lots. It falls to *Quinctius* to nominate, and he declares *A. Poſthumius Tubertus Dictator*, who appoints *L. Julius Vopiſcus* to be his General of Horſe. He ſeems not to have forc'd the *Conſuls* to abdicate entirely. *Julius* is left in *Rome* to govern it; and *Quinctius* commands one of the two Bodies into which the *Dictator* divides his Army. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* attack *Quinctius*'s Camp in the Night. *Poſthumius* orders a Reinforcement to his Relief, and at the ſame time ſends a Detachment under *M. Geganius*, to ſurprize the Camp of the *Æqui*. *Geganius* ſucceeds, and by lighting Fires gives the Signal of his Succeſs. The *Dictator* tells his Men, that the Enemy's Camp is taken;

7th DICTATORSHIP. QUINTUS SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

74th CONSULSHIP.

8th DICTATORSHIP. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, *a* 2d *time*.

3d MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

4th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

75th CONSULSHIP.

9th DICTATORSHIP. A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.

Year of ROME

319.

320.

321.

322.

and

Year of ROME and as ſoon as it is Day, he falls upon their Rear, while *Quinctius* ſallies out of his Camp upon them; and they are ſurrounded. But *Vectius Meſſius*, a Brave Man of the *Volſci*, puts himſelf at the Head of a good Number of his Countrymen, reſolutely breaks thro' the *Roman* Batallions, and gains the other Camp of the Confederates which had not been taken. The *Dictator* purſues them thither, and obliges them to ſurrender at Diſcretion; they are all, except their Senators, ſold for Slaves. While theſe Things are doing Abroad, *Julius* at *Rome*, by the Senate's Order, conſecrates the Temple of *Apollo*. *Poſthumius* returns in Triumph to the City, the 14th of the *Calends of July*, and lays down his *Dictatorſhip*. §. 24. The next Year, in

323. which *C. Papirius* and *L. Julius Vopiſcus* are *Conſuls*, the *Æqui*, being humbled, deſire to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, on the Foot of thoſe with the *Latins* and *Hernici*. But they only obtain an eight Years Truce. The *Volſci* quarrel among themſelves: So that the *Romans* being this Year left in Peace, there is nothing to do at *Rome*, but the making a Law to ſettle the Value of the Oxen and Sheep, paid by way of Fines for Diſobedience to Magiſtrates; and the Fines are order'd to be paid in Money for the future, each Ox valued at 100 *Aſſes* of Braſs, and each Sheep at ten. The *Tribunes* are the firſt Projectors of this new Regulation; but the *Conſuls* having Notice of it, prevent them, and make the Law themſelves; by which they gain the Favour of the People.

76th CONSULSHIP.

Vide ÆTERNIAN LAW. *Year* 299.

324. The following *Conſulſhip* of *L. Sergius* (choſen a ſecond time) and *Hoſtus Lucretius*, paſſes in greater Inaction than the former. The publick Tranquillity is not diſturb'd,

77th CONSULSHIP.

325. even by the *Tribunes*. §. 25. The next Year, in which *T. Quinctius* (a ſecond time) and *Cornelius Coſſus*, are raiſed to the *Conſulate*, is remarkable for nothing but an extraordinary Drought; on which Occaſion new Expiations are introduced, and ſuch ſuperſtitious Innovations, as bring a Reproach upon the Governours of the Republick: So that the *Ædiles* are order'd to take Care that none worſhip any Gods but thoſe of the Country, nor with any other than the uſual Rites, purſuant to a Law of the twelve Tables. §. 26. The *Veientes* had obtained a Truce for eight Years, after their Defeat near *Nomentum*, in the Year 318; but before the Expiation of it, had committed Ravages in the *Roman* Lands. The Senate therefore,

78th CONSULSHIP.

326. in the *Conſulate* of *L. Papirius*, and *Servilius Ahala*, are diſpoſed to puniſh them. But a Diſpute ariſing between the Senate and the People, concerning the Right of declaring War in the preſent Caſe, the *Veientes* eſcape, for this Year, the Vengeance of the *Romans*. And the Republick inſiſt upon being governed by *Military Tribunes* the next. §. 27. Four *Patricians* are choſen, *T. Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*. They take their Employments by Lot. *Coſſus* ſtays at *Rome*; the other three march againſt the *Veientes*; but not acting in Concert when they come to an Engagement with the Enemy, they are routed. And the People at *Rome* being in a Conſternation, inſiſt upon their being depoſed, and upon the Nomination of a *Dictator* at the ſame time. But a Difficulty ariſes about the latter; becauſe there are no *Conſuls* in being to nominate. Recourſe is had to the Augurs; and they agree that *Coſſus*, who had had no Share in the late ſhameful Diſaſter, may nominate a *Dictator*; and he accordingly chuſes *Mamercus Æmilius*, whom the *Cenſors* had degraded. *Æmilius*, in Return, makes *Coſſus* his General of Horſe. §. 28. In the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Fidenæ* maſſacre the *Roman* Colony there, and revolt a ſeventh time to the *Veientes*, who paſs the *Tyber*, and encamp near the City. The *Dictator* with his Infantry attacks them furiouſly; but his left Wing is for a while amazed, and terrified by the Enemy's new manner of Fighting. The *Fidenates* open one of the Gates of their City, and ſend out ſome Soldiers with lighted Torches in their Hands, and dreſſed in Habits like thoſe uſually given the Furies. Theſe run like mad Enthuſiaſts thro' the *Roman* Batallions, and threaten them with Fire and Sword at the ſame time. But the *Dictator* upbraids his Men with Cowardice, *What*, ſays he, *are you as much afraid of Smoke as a Swarm of Bees? Make uſe of your Swords to wreſt theſe Torches out of the Enemies Hands, and then go and ſet Fire to their City with them.* The *Romans* recover their Courage, and *Coſſus* with his Cavalry falling upon the Enemy at the ſame time, the latter are entirely defeated; both *Fidenæ* and the Camp of the *Veientes* are taken and plundered, and the Priſoners are partly diſtributed by Lot to the *Roman* Officers, and the reſt ſold. This glorious Expedition being finiſh'd in ſixteen Days, *Æmilius* leads back his Troops to *Rome*, has the Honours of a Triumph, and then lays down his *Dictatorſhip*.

79th CONSULSHIP.

5th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

10th DICTATORSHIP.

MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, *a third time.*

328. §. 29. Notwithſtanding the ill Conduct of the laſt *Military Tribunes*, the *Tribunes of the People* have Credit enough to get the ſame Government continued; and *A. Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*, are choſen. A Truce of twenty Years is granted to the *Veientes*; and that with the *Æqui* prolong'd three Years. The *Romans* are this Year wholly taken up with Negotiations.

6th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

329. And the next is a Year of little leſs Tranquillity in the Republick, which is govern'd by *Ap. Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, and *Sex. Julius*, all *Patricians*. The People are diverted with the *Great Games* of the *Circus*; and, by Publick Orders, all Strangers who come to *Rome* to be Spectators are entertain'd *gratis*. But theſe Games

7th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

are

are no ſooner over, than the *Tribunes of the Commons* renew their ſeditious Harangues, and remonſtrate to the People their Folly and Ingratitude to them, in never promoting any *Plebeian* to the Office of *Military Tribune*. *It is better*, ſay they, *to abrogate the Law, which qualifies us to enjoy what you will never give us. It will be leſs ſhameful not to hope at all, than to go on hoping for what we cannot obtain.* But when the *Military Tribunes* find that theſe Diſcourſes begin to make an Impreſſion on the People, they ſend private Expreſſes, deſiring the Senators (who were many of them in the Country) to repair to Town, where, unknown to the *Tribunes of the People*, they paſs a Decree that the Republick ſhall the next Year be govern'd by *Conſuls:* and three of the preſent Governours are likewiſe order'd to march againſt the *Volſci*, who had enter'd the Territory of the *Hernici*, the Allies of *Rome*. *Appius Claudius*, who has all the uſual Steadineſs of the *Claudian* Family in oppoſing the Pretenſions of the People and their *Tribunes*, is left behind to govern the City. §. 30. In the following *Conſulſhip* of *C. Sempronius* and *Q. Fabius*, *the Tribunes of the People* ſhew how much they are exaſperated againſt the *Patricians*, by beginning a Proſecution againſt *T. Quinctius* and *M. Poſthumius*, two of the three *Military Tribunes* (the third was dead) for the Year 327, who had loſt a Battle by their mutual Jealouſies and Miſunderſtanding. But the Affair is ſuſpended, by the Arrival of Deputies from the *Hernici* and *Latins*, with the News that the *Volſci* threaten the Republick with a more cruel War than ever. It falls to *Sempronius*'s Lot to march againſt the Enemy. The *Roman* Army, by his Want of Precaution, and the ill-poſting of his Cavalry, wou'd have been entirely routed, if *Tempanius*, a ſimple Decurion, had not ventured to take upon him the Command of the Horſe. *We are loſt*, ſays he, *if the Horſe don't diſmount and make Head againſt the Enemy. Follow my Lance; That ſhall be your Guide.* His Words are approved by a Shout; they all diſmount, follow him, and ruſh upon the Enemy; but being hurried on by their impetuous Courage, they penetrate too far into the Center of the *Volſcian* Troops, and are ſurrounded. The *Conſul* does his utmoſt to ſuccour them, but in vain. However, *Tempanius* draws up his Horſemen in a Circle, upon an Eminence; and the Night coming on, puts an End to the Engagement. Both *Roman* and *Volſcian* Armies decamp, and march away, uncertain which has gain'd the Victory. *Tempanius* with his Men remains alone on the Field of Battle. He takes his way to the *Roman* Camp; but finding it deſerted, haſtens to *Rome*, where he cauſes a univerſal Joy, a Report having been ſpread that *Sempronius* was routed, and the *Roman* Cavalry cut in Pieces. The Abſence of *Sempronius* only gives the *Romans* Diſquiet; and the *Tribunes* take Advantage of it to forward the Proſecution of *Quinctius* and *Poſthumius*. *If* Sempronius, ſay they, *has betray'd the Republick, it is owing to our Dilatorineſs in puniſhing thoſe guilty Generals.* They then interrogate *Tempanius*, concerning the Conduct of *Sempronius*. *Tempanius*, with great Frankneſs, Modeſty and Diſcretion, relates the Affair as it happened, and ſpeaks handſomly of the *Conſul*. News is preſently after brought, that *Sempronius* with his Troops appears. Upon his Return, he endeavours to clear himſelf, and extols the Exploits of *Tempanius*. However, the People are ſo much out of Humour with their Generals, that they haſten the Condemnation of *Poſthumius*, who pays a large Fine. *Quinctius* is univerſally acquitted by the *Tribes*, on account of his own ſignal Services, as well as thoſe of his Father *Cincinnatus*, and his Uncle *Capitolinus*. As for *Tempanius*, he is elected *Tribune of the People*, in his Abſence, and with him three other brave Horſemen, whom the Cavalry, at his Recommendation, had choſen to be their Leaders. §. 31. Under the following Adminiſtration of *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*, the Republick enjoys Peace Abroad. But *Hortenſius*, one of the *Tribunes* of the Commons, cites the late *Conſul Sempronius* before the People, to anſwer for his ill Conduct the laſt Campaign. When *Sempronius* appears upon his Trial, *Tempanius* and the other three *Tribunes*, his Friends, ask their Collegue *Hortenſius*, *Why he proſecutes an illuſtrious* Patrician, *whom he could reproach with nothing but a little ill Fortune?* Sempronius, add they, *was our General and our Father; and therefore, like true Children, we will wear the Habits of Criminals as well as he; and, as we have ſhared his Fortune, partake of his Diſgrace, if any befals him. No*, replies *Hortenſius*, *the Republick ſhall never ſee* Tribunes *in the Habits of Criminals; I drop the Accuſation againſt* Sempronius. *A General who ſo well underſtood how to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, deſerves our Regard.* §. 32. And now the *Romans*, having ſuch moderate *Tribunes of the Commons*, readily return to the old Government, and chuſe *T. Quinctius Capitolinus* (Son of the famous *Quinctius Capitolinus*) and *Numerius Fabius*, *Conſuls*. *Fabius* marches againſt the *Æqui* with Succeſs, but not conſiderable enough to have more than the Honour of an *Ovation*.

Year of *ROME*

80th CONSULSHIP. 330.

8th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP. 331.

81ſt CONSULSHIP. 332.

The Peace which continues all the reſt of the Year gives the *Tribunes* an Opportunity to embroil the Nobility with the *Plebeians* about the *Quæſtorſhip*. Hitherto none but *Patricians* had been raiſed to that Employment, and their Number had been only two, who were choſen annually. Their Buſineſs was, *To collect the Publick Money, to make People pay the Taxes, to defray the Expences of War, to ſell the Spoils*

Functions of the QUÆSTORS. 3

Year of ROME

taken from the Enemy, and to keep exact Accounts of their Receipts and Disbursements of the Publick Treasure, for which they were accountable. The *Consuls* now observe, that two *Quæstors* are no longer sufficient for this Work, and therefore propose to the Senate the Creation of two more. The Senate consent; but when the Proposal comes to be pass'd into a Law, the *Tribunes* insist that two of the four *Quæstors* be indispensably taken out of the Commons, without leaving the People at Liberty to chuse *Plebeians* or *Patricians*, as they think fit. Upon this, the *Consuls* drop the Motion. But the *Tribunes* soon revive it, and add a new one yet more seditious, relating to the Distribution of Lands among those who have none. So that the rest of the Year is spent in Disputes between the Senators and *Tribunes*. The former appoint an Assembly of the *Centuries* to chuse new *Consuls*, the latter are for *Military Tribunes*, and therefore oppose it: and the Republick falls into an *Interregnum*. When *Papirius* comes to be *Interrex*, he endeavours to reconcile the contending Parties, by this Proposal: *Let the Senate*, says he, *consent, that the People chuse* Military Tribunes, *instead of* Consuls; *and let the* TRIBUNES OF THE COMMONS *permit the* Tribes *to chuse the four* Quæstors *either out of the* Patricians *or* Plebeians, *as they think fit.* INTERREGNUM.

333. §. 33. This Advice has its Effect, and an Accommodation is concluded. Four *Military Tribunes* are first chosen, *T. Quinctius*, *M. Manlius*, *L. Furius*, and *A. Sempronius*, all *Patricians*. Next comes on the Election of the *Quæstors*. *Antistius* and *Pompilius*, two of *the Tribunes of the Commons*, propose, the first his Son, the second his Brother, for the *Quæstorship*, and desire the People to chuse them. But the *Tribes* seem to be influenc'd by an innate Respect for the Nobility, and chuse all four out of the *Patricians*. *A. Sempronius* had presided at the Assembly, and the angry *Tribunes* are for accusing him before the People, of some unfair Management in taking the Votes; but the People know his Innocence. They therefore engage one of their Collegues, named *Canuleius*, to join with them, and vent their Spleen on *Caius Sempronius*, (the Cousin German of the President) who had not been acquitted on his former Tryal, tho' the Prosecution had been dropp'd. He is again cited to appear at the end of twenty seven Days. During this Interval, *Sempronius* constantly attends the Senate, and being resolved not to lose his Character there, by a timorous Behaviour, zealously opposes the Request of the *Tribunes*, concerning the Distribution of Lands; and he behaves himself with the same Steadiness on his Tryal. But notwithstanding all the Sollicitations of the Senate in his Favour, he is fined. Soon after this, a *Vestal*, who by her Levity, and too free Airs, had brought her self under a Suspicion of Incontinency, is tried before the *Pontifices*, and acquitted. But the *Pontifex* 9th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

334. *Maximus* admonishes her to be more reserv'd for the future. §. 34. In the following *Military Tribuneship* of *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*, a Plot is form'd by the Slaves to set fire to the City, and seize the *Capitol*; but this Secret is reveal'd by some of the Conspirators, and the Mischief prevented. Soon after, *Labicum*, a City included in the *Latin* Confederacy, gives the 10th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

335. *Romans* some Reasons to suspect her Fidelity. §. 35. And the next Year (in which the Republick is govern'd by three *Military Tribunes* only, *M. Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*) produces the entire Revolt of the *Labicani*, who join the *Æqui*, pillage the Territory of *Tusculum*, and encamp with their new Allies under the *Algidus*. Two of the *Military Tribunes* are order'd to take the Field, and the third to stay in *Rome* to govern the City. But a Contest arises between the three, no one of them being willing to stay at home. The Senate is offended at these Disputes; and *Q. Servilius Fidenas*, formerly *Dictator*, puts an end to them by his paternal Authority, commanding his Son *C. Servilius*, one of the three Governors, to stay in *Rome*. But the two Generals agree no better in the Field than they had done in the City; each is for fighting the Enemy his own Way. They despise one another, and the Troops are divided into two Parties. At length they are prevail'd on by the Lieutenant-Generals of the Army to agree to command the Troops alternately, each his Day. When the News of this Discord comes to *Rome*, *Q. Servilius* apprehends the Consequences of it, and advises his Son to raise more Troops, at all Events: And the Advice proves serviceable. A few Days after, *Sergius* imprudently hazards a Battel, is by a Stratagem of the Enemy intirely defeated, and with his scatter'd Troops takes Refuge in *Tusculum*. The Senate order a *Dictator* to be created; and young *Servilius* nominates his Father, who appoints his Son *General of Horse*. 11th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

§. 36. The Father and Son leave *Rome* at the Head of a new Army, (that which had fled to *Tusculum* being recall'd) and encamp within two Miles of the Enemy. The *Dictator* being there inform'd that they are grown negligent and presumptuous, he marches with haste to attack them, routs them, invests *Labicum*, their Place of Retreat, and takes it by Storm. And all this being done in eight Days, he returns to *Rome*, and immediately lays down his Office. 11th DICTATORSHIP. Q. SERVILIUS, *a* 2d *time*.

336. The succeeding *Military Tribunes*, *P. Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gain no other Glory but that of preserving the Republick in the same Tranquillity in which they find it. §. 37. But the next Year, when *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, govern the Republick, 12th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

13th Military Tribuneship. *the* Tribunes *of the Commons* revive the old Quarrel about the Diſtribution of Lands, which they would have equally divided between the Nobility and *Plebeians*. *Sp. Mæcilius* and *Sp. Metilius* are at the Head of the Faction; they pretend that the *Patricians* have uſurp'd the Lands they enjoy, and they require a new Diviſion of them. The Senators aſſemble frequently to conſult Means to ward off the Blow. At length *Appius Claudius*, the youngeſt of them, tells the Fathers, *That it has been a conſtant Tradition in his Family, That the moſt effectual Way to deſtroy the* Tribunes, *is to make them the Inſtruments of their own Deſtruction*; and adviſes the endeavouring to gain over ſome of them by Careſſes and Promiſes. This Counſel is applauded; and accordingly the Senators engage ſix of the College to oppoſe *Mæcilius* and *Metilius*, who thereupon drop their Petition, but ſow thoſe Seeds of Diviſions, which we ſhall ſee frequently ſhooting up anew in the Republick. §. 38. In the following *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Corn. Coſſus*, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Voluſus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, the Inhabitants of *Bola*, a City dependent on the *Æqui*, having ravaged the Territory of *Labicum*, a new *Roman* Colony, the Republick ſends Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the *Labicani*. After a ſlight Engagement with the Enemy, *Bola* is taken: And this City having a large Diſtrict belonging to it, a new Contention ariſes between the People and the Nobility, concerning the Diviſion of the conquer'd Country. *Sextius* the *Tribune* of the Commons is very ſtirring, to get a Colony ſent thither to take Poſſeſſion of it: But the *Patricians*, who have already poſſeſs'd themſelves of the Lands, find means to engage the other *Tribunes* to oppoſe his Deſign. §. 39. *Bola* being retaken the next Year by the *Æqui*, it is the Lot of *P. Poſthumius*, one of the *Military Tribunes*, [the other three are *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, and *L. Valerius*] to march againſt them. He gives the Enemy no Repoſe, but by uninterrupted Skirmiſhes and Fatigues, wears them out, and ſinks their Courage. He then ſits down before *Bola*, and during the Siege, promiſes his Soldiers the Plunder of the City. But when it is taken, he puts all the Spoil into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*, and thereby alienates the Hearts of the Army from him. The *Tribune Sextius* in the mean time ſollicits at *Rome* the Diſtribution of conquer'd Lands, in favour of the People. During the Diſturbances, *Poſthumius* is recall'd to the City, and leaves the Army encamped. When he comes to *Rome*, he drops many inconſiderate Expreſſions in the Preſence of the *Curiæ*. One Day, when *Sextius* in a Conference tells him, that he is going to get the People to paſs a Law for dividing the City and Territory of *Bola* among the Soldiers then in the Field, and who having conquer'd them, had the beſt Right to poſſeſs them; the imprudent *Poſthumius* replies, *That his Troops ſhall fare the worſe for it, if any ſuch Step be taken in their Favour*. *Sextius* perceiving by this, the haſty Temper of the General, takes a pleaſure in exaſperating him to ſay things offenſive to the People and the Soldiers: and when he has thus ſufficiently enraged the Commons both againſt him and his Party, he then takes occaſion to upbraid the People *with their Madneſs in chuſing ſuch Men to govern the Republick, rather than their own* Tribunes, *who are zealous for their Intereſts*. And this artful Diſcourſe much leſſens the Partiality of the Commons towards the Noblility, in Elections. In the mean time, News is brought from the Camp, that the Soldiers being much incens'd by the Report made to them of the imprudent Expreſſions of *Poſthumius*, had begun to mutiny; and that *Seſtius*, one of the *Quæſtors*, having order'd a *Lictor* to ſeize a mutinous Soldier, had been ſtoned by them. Upon this the General leaves *Rome*, to go and appeaſe the Sedition; but he only increaſes it by his Cruelty. He orders the Aſſaſſins to be thrown into a ſhallow Water, to be there cover'd with Hurdles, and then preſs'd to death, by heaping Stones on them. As this was a ſlow kind of Death, which made the Sufferers cry out terribly, the Soldiers flock about them, and reſcue them. The General in a Rage comes down from the Tribunal to diſperſe the Multitude, and make his Orders be executed. But the Soldiers being now work'd up to Fury, forget all Decency and Duty, take up Stones, throw them at his Head, and kill him. This was the firſt Inſtance of the kind, from the Foundation of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* 337. 338. 339.

14th Military Tribuneſhip.

15th Military Tribuneſhip.

BOOK XII.

§. 1. THE tragical Death of *Poſthumius* increaſes the civil Diſſentions at *Rome*. The *Tribunes of the People* protect the Aſſaſſins from the Proſecution of the *Military Tribunes*, who apply to the Senate in vain, becauſe the Fathers are taken up in contriving to reſtore the *Conſular* Government, which they think an Affair of more Importance. They make a Decree to that Purpoſe, but the *Tribunes of the Commons* oppoſe it, and the Government falls into an *Interregnum*. At length *Fabius Vibulanus* being *Interrex*, aſſembles the *Comitia by Centuries*, and two *Conſuls* are choſen, *M. Cornelius Coſſus* and *L. Furius Medullinus*. They are both good-natur'd, moderate Men, and are therefore unanimouſly nominated by the Senate, People, and Army,

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Interregnum.

82d Conſulship. 349.

Year of ROME

Army, to make enquiry into the Crime: A few only of the Guilty are puniſh'd, and they fall by their own Hands; the *Axes* of the *Lictors* are not ſtain'd with Blood. However, this Moderation does not quiet the factious Spirit of the People, who again demand that a Colony of *Plebeians* be ſent to *Bola*, to ſhare among them the Lands belonging to it. But the Senate, contrary to Reaſon and Prudence, are ſteady in refuſing to comply; and this ſerves only to make the Commons enlarge their Pretenſions afterwards, and renew them with more Fury than ever. In the mean time, the *Conſul Furius* marches againſt the *Volſci*, who had pillaged the Territory of the *Hernici*. At his Approach the Enemy diſappears, and he takes from them *Ferentinum*, which he gives to the *Hernici* to compenſate their Loſſes.

341. §. 2. The *Tribunes* make no Oppoſition to the Election of new *Conſuls*: So that *Q. Fabius* and *C. Furius* are choſen: and the Republick would have enjoy'd a perfect Peace under their Adminiſtration, if *L. Icilius*, a *Tribune*, (who inherited the furious Zeal of his Anceſtors, for the People) had not reſum'd the Affair of the conquer'd Lands with immoderate Heat. But a Plague puts a ſtop for ſome time to his Career. The Peſtilence is of courſe follow'd by a Scarcity of Proviſions. For the Citizens being alſo the Husbandmen, the Lands are left untill'd, while the Diſtemper rages; and the Loſs of one Harveſt is ſufficient to reduce *Rome* to great Want.

83d CONSULSHIP.

342. The Famine is ſenſibly felt in the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *M. Papirius* and *C. Nautius*; but Care is taken to get Corn from *Hetruria* and *Sicily*; and *Rome*, by a ſignal Happineſs, continues this Year without any Commotions at home or abroad.

84th CONSULSHIP.

343. §. 3. But the Plague and Famine are no ſooner ceaſed, than the *Æqui* renew their Incurſions into the Territories of the *Roman* Allies. *M. Æmilius* and *C. Valerius* are *Conſuls*. The latter, to whoſe Lot it falls to take the Field, begins to levy Troops, but is oppoſed by the *Tribune Mænius*, upon the old Pretence. In the mean time, the *Æqui* inſult the *Romans*, and take the Fort of *Carventum* almoſt before their Faces. This provokes the Senate; and even the other nine *Tribunes* unite to thwart the Meaſures of *Mænius*, and aſſiſt the *Conſul* in puniſhing thoſe who refuſe to inliſt themſelves. *Valerius* retakes the Fort; but being diſſatisfy'd with his Soldiers, on account of their Backwardneſs to ſerve, he ſells the Spoil at the beſt Rate, and puts the Money into the *Quæſtor*'s Hands. It was the Cuſtom in Triumphs for the victorious Soldiers to ſing ſatyrical Verſes on him who triumph'd. but in *Valerius*'s *Ovation*, they do ſomething particular to revenge themſelves on him. They divide themſelves into two Choirs, and while one makes the Air reſound with Songs againſt the General, the other ſings Verſes in Praiſe of *Mænius*. But notwithſtanding this Spirit of Sedition, the Senate prevails to have *Conſuls*, and not *Military Tribunes*, elected for the next Year.

85th CONSULSHIP.

344. §. 4. The Choice falls upon *Cn. Cornelius* and *L. Furius*, (the latter a ſecond time.) This Year the People chuſe three of the *Icilian* Family to be their *Tribunes*. Theſe three Relations govern the whole College, and have Influence enough upon the People to engage them to make uſe of the Liberty the Law allows them of chuſing *Plebeians* into the *Quæſtorſhip*. Accordingly, of the four *Quæſtors* they elect three out of the Commons. This done, the *Icilii* encourage the *Plebeians* to ſtrike another Stroke at the Nobility, and aſpire to the *Military Tribuneſhip*: And when the Senate are preparing to paſs a Decree for the Election of *Conſuls*, they oppoſe it, and inſiſt on the Republick's being govern'd the next Year by *Military Tribunes*. The Diſputes upon this Point grow warm, when, luckily for the *Icilii*, News is brought that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* are in Motion, and have retaken *Carventum*. No Levies are made to oppoſe the Storm which threatens *Rome*: So that the Senate are forc'd to give way, and conſent to have *Military Tribunes*; but they add this Clauſe, which fruſtrates the Expectation of the *Icilii*: *That none of the preſent* TRIBUNES OF THE PEOPLE *ſhall either be choſen* Military Tribunes, *or continu'd in their Offices the next Year*. The Perſons concern'd could not object to this, without diſcovering their Ambition. But now all is quiet, Troops are rais'd; and tho' *Carventum* is not recover'd, ſome Advantages are gain'd over the Enemy. In the mean time, the Elections come on, the *Patricians* uſe Artifice to ward off the Blow, and hinder the *Plebeians* from being placed in the Government. They engage ſome mean Citizens, who have neither Merit nor Weight, to ſtand Candidates for the *Military Tribuneſhip*, and make a ſtrong Party for them: but the People are aſhamed to put the Government into ſuch contemptible Hands; and therefore chuſe only three *Patricians*, *C. Julius Iülus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala*.

PLEBEIANS *choſen* QUÆSTORS.

16th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

345. §. 5. The *Volſci* renew the War, engage ſome of the new Allies of the Republick to join with them, and encamp near *Antium*. The Senate think the Danger ſo imminent, that they order a *Dictator* to be nominated: but the three *Military Tribunes* had already caſt Lots for the Command of the Army, and it had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius*. Theſe two Generals are therefore affronted at the Diſtruſt the Fathers ſhew of their Conduct, before any Tryal is made of it, and refuſe to nominate a *Dictator*. The Senate complain to *The* Tribunes *of the People*, and deſire them to interpoſe their Authority: but theſe *Plebeians* give an inſolent and ſcoffing Refuſal. At length *C. Servilius*, the third *Military Tribune*, takes upon him to act alone, and without

12th Dictatorship. P. Cornelius Rutilus. without Opposition nominates *P. Cornelius Rutilus Dictator*, who chuses *Servilius* to be his General of Horse. Only one Battel is fought with the *Volsci*. The *Dictator* gains the Victory, returns to *Rome*, lays down his Office; and the *Military Tribunes* resume theirs. To be reveng'd on the Senate for the unworthy Treatment they had suffer'd, they, without consulting the Fathers, order the *Centuries* to assemble for the Election of *Military Tribunes*. And now the Nobility have recourse to a new Artifice, in order to prevent the having *Plebeian* Governors. They only propose such *Patrician* Candidates as are of so distinguish'd a Merit, that the People can scarce avoid chusing them. Accordingly, *C. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *Num. Fabius*, and *C. Servilius*, are elected. Year of ROME

17th Military Tribuneship. §. 6. The Truce of the *Romans* with the *Veientes* being at this time ended, the former send *Feciales* to the latter, to demand Satisfaction for Injuries done the Republick, before the Truce expired. The *Feciales* on the Road meet Envoys coming from *Veii*, and at their Request proceed no further. These Envoys being admitted into the Senate, represent, That their City being at present disturb'd by domestick Broils, is not in a Condition to give the *Romans* Satisfaction. But tho' these Dissentions among the *Veientes* furnish the *Romans* a favourable Opportunity to fall upon them, they have too much Magnanimity to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. This Year the *Volsci* take *Verrugo* from the *Romans*, and put the Garrison to the Sword, the Senate being dilatory in sending Succours to it. However, the *Military Tribunes* revenge their Death, surprize the *Volsci*, and cut them in pieces. 346.

18th Military Tribuneship. §. 7. In the following *Military Tribuneship* of *Corn. Cossus*, *L. Valerius*, *Corn. Rutilus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*, the Senate is provok'd by some haughty Answers of the *Veientes*, to order the *Military Tribunes* to propose a War with them to the People: but the *Plebeians* are more disposed to revenge themselves on the *Volsci*, than begin a new War; and their *Tribunes* encourage them to reject the Proposal. However, the Commons consent that an Army be rais'd, to march against the *Volsci*, who disappear at the Approach of it, and leave their Country open to be pillaged. The three *Military Tribunes* who command the Army, divide it into three Bodies. *Fabius* at the Head of one of them, lays siege to *Anxur*, a wealthy City, (since call'd *Terracina*) takes it by Storm, and gives the Spoil to the three Bodies of Troops. This Piece of Generosity paves the Way for a Reconciliation between the Nobility and People, which is entirely completed by a Decree of the Senate, *That the* Roman *Infantry shall for the future be maintain'd in the Field at the publick Expence.* The Joy of the People on this Occasion is inexpressible; they press to kiss the Senators Hands, and call them *The true Fathers of the People.* But the *Tribunes* have no share in the publick Rejoicings. They do not like this Union of the two Orders of Men in the State. Their Authority flourished most in Divisions. They endeavour therefore to lessen the Value of the Favour, and insinuate to the People, that they will find themselves deceiv'd, when the Tax comes to be rais'd for the Maintenance of the Troops; and they promise to protect all those who refuse to pay it. However, as the Senators begin, by laying great Sums on themselves, which they pay readily, and then prevail on the rich Citizens to follow their Example; the common People submit to the Orders of the Senate, and pay their Contributions, without troubling themselves about the Protection their *Tribunes* offer'd. And now there is no longer any Difficulty in making Levies, War is declar'd against the *Veientes*, and the Commons are more attach'd to the Nobility than ever. The latter had not only freed the Poor from the Burden of serving at their own Expence; but had loaded themselves with the greatest Part of the Military Taxes; and both these of their own accord, without being forced to them by the *Tribunes*. 347.

The Roman *Infantry are decreed Pay.*

19th Military Tribuneship. §. 8. It is uncertain for what Reason the Republick now chuse for the first time six *Military Tribunes*. Perhaps the People are desirous to do Honour to as many *Patricians* as they can. *C. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Furius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Manlius*, are elected. The *Veientes* shun a Battle with the *Romans*, and shut themselves up in their City, which is strong both by Nature and Art. However, the Republick resolves to employ her Forces to besiege *Veii*, and flatters her self with the Hopes of becoming Mistress of a new City and Territory larger than her own. 348.

Siege of Veii *begun.*

§. 9. But the *Roman* Generals who had begun the Siege are soon obliged to lead back their Troops to *Rome*; and are succeeded in the Government by six new *Military Tribunes*, *P. Cornelius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *C. Valerius*, *Cæso Fabius*, and *M. Sergius*. This continual changing of Generals, was what hindered the *Romans* from extending their Conquests. Had they been constantly governed by some one or other of those illustrious *Dictators*, who were their last Refuge in Cases of extreme Danger, they had soon been Masters of *Italy*. But such is the usual Conduct of a Republick, jealous of her Liberty. She checks the Rapidity of her Victorious Generals, lest she herself shou'd become a Part of their Conquests. 349.

20th Military Tribuneship.

21st Military Tribuneship. The new *Military Tribunes* divide the *Roman* Army into two Bodies, one of which continues the Siege of *Veii*, the other marches against the *Volsci*, defeats them, takes *Artena* from them, razes it, and then joins the rest of the Troops, without Delay. §. 10. The succeeding *Military Tribunes*, *M. Æmilius*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctilius*. and *L. Valerius*, 350.

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rius, apply their Thoughts wholly to the Siege of *Veii*. [The famous *Furius Camillus* is this Year choſen *Cenſor*, and it is the firſt time he enjoys a Publick Office.] In the mean time the *Veientes* change their Form of Government, and chuſe a *King*; a Man ſo odious to all *Hetruria*, on account of his having once maliciouſly interrupted ſome Publick Games conſecrated to the Gods, that the *Hetrurian* Diet threaten to ſend them no Succours, if they continue ſubject to him. However, no Body dares mention this at *Veii*. It was at the Siege of this Place that the *Romans* are thought to have firſt invented thoſe Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation, which have been ſince ſo much in Uſe; at leaſt this is the firſt time they are mention'd in *Roman* Antiquity. The *Military Tribunes* conſidering that *Veii* cou'd only be taken by Length of Time, and then rather by Famine than Force, form a Deſign of keeping the Army in the Field all Winter, and of erecting wooden Barracks for them. The Soldiers make no Oppoſition to it, chuſing rather to live in the Camp at the Publick Expence, than in *Rome* at their own. But the *Tribunes of the Commons* greatly diſlike a Project which muſt leſſen the Strength of their Party in the *Comitia*, where they uſed to carry all before them. They therefore aſſemble the *Tribes*, and inveigh bitterly againſt the *Military Tribunes*, whom they accuſe of ambitious Deſigns, and Cruelty, in keeping the Troops all Winter in the Field. But *Appius Claudius*, one of the ſix Governours, being left in *Rome*, and being a Man of great Wit, and of Experience in Buſineſs and Party Broils, he makes the People a long and eloquent Speech, full of ſtrong Reaſon, expoſing the ſeditious and unreaſonable Conduct of their *Tribunes*. By this he ſecures a Party, at leaſt equal to that of the noiſy College; and it ſoon becomes ſuperior, by an Accident, which ſeem'd more likely to deſtroy it. The Beſiegers had brought one of their moveable Terraſſes, made of Wood and cover'd with Turf, near the inveſted City, and the Beſieg'd had ſally'd out and ſet Fire to it, deſtroying in a few Hours the Work of many Days; and not only ſo, but had kill'd many of the *Roman* Soldiers, who ran to put out the Fire. The News of this Misfortune throws the Senate into a Conſternation, and all good Citizens are much grieved. Only the Joy of the *Tribunes* is exceſſive. They expect now to get the Law for the Soldiers Pay repealed. But their Hopes are vain. An unaccountable Fit of Zeal ſeizes thoſe richer Citizens, who had Wealth enough to be placed in the firſt *Claſs* among the *Roman* Knights, but had not yet receiv'd Horſes from the Republick, which was the neceſſary Ceremony to make a Man a Knight. They come to the Senate, and voluntarily offer to furniſh themſelves with Horſes, march to the Camp, and aſſiſt in the Siege of *Veii*. The Fathers thankfully accept the Offer. And now the Populace follow the Example of the new Knights, and declare themſelves ready to ſerve, tho' not obliged to it. However, the Senate orders the ſame Pay to theſe Foot-Voluntiers, as to the reſt of the Infantry. Nay, the Republick begins now to give Pay to the Horſe likewiſe, and to ſettle Funds for their Subſiſtence. It is probable, that *Furius Camillus* and *M. Poſthumius*, the *Cenſors*, invented at this time the *Impoſt*, which was laid on Men advanced in Years, who had never been married, nor ſupplied the Republick with Subjects.

Lines of Circumvallation and Contravallation invented.

The Roman *Horſe receive Pay.*

351. §. 11. The Election of new *Military Tribunes* furniſhes the Army with new Generals. The ſix choſen are, *C. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginius*, and *Manius Sergius*. Soon after, the *Volſci* ſurprize and retake *Anxur*. However, the *Romans* poſtpone their Revenge, to purſue the Siege of *Veii*: But the private Quarrels and Grudges between *Manius Sergius*, who commands the Attack, and *C. Virginius*, who covers the Siege, diſconcert the Meaſures of the *Romans* for ſome time. The *Faliſci* and *Capenates* come to the Relief of the Beſieged, and jointly fall upon the Beſiegers Intrenchments, while the *Veientes* ſally out, and make a brisk Attack on that Side. *Sergius* is hard preſs'd; but is too proud to ſend to *Virginius* for Succour; and *Virginius*, who knows his Collegue's Danger, is obſtinately reſolved not to give him Aſſiſtance unleſs he asks it. Thus the publick Good is ſacrificed to private Pique. The Enemy make a great Slaughter of the *Romans* in their Lines, ſome fly to the other Camp, others return to *Rome*, and *Sergius* with them, who throws all the Blame of the Defeat on his Collegue. *Virginius* is recalled. The Senate proceed to try the two Generals, whoſe Defences are only mutual Reproaches. However, each has his Friends and Partizans; and the Senators, to put an End to Diſputes, make an Order that the People ſhall proceed to the Election of new *Military Tribunes* before the uſual Time. The four of the preſent Year, who have been guilty of no Fault, make no Oppoſition to the Decree; but the two Offenders proteſt againſt it, and refuſe to lay down their Offices before the 3d of *December*. *The Tribunes of the Commons* think this a fair Opportunity for them to begin again to talk big, and therefore with an Air of Authority they threaten the two refractory Magiſtrates to ſend them to Priſon, if they don't obey the Senate. But *Servilius Ahala* gives a Check to their Impertinence, and at the ſame time threatens his two Collegues to name a *Dictator*, if they continue any longer obſtinate. Upon this, *Sergius* and *Virginius* acquieſce,

22d MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

352. and ſix new *Military Tribunes* enter upon Office the firſt of *October*. §. 12. Their Names are, *L. Valerius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, and *Furius*

23d MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

rius Camillus. And theſe new Governours have Work enough upon their Hands. They are to begin again the Siege of *Veii*, to keep the *Faliſci* and *Capenates* within Bounds, and to recover *Anxur* from the *Volſci*. Beſides, the *Tribunes of the Commons* kindle freſh Broils; when the Army comes to be raiſed, they diſſuade the old Soldiers left in *Rome* to guard the City, from paying Taxes, pretending they are exempt from that Burden by being inliſted. And the Diſturbances occaſion'd by their ſeditious Harangues, by the Levies, and by collecting the Tribute, are ſo great, that the *Tribes* cannot agree in the Choice of more than eight new *Tribunes of the People*. Two are ſtill wanting. The *Patricians* at firſt endeavour to get them ſupply'd out of their Body, but in vain. They then cabal to ſtrike at the TREBONIAN LAW; and in the End, prevail to get two Perſons added to the eight, by the Appointment of the Majority of thoſe eight. This was in effect to abrogate the TREBONIAN LAW; and it is ſufficiently revenged by one *C. Trebonius*, now *Tribune of the Commons*. He tells them that their Intereſts are betray'd; and he brings an Odium upon thoſe of his Collegues who had ventur'd, of their own Authority, to appoint two *Tribunes*. The People are eſpecially exaſperated againſt three of the eight, *P. Curiatius*, *M. Metilius*, and *M. Minutius*. But theſe divert the Hatred of the Publick from themſelves, by turning it againſt *Sergius* and *Virginius*, the two Generals of the laſt Year. They perſuade the People to cite them before their Tribunal; and in their Accuſation of the Offenders inſinuate, *That the Senate and the two Generals had agreed together, that the latter ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be beaten, in order to continue the War, and prolong the Misfortunes of the Republick*. In ſhort, the Proſecution has its Effect, the People are ſo intent upon it, that they forget the *Trebonian Law*, and their Quarrel with the three *Tribunes*; and *Sergius* and *Virginius* are condemn'd to pay 10000 *Aſſes* of Braſs each. *Rome* at this time receives good News from all Parts where the War is carrying on: But this does not put a Stop to Seditions at *Rome*. The *Tribunes of the People* propoſe to them two Laws: The firſt, *requiring a Diſtribution of Lands, as formerly*. The ſecond, *excuſing the People from any more Contributions towards the Soldiers Pay*. And in fact, they will not ſuffer them to pay the Taxes; ſo that the *Legions*, being deprived of their Subſiſtence, are ripe for a Sedition. But all the Buſtle ends in getting *Plebeians* into the *Military Tribuneſhip*.

Vide TREBONIAN LAW, *Year* 305.

Plebeians *choſen* Military Tribunes.

§. 13. The *Centuries* chuſe one *Plebeian* at leaſt in the new Election. His Name is *P. Licinius Calvus*. The other five are *P. Mœlius*, *P. Mœnius*, *Sp. Furius*, *L. Titinius*, and *L. Publilius*. It is to be remark'd, that *Licinius*, tho' a *Plebeian*, was already an old Senator: But ever ſince the Year 263, the conſideraable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate-houſe. The *Tribunes of the People* are ſo much rejoiced to ſee a *Plebeian* in the Supreme Dignity, that they drop their Oppoſition to the Tax. The Soldiers receive their Pay again, their Courage is reviv'd, they take *Anxur* from the *Volſci*, and carry on the Siege of *Veii* with Perſeverance, though they ſuffer much from the ſevere Cold of the Winter. 353.

24th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

25th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

§. 14. *Licinius* having fill'd his Seat with univerſal Approbation, the *Centuries* now chuſe five *Military Tribunes* out of the *Plebeians*, and only *M. Veturius* of the *Patricians*. The five are, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *V. Publilius*. The three Armies of the laſt Year join together, to haſten the Reduction of *Veii*. The *Faliſci* and *Capenates* come to its Relief, but are entirely defeated by the *Romans*. So complete a Victory makes the Adminiſtration of the *Plebeian Military Tribunes* glorious in the Eyes of the People; but it is not perfectly happy. The extreme Cold of the Weather changes of a ſudden to exceſſive Heat; and this occaſions a Mortality both among Men and Cattle. The *Sybilline* Books are conſulted, and the *Duumviri* pretend to find there a new Sort of Expiation. Three Beds are placed in a Temple, round a plentiful Table, and cover'd with rich Carpets; and *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury* and *Neptune*, are invited to the Entertainment. It is *conjectur'd*, that theſe Deities did not come, according to Invitation. However, the *Duumviri* and *Pontifices* ſupplied their Places, and were feaſted nobly for eight Days. Theſe publick Ceremonies are imitated in private Houſes. Every one keeps open Houſe for Friends, Strangers, and even Enemies. All Proceſſes, Diſputes, and Animoſities are ſuſpended, and the very Priſoners releaſed from their Chains, to partake of the publick Rejoicings. In the mean time, the *Patricians* are contriving to take Advantage of the preſent State of Affairs, to recover the Monopoly they had loſt, of the chief Offices in the Republick. And knowing the Superſtition of the People, they attack them on that Side, and inſinuate, that *the uncommon Severity of the Winter the laſt Year, and the preſent Year's Plague, were Puniſhments from the Gods, for their having confounded all Diſtinctions of Families, and placed* Plebeians *in the* Military Tribuneſhip. By this means, and by propoſing only ſuch Candidates to the *Centuries* as are of ſuperior Merit, they diſpoſe them to favour the Nobility. 354.

26th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

§. 15. And accordingly, they chuſe *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous *Camillus*, (a ſecond time) all *Patricians*. This Year the *Romans* are aſtoniſh'd with a Prodigy. It happens to be a dry Summer, and there is little Water in the Rivers, Fountains or Marſhes: But the Lake of *Alba*, which was 355.

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of a round Figure, and encompaſs'd with Rocks and little Hills, ſwells of a ſudden, and riſes to the Tops of the Hills about it. This ſtrange Accident is much diſcours'd of in the Camp; and as in long Sieges the Soldiers on both Sides ſometimes become acquainted, they talk of the Prodigy from their different Poſts, and make merry with it. But an old Soldier of the *Veientes* taking the Matter more ſeriouſly, cries out, in a kind of Enthuſiaſtick Fit, Veii *ſhall never be taken, till all the Water is run out of the Lake of* Alba. A *Roman* Centinel, who hears him, and has great Faith in Divination, asks who the old Man is; and underſtanding that he is a Diviner, he by a Stratagem makes him his Priſoner, and carries him before the *Roman* General, who ſends him to the Senate. The old Man declares, that what he had ſaid was agreeable to an antient Tradition written in ſome prophetick Books in his Country, and that if the *Romans* can draw the Water out of the Lake, *Veii* will be taken. But he adviſes them to take eſpecial Care, that the Drains which ſhall be made to carry it off don't convey it to the Sea. Tho' the Senate cannot truſt to the bare Word of the Diviner, yet they think proper to ſend a Deputation of three *Patricians* to *Delphos*, to conſult the Oracle. §. 16. Before the Return of the Deputies, ſix new *Military Tribunes* are choſen, *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Poſthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*, all *Patricians*. The *Romans*, while the Siege of *Veii* is carrying on, are not only obliged to make Head againſt the *Volſci*, the *Faliſci*, and the *Capenates*, but are attack'd by a new Enemy, the *Tarquinians*. *A. Poſthumius*, and *L. Julius*, who are left in *Rome*, demand Leave to raiſe Troops to diſperſe them; but the *Tribunes of the People* retarding the Levies, they put themſelves at the Head of a ſmall Army of Voluntiers, and taking a great Compaſs about, ſurprize the *Tarquinians* as they are returning home, make a great Slaughter of them, and recover the Booty they had ſeiz'd. In the mean time, the three *Patricians* return from *Delphos*; and, to the Surprize of the Senate and People, the Anſwer of the *Pythoneſs* is perfectly agreeable to the Prediction and Advice of the old Diviner, who is thereupon made the Miniſter to appoint proper Sacrifices to render the Gods propitious. Then the *Romans* ſend out Pioneers to make a Canal, which may carry off the Waters of the Lake, and convey them all over the Fields, by Trenches. This fine Work ſubſiſts to this Day, and the Water of the Lake *Albano*, which runs along *Caſtel Gandolphe*, paſſes thro' it. But the Oracle had likewiſe directed, *to re-eſtabliſh the neglected Ceremonies of Religion, and to begin thoſe again which had not been regularly performed.* The firſt is interpreted of the Neglect of the FERIÆ LATINÆ; and they are therefore renewed. And as to the ſecond, it is diſcover'd, that the Election of the preſent *Military Tribunes* had been defective, with regard to the *Auguries*. So that the ſix Governours abdicate, and an INTERREGNUM enſues. The *Tribunes of the People* oppoſe the Aſſembly of the *Comitia* for a new Election, till they have obtain'd a Promiſe that three of the ſix Magiſtrates ſhall be Commoners. The People begin by nominating old *Licinius*, who had been the firſt *Plebeian* ever raiſed to the Supreme Dignity; but he declines the Office, on account of his Age and Infirmities, and propoſes his Son to them, whom they accordingly chuſe. The other five are, *L. Atinius*, *P. Mœlius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *L. Titinius*, and *P. Mœnius*, all Commoners. §. 17. Their Adminiſtration is not proſperous. *Atinius* and *Genucius* march with ſome Troops into the Territory of the *Faliſci* and *Capenates*, to oppoſe an Inundation of *Hetrurians*, who, not by Order, but by Permiſſion of their Governors, are coming to attack the *Roman* Intrenchments before *Veii:* But the two Generals fall into an Ambuſh prepared by the Enemy. *Genucius* is kill'd, and *Atinius*, tho' he rallies his Men and retreats, dares not any more face the Enemy in the open Field. This News terrifies the Army before *Veii*, and it is with Difficulty hindered from diſperſing. But *Rome* is yet in a greater Conſternation. §. 18. And the Republick, as uſual in ſuch Caſes, nominates a *Dictator*. FURIUS CAMILLUS is appointed; and he names *Cornelius Scipio* to be his General of Horſe. Every thing ſeems now ready for the Completion of what the Oracle had foretold. The Games and Sacrifices of the FERIÆ LATINÆ have been renewed; and the Waters of the Lake of *Alba* are drawn off. The *Dictator* orders new Levies to be raiſed, is join'd by a Reinforcement of *Latins* and *Hernici*, and, having finiſh'd his Preparations for War, makes a Vow to the Gods, that if he returns Conqueror of *Veii*, he will celebrate the Great Games, and rebuild the Temple of the Goddeſs *Matuta*. After this, he marches, and comes to a Battle with the *Faliſci*, *Capenates*, and *Hetrurian* Voluntiers. Hiſtory has not told the Particulars of it; but only that he obtain'd a complete Victory. §. 19. He then returns to *Veii*, and obſerving that it would be impoſſible to carry the Place by Aſſault, or ſcale the Walls of it, he undertakes to open a Mine, and carry it on into the very Heart of the Upper Town. The Pioneers, who are divided into ſix Companies, relieve one another; and the Work, continually advancing without Interruption, is ſoon finiſh'd. The *Dictator* then, thinking himſelf ſure of Conqueſt, ſends to the *Conſcript Fathers* to know how they wou'd have the Spoils of the City diſpoſed of. The Queſtion is debated in the Senate. *Appius Claudius* is for having the rich Plunder of *Veii* made a Fund for the Payment of the Troops:

The Lake of Alba *ſwells to a prodigious Height, in a dry Summer.*

356. 27th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

Vide Year 222.

INTERREGNUM.

357. 28th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP.

13th DICTATORSHIP. FURIUS CAMILLUS.

Troops: But old *Licinius* thinks that this wou'd be a Foundation of endleſs Murmurs and Seditions, and propoſes that the Spoils ſhould be divided between the Army and thoſe of the Citizens who ſhall be in the Camp when the Town is taken. This Advice prevails; and a Decree is made, giving Leave to as many as pleaſe to go to the Camp, and take their Share of the Booty. Accordingly, vaſt Numbers flock thither well armed, and join the *Dictator*'s Troops in the Attack. But before *Camillus* begins the Aſſault, he makes the following Prayer. *O* Pythian Apollo, *accompliſh thy Prediction, ſince it is by thy Inſpiration, and under thy Guidance, that I am going to deſtroy the City of* Veii! *I ſolemnly vow to give thee the tenth Part of the Spoil which ſhall be taken in it. And do Thou, O* Juno, *Queen of the Gods, who reſideſt in* Veii, *follow us to* Rome, *and come and dwell in a City which ſhall be devoted to thee. Thou ſhalt there be placed in a Temple worthy of thy Majeſty!* The Town being taken, the *Dictator* is ſaid to have cried out in a Surprize, at the Value and Quantity of the Plunder, *O Great Gods, if you in Heaven feel any Envy at my Fortune, and that of the* Roman *People, let all the Effects of it fall upon my Head, and let* Rome *feel but the leaſt Part of them!* This ſaid, he turns about to the right, according to Cuſtom, and falls to the Ground. The Company preſent are affrighted at the Accident: But *Camillus* riſing immediately, ſays, *My Prayer has been heard; I have eſcaped, after this great Proſperity, with a very ſlight Misfortune.* The next Day, the Priſoners of free Condition are ſold to the beſt Bidder; and all the Money ariſing from thence is put into the Publick Treaſury. But tho' this is only the Part of the Spoil from which the Publick has any Benefit, the People murmur at it, and inveigh both againſt the Senate and the *Dictator*. His next Care is to tranſport the Image of *Juno* to *Rome*. It was placed on the Hill *Aventinus*, in a Temple dedicated by *Camillus* himſelf. Thus periſh'd the famous City of *Veii*, after a ten Years Siege; being at once deſpoiled of its Riches, its Inhabitants, and its Gods. §. 20. The Joy of the People at *Rome* was in Proportion to the Difficulty of the Conqueſt. The Ladies (ever forward in Acts of Piety) crowd to the Temples, without waiting for the Senate's Proclamation for a Thankſgiving, which is order'd to be continued four Days; a Stretch of Devotion never known in the Republick before. But *Camillus*, in his triumphant Entry, ſeems intoxicated with Proſperity and Pride. He is drawn by white Horſes; which had never been allow'd before, but to *Jupiter* and the *Sun*; and he paints his Face with Vermillion, like the Statues of the Gods. The People think this profane; and tho' pleas'd with the Show, yet blame the indecent Pomp of the triumphant Victor. §. 21. *Camillus* having reſign'd his *Dictatorſhip*, the People's Hatred to him ſoon appears. He had forgot, or neglected, to ſet apart the Tenth of the Spoil, for a Preſent to *Apollo*, according to the Vow he made, before he began the Aſſault. The *Pontifices* declare, That the People are obliged to return a Tenth of the Booty into the publick Treaſury; and the Senate make a Decree to that Purpoſe. This cauſes a great deal of Vexation to the People; and the Odium of all falls upon *Camillus*. In the mean time, it is propoſed to buy ſuch a Vaſe of Gold with the Produce of what is brought to the *Quæſtors*, as may ſhew *Greece* the Magnificence of the *Roman* Republick. But unfortunately there is little Gold to be found in the City, except in the Toys of the Ladies. Theſe therefore unanimouſly contribute their Jewels, and a Vaſe with two Handles is made, weighing eight Talents. Three Senators are ſent to *Delphos* with it, who in their Voyage are taken by a Veſſel of *Lipara*, and carried before *Timaſitheus*, Lord of the Iſland. He reſpects the Character of the Ambaſſadors, and the Preſent they are carrying to *Apollo*; and therefore ſends a Guard with them, to conduct them ſafe to *Delphos*. There they make their Offering, and then come back to *Rome*. In return for the Ladies Generoſity, the Republick grant them two Favours, 1. *That Funeral Orations ſhall be made for Illuſtrious Women, as for great Men; and* 2. *That they have leave to ride in Chariots at the publick Games.*

Year of *ROME*

29th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP. §. 22. And now the *Centuries* chuſe ſix new *Military Tribunes*, all *Patricians*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M. Valerius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius*. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* ſue for Peace, and it is granted. Nevertheleſs, the Senate think proper to plant a Colony of 3000 *Romans* in their Country, and every one is to have three Acres and a half of Land. But when the time comes for thoſe to inliſt their Names who are to form the Colony, the *Romans* ſhew a Repugnance to quit their native City, and murmur that they have not ſome of the Lands of *Veii* given them. And theſe Murmurings are afterwards improved to a ſerious Deliberation, whether one half, both of Senate and People, ſhall not be tranſplanted to *Veii*, that ſo the Republick may have two Capitals. *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* propoſes a Law for this Purpoſe, but it is oppoſed by the Nobility, (and eſpecially by *Camillus*) who gain ſome of the *Tribunes* of the Commons over to them. In the mean time, the *Capenates* ſubmit, and the Republick has no War remaining but with the *Faliſci*.

358.

360.

359.

30th MILITARY TRIBUNESHIP. §. 23. Notwithſtanding the Oppoſition made by *Camillus* to the Tranſmigration to *Veii*, he is choſen (a third time) *Military Tribune*. His Collegues are *L. Furius*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *C. Æmilius*, *Sp. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. *Camillus* is commiſſion'd to go with a numerous Army to ſubdue the *Faliſci*. He forms a Deſign

Year of ROME of beſieging *Falerii*, the Capital of their Country, and of protracting the Siege to a great length, in order to keep a mutinous Populace at a diſtance from *Rome*. He defeats the Enemy, and takes their Camp, but puts the Spoils into the *Quæſtors* Hands; and the Soldiers murmur in vain. Since the Troops receive Pay, he reſolves to teach them to conquer upon nobler Motives than the Hopes of Plunder. §. 24. After this Victory, *Camillus* inveſts *Falerii*, and ſurrounds it with Lines, but at ſo great a diſtance from the Walls, that there is more than ſufficient Room for the Beſieged to take the Air without Danger. The *Faliſci* had brought from *Greece* the Cuſtom of committing all their Children to the Care of one Man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of polite Learning, to take them out a walking with him, and ſee them perform the Exerciſes proper for their Age. The Children uſed often to walk with their Maſter without the Walls of the City, before the Siege; and their Fears of an Enemy, who kept quiet, and at ſuch a diſtance, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue the Practice. But the preſent Schoolmaſter proves a Traitor. At firſt he leads the Youth only along the Walls, then a little farther, and at length takes his Opportunity, and brings them, through the *Roman* Camp, quite to the General's Tent. *Camillus* is ſtruck with Horror at the Treachery, orders his *Lictors* to ſtrip the Villain, tie his Hands behind him, and then furniſh the Youth with Rods, to whip him back again into the City. A little before, the *Faliſci* had proteſted they would rather undergo the Fate of the *Veii*, than imitate the Cowardice of the *Capenates*. But now they ardently deſire Peace with *Rome:* So great an Impreſſion does the Probity of *Camillus* make upon them. The General ſends the *Falerian* Deputies to *Rome*; where they addreſs the Senate in the following manner. Rome *has juſt now gain'd a Victory over us, which cannot be ſhameful to us in the Sight either of Gods or Men. We ſubmit to you out of a Perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happy, than under the Laws of a Republick, in which Juſtice and Probity reign. The* Romans *and* Faliſci *are this Day giving two great Examples to Poſterity: You, in preferring Juſtice to Victory: We, in rather yielding to the Charms of Virtue, than the Force of Arms*, &c. But the *Conſcript Fathers* leave to *Camillus* the Terms of the Peace; which is to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as with a conquer'd People, but as with a Nation that voluntarily ſubmits to the Dominion of the Republick. He demands nothing of them, but the Expences of the preſent Campaign, and then leads back his Army to *Rome*, where his Soldiers increaſe the Number of his Enemies; for they had pleas'd themſelves with the Hopes of plundering *Falerii*. §. 25. While *Camillus* was thus employ'd, *Æmilius* and *Poſthumius*, two of his Collegues, had united their Forces, and defeated the faithleſs *Æqui* in a pitch'd Battel. After the Victory, *Poſthumius* makes Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, while *Æmilius* continues at *Verrugo*. But as the former is returning from his Expedition, and his Troops marching without Precaution, they are ſuddenly attack'd by the *Æqui*, and routed. *Poſthumius* rallies them upon an Eminence, and there upbraids them with Cowardice; upon which they cry out, *Lead us to the Enemy; we will oblige ourſelves under the ſevereſt Penalties to cut them in pieces before Night*. The *Æqui* were ſtill in the Plain below the Eminence on which the *Romans* were poſted. The latter begin the Attack by Moon-light, but have little Succeſs till Day appears. Then the General puts his Men in mind of their Promiſe; and nothing can ſtand before them. In the mean time, the Shouts of the Combatants are heard at *Verrugo*, where the Troops of *Æmilius* believing *Poſthumius*'s Camp to be beſieg'd, take a Fright, diſperſe, and fly for Refuge to *Tuſculum*. Thence a Report is carried to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius* is kill'd, and his Army defeated. But the People are undeceiv'd by a Letter, crown'd with Laurel, from the General to the Senate, with an Account of his Victory. §. 26. Thus the Arms of the Republick proſper abroad; but new Diſturbances are rais'd at home. When the Time comes for electing *Tribunes of the People*, the Commons are for continuing thoſe old ones who had propos'd the Law for going to *Veii*; and the *Patricians* are for having thoſe re-elected who had oppos'd it. The former prevail in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Promoters of the Law are re-choſen, and the Oppoſers are excluded: Upon which the *Patricians* in revenge
360. reſolve, if poſſible, to reſtore the *Conſular* Government; and accordingly, in the *Comitia by Centuries*, where they have moſt Sway, *L. Lucretius Flavus*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus* are choſen *Conſuls*. 87th CONSULSHIP.

Under the new Adminiſtration, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* renews his Intrigues with more Zeal than ever, to get the Law paſs'd for removing the half of the People and of the Senate to *Veii*. *A. Virginius* and *Q. Pomponius*, the two *Tribunes of the People* for the laſt Year, who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves by their Oppoſition to the *Law*, are cited to appear before the *Tribes*; and notwithſtanding all that the Senate can do to protect them, they are fin'd 10000 *Aſſes* of *Braſs*. The whole Senate are offended at this Sentence, and eſpecially *Camillus*, who never ceaſes declaiming againſt *Sicinnius*'s Law. He adviſes the *Conſcript Fathers* to appear in the *Comitium*, (when the *Tribes* aſſemble to determine the Affair) as Men prepar'd to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Houſhold-Gods, and their Country. *Were I at liberty*, adds he,

to

to conſult my own Glory, at the Expence of my Country's Honour, what could flatter my Ambition more, than to ſee a City which I have conquer'd, inhabited by illuſtrious Romans? *But it would be fatal to you, to re-people a City whoſe Gods have deſerted it, and ſhameful to prefer a conquer'd Territory to your own victorious Country.* Accordingly the *Patricians*, by Tears, Intreaties, and Reaſonings, prevail to have the Law rejected; but by a Majority of only one *Tribe*. And now the Nobility are ſo well pleas'd with the People, that the Senate, at the Requeſt of the *Conſuls*, make a Decree the next Morning, whereby they aſſign ſeven Acres of the Lands of *Veii*, not only to every Father of a Family, but to every ſingle Perſon of free Condition. Year of ROME 361.

88th CONSULSHIP.

§. 27. On the other hand, the People are ſo delighted with their Liberality, that they make no Oppoſition to the Election of *Conſuls*. *L. Valerius Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus*, are the Perſons choſen; and they begin their Year, by performing the Vow made by *Camillus*, when *Dictator*, to celebrate *The Great Games*. (Of theſe there were two ſorts, the one celebrated every Year in the Month of *September*, in Honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*; the other were call'd *Votive* or *Extraordinary*, had no fixed Day appointed for them, and were celebrated in Honour of *Jupiter* only.)

As faſt as the Republick enlarges her Dominions, ſhe draws upon her ſelf new Enemies unknown before. The *Volſinii*, one of the twelve *Hetrurian* Nations, alarm'd at the Fate of *Veii* and *Falerii*, declare againſt *Rome*; and being join'd by the *Salpinates*, commit Hoſtilities. But a contagious Diſtemper makes the *Romans* ſuſpend their Revenge. The two *Conſuls* being ſeiz'd by it, ſo as to be incapable of exerciſing their Offices, and the People imagining from the Accident, that they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen, the Senate order them to reſign. Upon this an INTERREGNUM enſues, during which the Republick is govern'd by three Preſidents, *Camillus*, *Cornelius Scipio*, and *Valerius Potitus*, (not the *Conſul*) who ſucceed each other for ſome Days. The laſt renews the *Auguries*, for the Election of ſix *Military Tribunes*; which ſort of Government is now re-eſtabliſh'd, that in caſe the Contagion ſhould laſt, and ſome of the ſupreme Magiſtrates be infected by it, there may yet be others in a Condition to take care of the Publick Welfare.

INTERREGNUM.

By a *Cenſus* taken this Year, the Number of Citizens, able to bear Arms, appears to be 152583. The Troops, ſince their receiving Pay, are more obedient to their Commanders, who keep them in the Field Summer and Winter. They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great Deſigns, than *Camillus*; and the Reduction of *Veii* had given them a Taſte for Conqueſts. The *Roman* Frontiers are now extended above fifty Miles beyond the *Tyber*; and the People ſeem to be in a ſettled Tranquillity, and perfectly reconcil'd to the Senate. This unuſual Proſperity is interrupted by the *Gauls*, a memorable Event! which is next to be related.

MVSEVM BRITAN NICVM

ERRATA.

IN the Author's Preface, Page xii. Line 15. *their Writers do not*, read *them*. Contents. Book 2. §. 15. l. 3. *her*, r. *their*. B. 4. §. 15. *in the Margin* 215. r. 204. §. 24. l. 36. *Spurts upon*, r. *Spurts up upon*. §. 26. *in the Margin* 122. r. 222. B. 5. §. 24. *in the Margin on one Side, add* 248. *on the other* 5th CONSULSHIP. B. 6. §. 13. *in the Margin, Maiſter*, r. *Magiſter*. B. 9. *over againſt the Year* 291, *add* 48th CONSULSHIP. Hiſtory. P. 23. Note 83. *Firmianus*, r. *Firmanus*. p. 54. l. 42. *who had*, r. *and had*. p. 57. N. 8. *Quiris*, r. *Quirinus*. p. 65. N. 51. *Equi or Eques*, r. *Æquicoli or Æqui*. p. 113. l. 2. dele *only*. p. 116. l. 15. *underwent*, r. *undergone*. p. 125. l. 13. 1800, r. 600. p. 126. l. 27. *ſix Years*, r. *ſix Months*. p. 136. Note 4. l. 12. *Cornuoopias*, r. *Cornucopia*. p. 137. l. 21. *their*, r. *your*. p. 147. l. 27. *Lockſmiths*. r. *Blackſmiths*. ibid. *l.* 36. add *They were divided into* 20 *Centuries*. p. 151. l. 7. dele *often*. p. 154. l. 33. *was failed*, r. *had failed*. p. 157. l. 12. *five Claſſes*, r. *firſt five Claſſes*. p. 182. l. ult *Egerius's Grandſon, and*, r. *Grandſon to Egerius*. p. 184. l. 52. *Spurious*, r. *Specious*. p. 196. l. 47. *Sign*, r. *Signing*. p. 210. l. 44. *Arrows*, r. *Darts*. ----*Shot*, r. *thrown*. p. 285. l. 17. *it*, r. *them*. p. 303. l. 22. *had been already*, r. *ought to be*. p. 307. Note 81. l. 11. dele *had before*. p. 309 l. 36. *eleven*, r. *twelve*. p. 324. l. 27. *and that*, r. *by*. ibid. l. 28. *ſhou'd not*, r. *and that ſuch ſhou'd not*. p. 327. l. 5. *of Courage*, r. *of no Courage*. p. 369. l. 45. *deſtroying*, r. *deſerting*. p. 381. l. 32. *rather*, r. *even more*. ibid. l. 33. *Polity*, r. *Policy*. p. 383. l. 18. *dared*, r. *durſt*. p. 389. l. 14. *crave*, r. *crawl*. p. 392. l. 7. *the one*, r. *ſome* ----- *the other*, r. *others*. ibid. l. 23. *five Men*, r. *ten Men*. p. 399. l. 44. *revolted*, r. *incenſed*. p. 405. l. 20. *twenty four*, r. *fourſcore*. p. 409. l. 43. *Capitol*, r. *Capital*. ibid. l. 44. *to the Plunder of*, r. *to be plunder'd by*. p. 410. l. 20. *to the Plunder of*, r. *as free booty to*. p. 411. l. 6. *nine Collegues*, r. *four Collegues*. p. 426. l. 25. *grave*, r. *brave*. p. 462. l. 26. *of Genius*, r. *of no Genius*. p. 470. l. 7. *theſe*, r. *thoſe*. ibid. l. 22. *Capitol*, r. *Capital*. p. 476. l. 34. *twenty ſix*, r. *ſixſcore*. p. 498. l. 2. 300, r. 299. p. 500. l. 45. *to*, r. *on*. p. 501. l. 36. *ſome of the Plebeians*, r. *popular Men*. p. 518. l. 52. *to*, r. *in*. p. 524. Note 47. *carrying back*, r. *carrying forward*. p. 538. l. 29. *of*, r. *on*. p. 546. *in the Margin*, r. *C. Servilius*. p. 547. ibid. ibid. p. 553. l. 13. *and in the Margin*, r. *C. Furius*. p. 567. l. 34. *aſſumed Tribunes*, r. *Tribunes aſſumed*. p. 569. l. 3. *and in the Margin, M. Servilius*, r. *Manius Sergius*. p. 586, & 587. *in the Margin, Camillus, Dictator*, r. *Licinius, &c. military Tribunes*.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A Map of LATIUM, CAMPANIA, SABINIA, and part of HETRURIA,

for the better Understanding of the Roman History.

by WILLIAM DELISLE.

Scale.

Roman Miles of 5000 feet each.

10 20 35

Greek Stadia or Furlongs 125 paces each

100 200

VOLSINII.

In Hetruria were situated Rusellæ Volaterræ Clusium

beyond ỹ Volsini Royal towns of Ferentinum Vetulonia Aretium

Volsinium a Royal City

SALPINATES

UMBRIA

Nar R.

Narnia

Tribe Narniensis

Tribe Terentina

Tribe Velina

Lake Velinus

Temple of Voltumna

Capena

Tribe Stellatina

Tribe Tromentina

HETRURIA

Falerii a Royal City

Tyber

SABINIA

PICENUM

Apennine Hills

VESTINI

Velinus.

R. Aternus

TARQUINIANS OR TUSCIA

Tarquinia a Royal City

Contenebra

Sutrii

Nepe

FALISCI

Mount Soracte

Regillæ

Tribe Quirina

Lures

Feronia

R. Cures

Forest of Malefactors

Eretum

Ameriola

Tribe Aniensis

Nomentum

R. Anio

Tibur

Empulum

Sagula

Crustumerium

Crullumina

Cenina

T. Claudii

Ficulnea

Apiolæ

T. Scaptia

Scaptia

Gabii

Pedum

Antemnæ

Collatia

T. Pupinia

Lake Regillus

Pitulum

Præneste

Vitellia

Labici

Artena

Algidus

Corbio

Ecetra

Carventum

Fortress of Verrugo

Velitræ

Ferentinum

Verrugo

Signia

Norba

Artena

Tribe Pomptina

Setia

Privernum

Tribe Ufentina

Antium

Pontine Marshes

Anxur or Terracina

Circæum

Promontory of Circæum

HETRURIAN SEA

VEIENTES

Veii a Royal City

Sabata

Tribe Sabatina

CÆRITES

Cære a Royal City

Saxa Rubra

Tribe Veientana

TERRITORY OF ROME

The Messian Forrest

Tribe Romulia

Medullia

Bovillæ

Fisana

Mouth of the Tyber

Lake of Osiris

Laurentum

Lavinium

Lavinium

Ardea

RUTULI

Longula

Polusca

Torioli

Tellena

Camerium

Politorium

Mt. Marcus

Sucssa Pometia

Satricum

Lake Fucinus

MARSI

ÆQUI OR ÆQUICOLI

PELIGNI

Apennine Hills

R. Sagra

Sagra

Tribe Faleria

SIDICINI

Vescia

Mount Massicus

Teanum

Falernus

CAMPANIA

Vulturnus

Capua

Mount Tifata

Mount Caurus

SAMNITES

Vulturnus

Sabbatus

Sabbula

HERNICI

LATIUM

LATIANI

Forest of Carventum

Fortress of Verrugo

Wood of Ferentinum

Tribe Mœtia

Lucus Feroniæ

Lucus Feroniæ

NB.

The places of which ỹ situation is uncertain are distinguished from the rest by an Asterisk besides which there were in Latium the

THE

Roman Hiſtory.

BRITISH MUSEUM

BOOK I.

THE Empire of which I write the Hiſtory, extended it ſelf far in the three Parts of the World then known, and had ſcarce any other Bounds than thoſe of our Hemiſphere. On the Eaſt, it took in the greater Part of the Conqueſts made by thoſe mighty Monarchies which had flouriſh'd before it; and both in Power and Extent ſurpaſs'd the *Aſſyrian*, *Babylonian*, *Perſian* and *Grecian* Empires, when in their greateſt Glory. On the Weſt, it gave Law every where, as far as to the Ocean; and its Dominion towards the North reached almoſt to thoſe Countries which Froſts and Snow render'd ſcarce habitable. On the South, a great Part of *Africa*, in which the Conquerors of *Aſia* had made but little Progreſs, ſubmitted to the *Roman* Yoke. In a Word, this formidable Eagle ſtretched her Wings over the moſt beautiful Regions of the known World.

IT is hard to determine whether the Bravery, Policy, or Civil Virtues of the *Romans* contributed moſt to the enlarging of their Empire. The frequent Alterations made in its Government proved no Obſtacle to its Progreſs; and *Rome*, whether under *Kings* or *Conſuls*, whether governed by *Tribunes*, *Decemvirs*, or *Dictators*, or finally enthrall'd to Generals, who were ſtiled *Emperors*, was always victorious. Its firſt Form of Government was Monarchy, and after having tried all other kinds, it was at laſt obliged to adhere to the Dominion of a ſingle Perſon. The ſucceſſive Changes in its Adminiſtration, may be ſaid to furniſh Leſſons of Wiſdom and Conduct to every State in the Univerſe. Monarchs may find Examples worthy of Imitation in its Kings and Emperors; and

Commonwealths, whether ſuch as have lodged the ſupreme Power in a Senate, or ſuch as have admitted the People to a Share in the Management of publick Affairs, may learn from theſe different Situations of the *Romans*, what Limits to preſcribe to the Nobility, when eſtabliſh'd in Authority, and how to curb the Inſolence of the People, ever too fond of a dangerous Liberty.

ROME, in her very Infancy, became an Object of Jealouſy to her Neighbours; but their Attacks ſerved only to invigorate the Reſolution of the *Romans*; and the Neceſſity of a lawful Defence, giving daily Exerciſe to their Courage, they ſubdued the Nations which inſulted them, and made themſelves Maſters of all *Italy*. When the *Roman* State had attained to a riper Age, *Carthage* became its Competitor. The two Republicks vied for Glory. The *Carthaginians*, who were very near Conquerors, being at length ſubdued, taught the *Romans* to carry their Ambition beyond *Africa*. In ſhort, the Conqueſt of *Macedon*, the hereditary Dominion of *Alexander*, made them ſenſible, that they might tread in his Steps, and eſtabliſh themſelves an Empire, in *Aſia*; which proved leſs extenſive indeed, but more laſting than his had been.

FROM low Beginnings, *Rome* in time roſe to be the Capital of the World. It grew larger by every new Conqueſt, and the Circuit of its Walls was widened in proportion to its Empire. Its Citizens became Maſters of the Fate of Kingdoms; and Cities which once gave Law to others, courted the Honour of being ſtiled *Roman*, and of enjoying *Roman* Privileges. Kings ſtrove to merit their Alliance and Protection; and in ſhort, there was not a crown'd Head but readily ſubmitted to the Decrees of their Senate. In Proceſs of Time, the Eaſtern and Weſtern States, being reduced to Provinces, either brought their Tributes to *Rome*, or receiving Governors from thence, enriched with their Spoils thoſe illuſtrious Citizens, who from the *Capitol* ſent forth Laws to the Ends of the Earth.

OPULENCE, 'tis true, proved an Enemy to the *Roman* Virtue, and Proſperity changed the Modeſty and Frugality of the firſt inhabitants of *Rome* into Pride and Luxury. The Empire, however, was then able to ſupport it ſelf; and if the People had fewer moral Virtues, yet they fell not far ſhort of their Predeceſſors in Bravery and Prudence. The laſting Proſperity they enjoyed was without doubt indulged to them by divine Providence (which governs all States with Wiſdom and Juſtice) either to recompence in the Children the Virtues of their Fore-fathers, or to make the *Miſtreſs of Nations* one day the Capital of the Chriſtian World; or to prepare the Way for the entire Eſtabliſhment of the true Religion, by the Converſion of one of the Lords of the Univerſe to the Faith of Chriſt.

§. II. IT is very common to give a ſplendid Origin to great Empires, and to eſtabliſh them upon illuſtrious Foundations. After having attained to a prodigious Pitch of Grandeur, it is mortifying to look back to an obſcure Beginning; and Endeavours are therefore uſed in ſuch Caſes to ſupply the Defect of Hiſtory by the help of Fable. My Deſign is not to inſinuate, that the *Romans* have falſly carried up their Origin as far as *Æneas*. I ſhall not deprive them of the Glory of iſſuing from *Trojan*[1] Blood. Whatever may be objected to it, both *Greek*

[1] It has been long diſputed whether the *Romans* can juſtly claim the Honour of being deſcended from *Æneas*, and of having the *Trojans* for their Anceſtors; if we decide the Queſtion by the Teſtimony of *Latin* Writers, it muſt be in Favour of the *Romans*. All the Hiſtorians of that Nation either actually mention the Arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy*, or ſuppoſe it: neither are there Medals wanting to evince it. It is well known that *Julius Cæſar* boaſted of *Æneas* as his Anceſtor, and carried the Original of the *Julian* Family as far back as *Iulus*. In full Perſuaſion of this, he cauſed the Medal to be ſtruck of which we here give the Impreſſion. On one Side is repreſented *Venus*, Mother of *Æneas*; on the other, the *Trojan* Prince, holding the *Palladium* in his Hand, and carrying his Father *Anchiſes* on his Shoulders.

And tho' ſome may object, that the *Latins* ought not to be admitted as Judges in their own Cauſe; it muſt nevertheleſs be allowed that the univerſal Teſtimony of a Nation which was not without very able Criticks, and the Footſteps that were every where to be met with of *Æneas*'s Arrival in *Italy*, are no ſmall Confirmations of the Validity of their Pretenſions. Nay even the *Greek* Hiſtorians have not all refuſed to acknowledge the Truth of ſo plain a Matter of Fact, notwithſtanding the Enmity they bore both to the *Trojans* and *Romans*. Nor is it ſurprizing that a great many of them have been ignorant of *Æneas*'s Retreat into *Italy*, and that being deceived by certain Monuments which they miſtook for his Tomb, ſome have related

Greek and *Latin* Hiſtorians concur in deriving the *Romans* from the Remains of ruined *Troy*.

THE Subſtance of what the moſt antient Traditions afford us on this Subject, is as follows. I am neither ſo credulous as to warrant, nor ſo raſh as to reject them all.

Silver.

WHEN the Sons of *Antenor* had treacherouſly delivered up *Troy* to the *Greeks*, wearied out with a long Siege, we are told that *Æneas*, who reſolutely defended the upper Town, being at length obliged to yield to Neceſſity [2], left the City in Flames, and carried with him his Gods, his Father, Wife, and Children in Waggons, which he had prepared for that Purpoſe; and followed by a numerous Troop of Fugitives, came to the Streights of Mount *Ida*. Here, his firſt Care was to fortify himſelf againſt the Attacks of the Enemy: And this Aſylum, which he opened to his Countrymen in the Mountain, ſerved for a Place of Retreat to the Inhabitants of the other Towns of *Troas*. For, when they at a Diſtance beheld their Capital in Flames, they feared the reſt of their Cities would undergo the ſame Fate. They flocked therefore from all Parts, and encreaſed that new Army, which *Æneas* was beginning to raiſe. The Hope of being one day re-eſtabliſhed in their native Towns, and of repairing the Ruins of them, made the *Trojans*, when thus advantageouſly poſted, quietly wait for the Departure of the *Greeks*. But, contrary to their Expectations, the Conquerors, after they had enrich'd themſelves with the Spoils of *Troy*, and of the neighbouring Towns, turned their Arms againſt the Fugitives. The Victors were preparing to force the vanquiſhed in their laſt Intrenchments, when *Æneas* apprehending the Danger of a ſecond War, propoſed a Treaty. The following Conditions were agreed upon: *Æneas* obliged himſelf, with his Followers, to quit the *Trojan* Territories; and the *Greeks*, on their Side, engaged not to moleſt them in their Departure; but to ſpare theſe Remains of their vanquiſhed Enemies both by Sea and Land, throughout all their Dominions. *Dion.Hal.B.1. p.36.*

UPON theſe Aſſurances *Æneas* quitted his native Country; but at his Departure he left it a very dear Pledge of his Affection. He entruſted the *Daſcylites* [3], a People of *Troas*, with his eldeſt [4] Son *Aſcanius*, who governed them, *Dion.Hal.B.1.*

lated that he died in *Thrace*, others in *Achaia*, and others in *Arcadia*.

The Difference we find in the Accounts they give of *Æneas*'s Death, is Proof enough that they were ignorant of the Place of it, and that he muſt have died in a Place at that time very little known to the *Greeks*. But the Teſtimonies of other antient *Greek* Writers are, as has been ſaid, very poſitive in Favour of the Pretenſions of the *Romans*. *Alexander* of *Epheſus*, in his firſt Book *of the Wars of the Marſi*, relates, that *Æneas* being met by the Conquerors of *Troy*, with his Father on his Shoulders, they were ſo touched with this extraordinary Inſtance of filial Piety, that they gave him Liberty to go wherever he pleaſed; and that, directed by the Anſwers of an Oracle, he came into *Italy*. This Writer is quoted by *Strabo*, and by *Aurelius Victor*, if he is the Author of the Book concerning *the Origin of the Romans*. *Agathyllus*, an old Poet, ſome of whoſe Verſes are preſerved by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, in the firſt Book of his *Roman Antiquities*, ſays expreſly, that *Æneas* came into *Italy*: Αὐτὸς δ' ἱσπέριον ἵκνεῖτο χθόνα. *Strabo* himſelf, *l.* 5. tells us the ſame thing. It is reported, ſays he, that *Æneas*, with his Father *Anchiſes*, and his Son *Aſcanius*, came to *Laurentum*, on the Coaſt near *Oſtia*, at the Mouth of the *Tyber*. It is amazing therefore, that the Authority of *Strabo* ſhould be made uſe of, as if he abſolutely denied the Arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy*. We have anſwered the Objections propoſed by the learned *Bochart* againſt it, in a Diſſertation at the End of the ſeventh Book of the *Æneid*.

[2] Hiſtorians are not all of the ſame Opinion about the Conduct of *Æneas*, with reſpect to his Country. *Menecrates* aſſerts, that he delivered up *Troy* to the *Greeks*, to be revenged on *Paris*, who had oppoſed his having a certain ſacerdotal Dignity, to which he aſpired.

[3] Theſe People inhabited a Country of *Bithynia*, which from the City *Daſchyleum*, now *Diaſquilo*, was called *Daſchylia*.

[4] *Dion. Hal.* is not the only Hiſtorian, who ſays *Æneas* had two Sons. *Lucatius*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, in his Book of the Origin of the *Romans*, tells us, that the ſame thing was aſſerted by many Hiſtorians.

Strabo, B. 2. and had the Title of King. Whether this was he from whom the [5] *Aſcanian* Lake took its Name, is indeed [6] uncertain; but he undoubtedly reigned in his new Kingdom, till the *Greeks*, being pacified at length, permitted the *Daſcylites* to rebuild and re-people *Troy*. Thus the fortunate Poſterity of *Æneas* reap'd Advantage from the Calamities of his Country: for they filled two Thrones, one in *Phrygia*, raiſed on the Ruins of the Family of *Priam*; and the other in *Italy*, by means of a Marriage, which put them in Poſſeſſion of the Scepter of *Latinus*. But to return.

§. III. *ÆNEAS* equips a Fleet, croſſes the *Helleſpont*, arrives in *Thrace* [7], builds there a City [8], which afterwards bore his Name, and in it leaves a Part of that numerous Multitude which had attended him in his Flight, and followed his Fortunes. From thence he ſails to *Delos* [9], and there leaves Monuments, which were yet remaining in the Time of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. He arrives at *Cythera* [10]; he ſtays ſome time in the Iſland of *Zacynthus* [11], and there inſtitutes a Feſtival to the Honour of *Venus*, which was called the *Races of Æneas*, becauſe in the Celebration of it Prizes were allotted to the ſwifteſt Runners. The Statue of the Goddeſs, and that of the Prince, which were found there, were farther Proofs of his having ſailed thro' the Iſlands of the *Archipelago*. *Leucas* [12], where the *Trojans* landed, retained alſo ſome Traces of their Paſſage. For in the Middle of this Iſland was to be ſeen a Temple erected to *Venus, the Mother of* Æneas. Nor did *Actium* [13] and *Ambracia* [14], where the *Trojans* caſt Anchor, want ſome Teſtimonies of the Truthof their Arrival. But above all, at *Dodona* [15] were ſhewn antient Veſſels of Braſs,

[5] This Lake was ſituated in *Bithynia*, according to *Ptolomy*; perhaps it was the ſame which *Strabo* calls the Lake *Daphnitis* and *Daſchylia*, upon which the City *Daſchyleum* was built.

[6] It is very probable that the Lake *Aſcanius*, and Province *Aſcania*, went by thoſe Names before the *Trojan* War. *Strabo* ſeems to be convinc'd of this, for he quotes ſome Verſes from *Homer*, which ſay, that one *Aſcanius* came from *Aſcania* to that War. Nevertheleſs, as *Homer* wrote above an hundred Years after the Siege of *Troy*, he may very well have called both the Province and Lake, as they were uſually call'd in his Time, after *Aſcanius* the Son of *Æneas* had given them his Name, and not by thoſe Names which they had before the Siege. It is thus that he makes the *Æneates* come from *Thrace* to the *Trojan* War, though the *Æneates* received their Name from *Æneas*, after the Deſtruction of his Country.

[7] The *Thrace*, where *Dion. Hal.* makes *Æneas* land, was, according to the ſame Author, a Peninſula joining to *Europia*, a Canton of *Macedonia*, ſo called from the City *Europus*; he calls that Peninſula *Pallene*, which muſt not be confounded with the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, called by the ſame Name. *Stephanus*, in ſpeaking of the City *Pallene*, ſituated in *Macedonia*, calls it a City of *Thrace*, becauſe it was formerly inhabited by *Thracians*; for the ſame Reaſon the Ancients gave the Name of *Thracia* to all the Cantons of *Macedonia*, of *Theſſaly*, and of *Attica*, which had been formerly under the Dominion of the *Thracian Eumolpus*. And that *Æneas* arrived in *Macedonia*, *Livy* aſſures us: *Æneam domo profugum in Macedoniam veniſſe*, l. 1.

[8] This City was called *Æneia*, from the Name of its Founder. *Livy*, *l.* 44. places it fifteen Miles from *Theſſalonica*, upon the *Thermaican* or *Macedonian* Gulph. If that was its true Situation, *Dion. Halic.* was miſtaken in placing it in the Peninſula *Pallene*; unleſs under the Name of *Pallene*, he comprehended all that Country which lies between the Peninſula and *Theſſalonica*. *Æneia*, according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian, ſubſiſted till the Reign of the Succeſſors of *Alexander*, but was deſtroyed during the Reign of *Caſſander*, at the Time of the building of *Theſſalonica*, whither the *Æneates* were tranſplanted. Thoſe who make *Æneas* paſs into the *Cherſoneſus* of *Thrace*, ſay, that he built there a City, which, from his own Name, he called *Ænos*, ſituated at the Mouth of the *Heber*. *Mela*, *l.* 2. and *Pliny*, *l.* 4. make mention of this laſt City.

[9] *Delos* is one of the *Cyclades* or Iſles of the *Archipelago*. It is near the Iſle of *Rhene*; the Inhabitants give to both of them the common Name of *Dili* or *Idilles*. According to the Account of our Travellers, and the Plans which they have made, *Rhene* is bigger than the ancient *Delos*: nevertheleſs, *Cellarius*, upon the Teſtimony of *Strabo* and of *Stephen of Byzantium*, makes it leſs.

[10] *Cythera*, now *Cerigo*, to the *Eaſt* of the *Morea* or *Peloponneſus*.

[11] The Inhabitants of this Iſland gave *Æneas* a very honourable Reception, out of regard to the antient Union which had been between them and the *Trojans*, ever ſince *Zacynthus*, the Son of *Dardanus*, ſettled in this Iſland, and gave it his own Name. It muſt not, however, be confounded with the *Zacynthus* in the *Archipelago*, or *Ægean* Sea, called now *Pario*, or *Paro*, which was the ancient *Paros*. This we are now treating of is an Iſle in the *Ionian* Sea, on which ſtood the City *Zanthos*, and a Citadel called *Pſophis*. *Pauſanias Arcad.* aſſerts, that the Son of *Dardanus* ſettled in this laſt Iſle, which is to the South of *Cephalonia*, over againſt *Elis*.

[12] *Leucas* is at preſent known under the Name of the Iſle of S. *Maure*; 'twas anciently a Peninſula joined to the main Land of *Acarnania*; and we learn from *Pliny*, that it was called at firſt *Neritis*, but it became an Iſland, after the *Corinthians* had cut the *Iſthmus*, and built a City upon the Canal, to which they gave the Name of *Leucas*, at preſent *Santa Maura*, *Strabo*, *l.* 10.

[13] *Actium*, a City and Promontory of *Epirus*, now *Capo Figalo*.

[14] *Ambracia* was formerly a City of *Epirus*, but is now only a Village about a Mile from the Sea; it ſtill bears the Name of *Ambrakia*; and the Gulph of *Ambracia* is called by modern Geographers, *Golfe de Larta*.

[15] There are no Traces remaining of that City, which was ſituated in the Country of the *Moloſſi*.

upon which the Name of the *Trojan* Hero, who made an Offering of them to *Jupiter*, was engraven in old Characters. Not far from *Buthrotos* [16], in *Epirus*, a *Trojan* Camp, which had eſcaped the Injuries of Time, retain'd ſtill the Name of *Troïa*. All theſe Antiquities, which were yet remaining in the Reign of *Auguſtus*, were inconteſtable Proofs of the Voyage of *Æneas* into *Italy*; which is likewiſe atteſted by the moſt antient Writers, both *Greek* and *Roman*. So that there is doubtleſs more Reaſon to give into this Opinion, than into the Fable invented by a few *Greek* Hiſtorians, concerning the Death of *Æneas* in *Arcadia*.

IT is plain then, the fugitive *Trojans* came into *Italy*; but they did not all land at the ſame Place. Some, croſſing the *Adriatick* Sea, diſembarked at *Salentum* [17] in *Iapigia*, and others at Cape [18] *Minerva*, where *Æneas*, at his firſt Arrival on the Coaſt, had gone aſhore. In the mean while, he with his Squadron held on his Way, and coaſting along *Italy*, arrived in *Sicily*, at the Port of *Drepanum* [19]. And there the *Trojan* Hero diſcharged an uſeleſs Number of thoſe who had followed him, being conſtrained to it by the Difficulty of tranſporting them. He wanted Ships; for ſome Women, weary of the Sea, had ſet Fire to the Veſſels in which they came: And *Sicily* afforded a favourable Retreat to the weak and the diſcontented. *Egeſtus* and *Elymus*, both *Phrygians* by Deſcent, had, not long before, ſettled there a *Trojan* Colony, which was now augmented by a great Number of the Followers of *Æneas*. So that the *Sicilian* Antiquities will alſo give an eternal Teſtimony to the noble Origin of the *Romans*.

ÆNEAS immediately croſs'd the *Tyrrhenian* [20] Sea. He named Cape *Palinurus* [21], and the Port of *Miſenum*, after two of his *Trojans* who died in thoſe Places: And the Iſland of *Prochyta* [22], and the Promontory of *Cajeta*, received alſo their Appellations, from being the Burial Places, one of a Kinſwoman, and the other of the Nurſe, of *Æneas*. After which, the *Trojan* Prince and his choſen Band, at length finiſhed their tedious and painful Voyages on the Coaſt of the *Laurentes* [23]. There, far removed from the *Greeks*, their Enemies and Deſtroyers, they undertook to raiſe another *Troy* [24]. They fortified a Camp in an adjacent Place, gave it the Name of *Troy*, and flattered themſelves with the Hopes of a happy Settlement, which would put an End to all their Adventures.

[16] *Buthrotos*, now *Butrinto* or *Butronto*.

[17] The Promontory of *Salentum*, at preſent *Capo di Santa Maria di Leuca*, is ſituated in that Southern Part of *Italy* called *Terra d' Otranto*, in the Kingdom of *Naples*. This Country was formerly called *Iapigia*.

[18] Eight Miles from *Cape Salentum* ſtands the Town of *Caſtro*, or the ancient *Cape Minerva*, ſo called from a magnificent Temple built in the ſame Place to the honour of that Goddeſs, *Strabo*, *B.* 6. *Virgil* ſpeaks of it, *B.* 3. of the *Æneid*,

——*Templumque apparet in arce Minervæ.*

[19] At the Foot of Mount *Erix*, or Mount *St. Julian*, is the Port of *Drepanum*, now *Capo di Sant' Aleſſio*. *Hamilcar*, in the firſt Year of the firſt *Punick* War, fortified *Drepanum*, and built a City there of the ſame Name, after having razed the antient City *Erix*. The Natives of the Country call it *Trapani*. *Mela*, *B.* 2. pretends that *Æneas* built a Temple upon the Mountain in Honour of *Venus*. But *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. *p.* 42. ſpeaks only of an Altar which the *Trojan* Prince erected to *Venus* his Mother: *Virgil* mentions either the one or the other in theſe Terms,

Tum vicina aſtris Erycino in vertice ſedes,
Idaliæ Veneri fundatur—— Æneid, B. 5.

[20] The *Tyrrhenian* Sea is a Part of the *Mediterranean*. It waſhes the Shores of *Tuſcany*, the Pope's Territories, and the Kingdom of *Naples*. It is called by the Antients, *Mare inferum*, or the *Southern*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Adriatick*, which they named *Mare ſuperum*, or the *Northern*, Sea.

[21] *Cape Palinurus*, call'd *Capo di Palinuro*, and the Port of *Miſenum*, call'd *Capo di Miſeno*, belong to the Kingdom of *Naples*.

[22] The Iſle of *Prochyta*, at preſent *Proſita*, or *Proſida*, and the Promontory of *Cajeta*, or *Gaëta*, are in the Province call'd *Terra di Lavoro*, belonging to the Kingdom of *Naples*. *Strabo*, *B.* 5. ſays, that this Iſland took its name from its having been ſeparated from the Iſland *Pythecuſa*, on the Coaſt of *Campania*, ἀπὸ τοῦ προχύναι. *Pliny* confirms this opinion, when he ſays, *Prochita non ab Æneæ nutrice, ſed quia profuſa ab Ænaria erat.* The Iſland *Pythecuſa* was called *Ænaria*, from the Time of the Arrival of *Æneas*'s Fleet there. It is the ſame City which *Homer* calls *Inarime*, *Iliad*, *B.* 2.

[23] It is difficult to fix the Situation of the antient City of *Laurentum*, of which there is not the leaſt Trace remaining. According to the Conjecture of *Cluverius* it was ſituated in the ſame Place which is now called *Paterno*. The Reſemblance of Names made *Holſtenius* and *Kircher* believe, that it was placed in that Territory where there is a Tower which commands the Sea, and is called *Torre di Santo Lorenzo*; between *Oſtia* and *Antium*, in the Neighbourhood of that City, there was a great Number of *Lawrel Trees*, from which it received the Name of *Laurentum*.

[24] This new *Troy* was near the Mouth of the *Tyber*, to the Eaſt of that River.

§. IV. *ITALY*, when the *Trojans* arrived there, was, in ſome meaſure, come off from the Barbarity and ſavage Fierceneſs of its firſt Inhabitants. Theſe were called *Aborigines*[25], becauſe, as 'tis ſaid, they had from all Antiquity peopled this Country, and ſeemed to have been formed there with the World it ſelf. The great Length of Time ſince the Flood, and the diſperſing of the Children of *Noah* into the ſeveral Climates of the Earth, had worn out the Remembrance of the Country from whence they came.

Portius Cato & C. Sempron. apud Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 9.

SOME learned Writers indeed among the *Latins* have believ'd, upon mere Conjectures, that the *Aborigines* came from *Achaia*, and peopled *Italy* many Years before the Siege of *Troy*. But, however that be, it ſeems more credible that the Colony of the *Aborigines*, which *Oenotrus*[26] brought hither, was of *Arcadia*. This Country was from him call'd *Oenotria*, before it took the Name of *Italy*. And according to this Opinion, the *Oenotrians* muſt have been the ſame with the *Aborigines*, and the firſt People who landed in [27] *Italy*. Nevertheleſs, others affirm that *Oenotrus*, at his Arrival there, found it already inhabited by the [28] *Siculi* and *Auſonii*; and that *Italy*, from the latter, was called *Auſonia*.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 13, 14.

BUT from whatever Country theſe *Aborigines* came, they were oblig'd to maintain long Wars againſt the *Siculi*; till at length having receiv'd a conſiderable Reinforcement, by the Arrival of a new Colony of *Pelaſgi* from *Theſſaly*, they drove out the *Siculi*, ſeiz'd upon their Towns, granted a large Extent of Land to the *Pelaſgi*, and borrow'd from them many of the Cuſtoms of *Greece*, together with ſome Ceremonies of their Religion.

AS for the *Siculi*, they being driven out of all the Countries of *Italy*, took Refuge in *Sicily*, which was at that time poſſeſſed by the *Sicani*[29], a People originally of *Spain*. And at length the *Pelaſgi* themſelves, not being able to bear up againſt the Infection of the Air, and divers other Calamities with which they were afflicted, return'd for the moſt Part to *Greece*, and retain'd there the Name of *Tyrrheni*, which they had gain'd from their living in the Neighbourhood of that Nation during their Stay in *Italy*.

Herod. B. 1. c. 94. Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 21.

THE *Tyrrheni* in *Italy* reap'd Advantage from the Departure of the *Pelaſgi*. Some Writers have been of Opinion, that one *Tyrrhenus* had brought them from *Lydia* to the Weſtern Coaſt of *Italy*. But others affirm, that neither the Language, Laws, nor Religion of the *Tyrrheni*, diſcover any Marks of a Nation originally *Lydian*. And it ſeems therefore more probable that both they and the *Aborigines*, were ſome of thoſe antient Nations of *Italy*, whoſe Leaders, and firſt Settlement there, are equally unknown. Theſe *Tyrrheni* extended their Conqueſts ſo far in this Country, that the Sea which runs all along the Southern Coaſt of *Italy*, from the *Alps* to *Sicily*, was, from them, called the *Tyrrhenian* Sea.

ABOUT ſixty Years after the War of *Troy*, another Colony, which came from *Peloponneſus*, under the Conduct of *Evander* the *Arcadian*, landed in the Ports of *Italy*. *Faunus*[30] then reign'd over the *Aborigines*, in that little Territory of *Italy*,

[25] Some antient Authors affirm, that the *Aborigines* were a Company of Vagabonds, who gathering together from different Countries, eſtabliſh'd themſelves in *Italy*, and there lived by Rapine; for which very Reaſon the ſame Writers have called them *Aberrigenes*; that is to ſay, *a wandering* People. So that theſe People muſt have been very like thoſe whom the Antients called *Leleges*; that is to ſay, Vagabonds, and *lawleſs*.

[26] *Oenotrus* the Son of *Lycaon* King of *Arcadia*, having paſſed the Gulph of *Ionia*, with a Troop of *Arcadians*, ſettled in the South Part of *Italy*, and gave his Name to all that Country, which was called *Oenotria*. But *Varro* calls it ſo from another *Oenotrus* King of the *Sabines*. And ſome Authors pretend that theſe *Arcadians* were the ſame with the *Aborigines*, and that they were called ſo from the Mountains of *Arcadia*, which they formerly inhabited, ἀπ' ὀρῶν γενές.

[27] The Antients are ſo divided in their Opinions about the firſt Inhabitants of *Italy*, and the Original of the different Settlements made there, that one cannot poſſibly form any reaſonable Conjecture about it. What Authors tell us of thoſe diſtant Ages is likewiſe drowned in ſuch a Heap of Contradiction and Fables, as to leave us no Way of coming at the Truth.

[28] The *Siculi* inhabited the antient *Latium*: *Sophocles* gives them one *Siculus* for their King. The *Auſonii*, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 3. poſſeſſed that Part which reaches from *Monte Circello*, to the Streight which ſeparates *Sicily* from *Italy*; and from the Name of theſe People the *Greeks* called *Italy*, *Auſonia*.

[29] Authors differ about the Origin of the *Sicani*. *Thucydides*, *Dion. Hal.* *Philiſtus* a *Sicilian* Author, and the Poet *Silius*, bring them from a Country in *Spain*, water'd by the River *Sicanus*, which *Servius*, upon very weak Conjectures, ſays is the ſame with the *Segro*. But others derive the Name of that People from their firſt Leader *Sicanus*. *Diodorus* ſays, that the *Sicani* were ſuppoſed to have inhabited *Sicily* from the firſt Ages of the World.

[30] We find two *Faunus's* mention'd by the Antients; the firſt lived two hundred Years before him we are ſpeaking of; he is ſaid to have been the firſt Perſon who civilized the Inhabitants of *Italy*, and introduced a Sort of Religion amongſt them; and

Italy, called *Latium*, and was a Prince of Humanity and Prudence. He conſider'd, that nothing was to be fear'd from a ſmall Number of unhappy Men, brought thither in two Veſſels; and that his People, who were yet rude and unpoliſh'd, might by an Intercourſe with them take ſome Tincture of the *Greek* Politeneſs. He therefore gave *Evander* Leave to ſettle on a ſmall uncultivated Hill near the *Tyber*; where the *Arcadian* built a ſmall Town, and call'd it by the Name of *Pallantium*, the Capital of his Dominions in *Arcadia*, which a popular Commotion had conſtrain'd him to leave. The Hill it ſelf was call'd the Hill *Palatinus*, which in the Time of *Auguſtus* was in the Center of *Rome*. In this manner were the firſt Foundations of the Capital of the World laid, in a Place before uninhabited: And thus did a Prince, who fled from his own Country, prepare the Way for the erecting of an Empire which afterwards ow'd its Origin to another Nation, which was alſo both vanquiſh'd and fugitive.

EVANDER's firſt Buſineſs in this new Abode, was to eſtabliſh there the Worſhip of the Gods of his native Country. [31] Every one knows that *Pan* was the tutelar Deity of the *Arcadians*. They invok'd him particularly to keep away the Wolves which were ſo dreadful to their Flocks. And as the Temple which had been rais'd to him in *Greece*, was call'd [32] *Lycæum*, ſo that which *Evander* built to him in *Italy* was nam'd [33] *Lupercal*. Thus the *Greek* Name of his Temple was chang'd into a *Latin* one, but the *Arcadian* Ceremonies were retain'd in his Worſhip.

Nor did *Evander* ſtop here. He likewiſe built Altars to [34] *Victory* and *Ceres*, in *Pallantium*: And the Feſtival of the *Equeſtrian Neptune* was eſpecially inſtituted there. This God, according to the *Greek* Fable, raiſed the firſt [35] Horſe out of the Earth, with a Stroke of his Trident. And in regard to this generous Beaſt, produced by *Neptune*, a Ceſſation from Labour was granted to all Animals, and they were crown'd with Flowers, during the Time of the Celebration of this Feſtival. This ſame *Neptune*, under the Name of [36] *Conſus*, was alſo

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 26.

and he was therefore honour'd as a God in his Country. In the *Roman* Calendar, we find two Feſtivals appointed for him, tho' it is not certain, but that one may have been for the old, the other for the new *Faunus*. The *Italians* thought that the Foreſts were peopled with *Fauni*, and went thither to conſult them. The Gloomineſs of theſe Foreſts gave oftentimes a good Opportunity of juggling, and thereby encreaſing the Superſtition of the People. Men that were conceal'd utter'd Words like Oracles, which the People believed to be ſpoken by the *Fauni*.

[31] It does not appear that the firſt *Latins* had any other Superſtition before *Evander*'s Arrival in *Italy*, than the Worſhip of *Faunus*, one of their firſt Kings, whoſe Oracle they conſulted in their Foreſts. It is true that they acknowledged *Janus* for the moſt antient of their Kings, and for the firſt Man that came to ſettle in *Italy*; but it is uncertain whether they gave him, from the Beginning, the Honour of a religious Worſhip. Some have taken this *Janus* for *Japhet* the Son of *Noah*. When *Evander* came into *Italy* he brought with him many of the Gods and Superſtitions of *Greece*. Amongſt others he built a Temple to *Pan*, or rather cut one out of a Rock, which they called *Lycœum*. From that time *Evander*'s God *Pan*, and the *Faunus* of the antient *Latins* were confounded together, and taken for one and the ſame God. The *Latins* called him likewiſe *Inuus*.

[32] The building of the Temple of *Pan* under the Name of *Lycœum* and *Lupercal*, anſwered to the Idea which the *Pagans* had formed to themſelves of *Pan*, whom they looked upon as the tutelar God of their Flocks againſt *the Wolves*. And indeed, if we look back into the earlieſt Ages, it appears very plainly that this God was the *Jupiter* of the *Greeks*; that is, the Maſter of Nature, or the univerſal Spirit. *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that of all the Gods, the *Arcadians* gave *Pan* the greateſt Honours, and worſhip'd him with moſt Devotion. It is for this Reaſon that theſe People, according to *Macrobius*, called him τὸν τῆς ὕλης Κύριον, *i. e.* the Lord of all material Subſtances. The very Name of *Pan* expreſſes in one Word the Sum of *all* the Parts of the Univerſe.

[33] The *Lupercal* was a Cavern dug in a Rock in a Corner of Mount *Palatine*. Some Authors, and amongſt them *Ovid*, pretend that *Romulus* and *Remus* conſecrated this Cave, becauſe it had been the Retreat of the Wolf which ſuckled them.

Illa loco nomen fecit locus ipſe Lupercal. Faſt. B. 2.

In Commemoration of this, the *Romans* placed there a brazen Statue, repreſenting a Wolf ſuckling the Twins. *Fulvius Urſinus* thinks 'tis the ſame which may be ſeen at preſent on the *Capitol*, at the Palace of the Conſervators.

[34] It ſeems that the *Latins*, after the Arrival of *Evander*, adored *Victory* and *Ceres*, before the other Gods, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, &c. They repreſented *Victory* under the Form of a young Girl with Wings, painted white. *Ceres* was repreſented like the Mother of a Family, with a long training Robe; and held in her Hand an handful of Ears of Corn, or Poppies. Even from that time *Evander* eſtabliſhed a Prieſteſs at *Pallantium* to attend the Worſhip of *Ceres*.

[35] Antiquity is not agreed about the pretended Horſe which *Neptune* rais'd out of the Earth. Some ſay it was a Fountain he cauſed to flow from a Rock. But *Evander* followed the Fable moſt generally received in his Country, and worſhipped the *Equeſtrian Neptune*. The *Romans* placed his Feſtival on the tenth Day before the Calends of *Auguſt*.

[36] It is generally thought that *Conſus* and the *Equeſtrian Neptune* were, ſince the Time of *Romulus*, the ſame God. Before *Romulus*, only the ſubterraneous Cavern made by Order of *Evander* was dedicated to the *Equeſtrian Neptune*; but *Romulus*, when he deſigned to carry off the *Sabine* Women,

alſo conſulted upon all Occaſions which requir'd Deliberation and *Counſel*. Thus the *Greek* Superſtitions were introduced by Degrees into *Italy*; and *Rome*, which was built in the ſame Place where *Evander* dwelt, retain'd the Religion which he brought thither from *Arcadia*.

THIS Mixture of the *Arcadians* with the *Aborigines*, did not a little contribute to poliſh and civilize the *Italians*. The Art of expreſſing their Thoughts by Characters was unknown to them: But *Evander* [37] taught them the Uſe of the *Greek* Letters, habituated their Ears to the Sounds of thoſe muſical Inſtruments he had brought from his own Country, and chang'd their oaten Pipes into harmonious Flutes, and ſtringed Inſtruments. The *Aborigines* lived after a ſavage ruſtick Manner, and were under no Regulation of Laws: But by the Example of the *Arcadians*, they reform'd their Cuſtoms, and ſoftned their Manners. Both [38] *Evander*, and his Mother *Carmenta* therefore receiv'd divine Honours in *Italy* after their Deaths; and *Rome* continued to offer Sacrifices to them, when in her greateſt Splendor.

Æſchilus in Tragedia de Prometheo.

IN the mean time, one of theſe Adventurers, called by the Antients *Hercules* [39], endeavour'd to ſubdue Italy, after having ſubjected *Spain*. But in his Paſſage over the *Alps* he met with more Reſiſtance than he expected. The Oppoſition of the *Ligures* held his Conqueſts a long time in Suſpence; and his Power was not eſtabliſh'd in *Italy*, till after the Defeat of *Cacus*. This was a fierce and cruel King, who govern'd one of the *Ligurian* Nations, and harraſs'd his Neighbours by his Robberies and Depredations.

THE Progreſs of *Hercules* therefore rouz'd the Pride of *Cacus*. He took the Field with a Troop of his Subjects, travers'd the Conqueror's March, and by intercepting ſome of his Convoys weakned his Army. But as *Cacus* was ignorant of the Art of War, he ſuffer'd himſelf to be inveſted in his chief Town by the Troops of *Hercules*, who were more experienced Soldiers than his own: *Cacus* was ſlain in an Engagement, and by his Death left all *Italy* a Prey to the Conqueror. Then *Evander* and *Faunus*, who ruled over ſmall Territories of *Italy*, pacified the Wrath of *Hercules*, and gained his Favour. *Evander*, by a *Grecian* Piece of Flattery, recogniz'd him for a God, and rais'd Altars to him even in his Life-time. There was one remaining at *Rome* in the Time of *Auguſtus*, call'd [40] *Ara Maxima*, which had been dedicated to *Hercules*, Time out of Mind. His Divinity was call'd to witneſs in all mutual Compacts, and he was made the Voucher of the Faith and Sincerity of the Parties in Treaty, by this Form of an Oath, [41] *Me Dius Fidius*. As for *Faunus*, he married one of the Miſtreſſes of

men, took Occaſion from this Altar, which he found under Ground, to celebrate the Games at which he executed his Deſign. And as this Project was carried on with a profound Diſſimulation, and was the Effect of a long Deliberation, he therefore called the Divinity, by whom he had Opportunity of doing this, *Conſus*; that is, *the God of Counſel*. Theſe Games, conſecrated to the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, or otherwiſe to *Conſus*, were celebrated ever after at *Rome*, and called, by way of Eminency, the *Roman* or *Great* Games. They conſiſted chiefly in Chariot and Horſe Races; and at firſt they held only one Day, but they were afterwards prolonged to two, then to three, and at length even to nine. They were celebrated in the great *Circus*, and called alſo, *Ludi Circences*, or, *the Games of the* Circus.

[37] The *Greek* Characters were the firſt the *Latins* made uſe of; and there were ſome viſible Proofs of this remaining in the Time of *Auguſtus*. The Treaty which *Tarquin the Proud* made with the *Gabini*, was written in *Greek* Letters, tho' in *Latin* Words, on the Baſe of a Pillar in the Temple of *Jupiter*; as we are told by *Dion. Hal. B.* 4.

[38] The *Romans* conſecrated an Altar to *Evander*, and honour'd him as a Demi-God. This Altar was placed either upon or near the Hill *Aventinus*. It was in Conſideration of the Service done by him to the *Latins*, in poliſhing their Manners. As to his Mother *Carmenta*, it ſeems that ſhe received that Name in *Italy*. It was either given her from the Word *Carmen*, becauſe ſhe affected to be thought a Propheteſs, and deliver'd her Oracles in *Verſe*; or elſe from *Carens Mente*, becauſe theſe She-diviners affected an Enthuſiaſm which *tranſported them beyond themſelves*. She was called in her own Country *Nicoſtrata*, and ſince, *Themis*, being confounded with the Goddeſs of Juſtice. She had an Altar in *Rome* at the Foot of the *Capitol*; and one of the City Gates, where there had been another Altar erected to her, was called after her Name.

[39] The Antients mention more than one *Hercules*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of ſix, in his third Book *De Natura Deorum*; and *Varro* reckons no leſs than forty. If one may give Credit to the antient Author of *The Origin of the* Romans, this whom we are ſpeaking of was called *Recaranus*. *Dion. Hal.* makes the Hiſtory of his Quarrels with *Cacus* probable, which had been much alter'd by the Mixture of Fable.

[40] This Altar was dedicated to *Hercules* by *Evander*, and remained in the Ox-Market without having ever been removed ſince the Reign of this antient King. But notwithſtanding its fine Name, and that it was reſpected as the Guarantee of verbal Bargains, it was very much neglected, and very poorly adorn'd.

[41] The *Hercules* of the *Greeks* is ſaid to have been the *Sancus* or *Sangus* of the *Sabines*. He was worſhiped by the *Latins*, under the Name of *Dius*, or

of *Hercules*; and it was thought that *Latinus*, who was born after this Marriage, was rather *Hercules*'s Son than his. The Conqueror, to reward the two petty Kings for their Attachment to him, augmented their Dominions considerably, by giving them a Part of his Conquests. Nay, the Number of their Subjects too was encreas'd, by the Addition of some of *Hercules*'s Soldiers. For he left in *Italy* a Part of his Army, which consisted partly of *Greeks*, and partly of *Trojans*, whom he had constrain'd to follow him, after having pillaged *Troy* in the Reign of *Laomedon*. So that the Companions of *Æneas* were not the first *Phrygians* who settled in *Italy*.

BEFORE the Arrival of *Hercules*, another Conqueror, nam'd *Italus*, had establish'd himself a vast Dominion there: He had gain'd the Hearts of the People by his Virtues, and especially by his Humanity, and had extended his Empire more by Insinuation than Violence. It is indeed uncertain whether he preserv'd it long; but at least the Name of *Italy*, which he gave to that beautiful Region of *Europe*, will make him immortal. This Country was before called *Saturnia*, because, as 'tis said, the pretended God *Saturn* took Refuge there. It afterwards got the Name of *Oenotria*[42], from *Oenotrus*, who brought thither a Colony. But at length *Italus*, one of the Descendants of *Oenotrus*[43], gave it the new Name of *Italy*, which has been perpetuated thro' all succeſſive Ages, to our Days.

SUCH was the State of the Country where *Æneas* landed, and where he took up his Rest, after long wandering; seventy two Years, according to some, or, according to others, seventy seven Years, after the Arrival of *Evander*; that is to say, seven Years, according to the latter, and according to the former, two Years, after the taking of *Troy*: Or, lastly, fifty five Years after the Return of *Hercules* into his own Country.

§. V. *LATINUS* then reign'd in *Latium*, and fill'd the Place of *Faunus*, whose Son he was reputed. This Prince was in War with the *Rutuli*[44], his Neighbours, but Fortune did not favour his Arms. And to add to his Perplexity, he was informed that a foreign Army had made a Descent upon his Coasts, was pillaging the maritime Part of his Dominions, and fortifying themselves in a Camp some Furlongs from the Sea. Upon this he hastens immediately to drive away these supposed Pyrates: But by their Dress he takes them to be *Greeks*, and judges by their Looks that they had been inur'd to War. *Italy* had but too well experienc'd the Valour of the People of the East; and these Strangers, newly landed, appear'd formidable to a Prince already overburthen'd with an unsuccessful War. Instead therefore of giving Battle, as he had resolved, he comes to a Parly. In which *Æneas*, by the Mention of ruin'd *Troy*, the Place of his Nativity, and by the Relation of his Battles against the united Power of *Greece*, fill'd *Latinus* at once with Terror and Compassion. *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. *p.* 47. & *Liv. B.* 1. *c.* 1.

NECESSITY, added the *Trojan*, *is not subject to Law. We have only sought wherewith to supply our pressing Occasions; and a Pillage, which is authorized by Misery and Want, ought not to be mistaken for an Act of Hostility. Allies and a Retreat are what we seek here. Shall we be so happy as to find them in you, and upon your Territories? Our Arms have been exercised in more than one Battle, and our Courage has signaliz'd it self by a long* *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. *p.* 47.

or *Divus Fidius*; that is, the *Guarantee* or *Protector of Faith* promised or sworn. They had a Custom of calling to witness that pretended Deity, by a Sort of Oath conceived in these Terms, *Me Dius Fidius*, which comprehended all the Energy of this, *ita me Dius Fidius adjuvet*. According to several Commentators, these Monosyllables, *mè* and *è*, had the same Force amongst the *Latins* as the Preposition *per*; so *me Dius Fidius*, and *per Dium Fidium*, *è Castor*, and *per Castorem*, signified the same Thing. This Form of Speech answered to these Particles, μὰ, νὴ, which the *Greeks* made use of before their Oaths. There is remaining an ancient Monument, shap'd like a square Altar, with this Inscription, SEMONI SANCO DEO FIDIO SACRUM. *Dion. Hal. B.* 9. reports, that in the Year of *Rome* CCLXXVII, the Consul *Sp. Posthumus* consecrated to *Dius Fidius* a Chapel which had been erected by the last *Tarquin*. The Festival of that God was celebrated on the Nones of *June*, upon Mount *Quirinal*.

[42] If *Tertullian* is to be credited concerning the *Roman* Antiquities, *Italy* had the Name of *Oenotria*, before that of *Saturnia*; for he tells us in the tenth Chapter of his Apology, *Tota denique Italia post Oenotriam Saturnia cognominabatur*. But it seems more likely that it was called *Saturnia* first.

[43] Others say, that the *Greek* Colonies, which passed into *Italy*, gave it that Name from the *Greek* Word Ἰταλὸς *Vitulus*, because of the Richness of the Pasture, which fed a great Number of Cattle.

[44] The *Rutuli* inhabited the Sea Coast of the *Campagnia di Roma*, between *Patrica* and *Nettuno*.

Reſiſtance. You have it in your Choice, either to employ it for your Service, or to make Trial of it in a War which may prove fatal to you.

LATINUS remembred ſome former Examples of Kings of the *Aborigines*, who had reaped Advantage from the Settlement of Strangers in *Italy:* And he conſidered that this Succour which the Gods had directed to him in the urgent Neceſſity of his Affairs, might be uſefully employ'd againſt the *Rutuli*; Hoſtages were therefore given on both Sides, a Treaty enter'd into, and upon the Faith of it *Latinus* aſſign'd *Æneas* a Tract of Land for a Settlement [45].

THE *Trojans*, in their Turn, employ'd their Arms, Valour and Experience, in the Defence of *Latinus*. But all did not end here. The King of the *Aborigines* put ſo great a Confidence in the Fidelity of *Æneas*, that he gave him *Lavinia*, his Daughter and only Child, in Marriage, and ſecur'd to him the Succeſſion to the Throne of the antient Kings of his Country.

LAVINIA therefore cou'd not but be dear to *Æneas*, who in Proof of it gave her Name to the Camp which he had pitch'd; and inſtead of *Troy*, called it *Lavinium* [46]. And as all the *Trojans* followed the Example of their Leader, and by Marriages made Alliances with *Latin* Families; the *Trojan* Blood was in a little time ſo mingled with the *Latin*, that they were no longer diſtinguiſhable. The *Trojans* all ſpoke the Language of the Country into which *Æneas* was tranſplanted, and they and the *Latins* became one People.

§. VI. THE Proſperity of *Æneas* turned to the Diſadvantage of *Turnus*, a young Prince of the *Aborigines*, who being brought up in the Palace, and under the Eye of *Latinus*, as a Relation of Queen *Amata*'s, had conceiv'd Hopes of marrying *Lavinia*, and of ſucceeding to the Throne. The Diſappointment of theſe Hopes incens'd him againſt his own Family, made him diſloyal to his King, and hurried him on to his Ruin. He went over to the *Rutuli*, and joining his Rage with the Queen's Reſentments, brought on a Battle between the *Rutuli* and the *Latins*, wherein *Latinus* and *Turnus* both periſhed. Thus *Æneas*, by the Death of his Father-in-law, and by that of a turbulent Rival, came into quiet Poſſeſſion of the Kingdom of the *Latins*, which he govern'd wiſely, and tranſmitted to his Poſterity; and which gave Beginning to the moſt flouriſhing Empire the World ever ſaw. I know not by what Turn of Fancy it is, that ſome People are inclined to look upon the very Names of *Æneas*, *Latinus*, *Lavinia*, and *Turnus*, as fabulous, becauſe a Poet [47] has made uſe of them in a Work full of Fiction: As if the Hands of a Poet were always contagious, and made every thing they touch degenerate into Fable! We have drawn from the ſame Source of hiſtorical Traditions with him, only taking care to reject all fabulous Circumſtances.

§. VII. *ÆNEAS* reign'd three Years, and applied himſelf all that Time as much to the regulating of Religion, as to the neceſſary Meaſures for his Defence and Security. Before his Time, *Picus* and *Faunus* were in Poſſeſſion of Divine Honours: And theſe, with ſome other Deities brought by *Evander* from *Arcadia* [48], were the only, or at leaſt the principal Gods, of *Latium*. But he eſtabliſhed there the Worſhip of thoſe of his Country; and to the Religion of

[45] *Marcus Octavius*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, determines the Extent of that Diſtrict which *Æneas* had from *Latinus*; he ſays it was five hundred Acres. But, according to *Appian*, he had four hundred Furlongs.

[46] The ſame *Octavius*, quoted by the Author of *The Origin of the* Romans, gives another Etymology to the Word *Lavinium*; he pretends, that *Æneas*, upon his landing in *Italy*, encamped between two Lakes, in which he bathed himſelf; and that he gave his Camp the Name of *Lavinium*, from the Word *lavare*, to waſh. But this Etymology has no Appearance of Truth in it, and is beſides contradictory to all Antiquity.

[47] This Poet is *Virgil*, who has undoubtedly in his *Æneid* made uſe of thoſe Liberties which are allowed of in Poetry. He has mingled Fable with Truth; yet the Ground-work of his Poem is drawn from Hiſtory. *Turnus*, *Latinus*, *Amata*, *Lavinia*, *Mezentius*, &c. were real Perſons, who acted different Parts at the Arrival of *Æneas* in *Italy*. It is an unjuſt Prejudice to maintain, that the Tranſactions of thoſe firſt Times muſt be all Invention; tho' at the ſame time it is not ſafe to warrant them all, or lay that Streſs on them as on thoſe which followed, eſpecially under the latter Kings of *Rome*, and during the Time of the Republick.

[48] *Picus* is eſteem'd to have been one of the firſt Kings of *Italy*, and excellent in the Science of Augury: But *Voſſius*, *B.* 1. *de Orig. Idol.* believes there was no King of that Name: That common Notion, ſays he, had its Riſe from a fabulous Tradition collected by *Dion. Hal.* (to wit) that in a certain Province of *Latium* the God *Mars* had deliver'd his Oracles by a myſterious Bird, called in the Language of the Country *Picus*, i. e. *Wood-pecker*.

the

the *Latins* added that of *Troy*. The two *Palladiums*[49], which had been the Protectors of his native Country before it was ruin'd, became the tutelar Deities of *Lavinium*[50], and in Proceſs of Time, of the whole *Roman* Empire. Theſe were two Iron Statues, whereof one was the Original, and the other the Copy. So that, properly ſpeaking, there was but one true *Palladium*. Such were the Deities emphatically ſtiled *the Penates* (or *the tutelary Gods*) of the Empire, upon whom its Fate depended.

THE Worſhip[51] of *Veſta*, that is to ſay, of *Cybele*, ſo much honoured by the *Phrygians*, was likewiſe introduc'd by *Æneas* into *Italy*: and Virgins[52] who were call'd *Veſtals*, began from that Time to keep a Fire continually burning, in Honour of this Goddeſs. The Tomb[53] of *Anchiſes*, who died in *Latium* a Year before his Son, was alſo ſoon conſecrated by the Concourſe and Vows of the *Latins*. Nay, it is not improbable, that *Jupiter*, *Venus*, and many other Gods who had been revered in *Troy*, became known to the *Latins* by the means of *Æneas*. And it was this, perhaps, which gave Occaſion to the Poets to repreſent him under the Character of a pious Hero.

§. VIII. THE Care which *Æneas* took of Religion, did not, however, make him neglect that of his military Affairs. The *Rutuli*, antient Enemies of the *Latin* Name, enter'd into a League with the *Hetrurians*[54], againſt a Stranger, whoſe good Fortune they envied. Eſpecially *Mezentius*[55], King of the *Tyrrheni*, was alarm'd at the too frequent Arrival in *Italy* of Colonies from the Eaſtern Nations, their numerous Settlements, and the Encroachments they were beginning to make upon the Lands of the firſt Inhabitants. Fear and Jealouſy therefore made him take the Field.

WHILE the confederate Armies are advancing towards *Lavinium*, either to beſiege it, or to draw the *Trojan* to an Engagement, *Æneas* marches out, and offers the Enemy Battle. Equal Bravery was ſhewn on both Sides, and the

[49] The Diſſertations we have already made on *Virgil*, will be ſufficient to give a perfect Idea of the two *Palladiums* which *Æneas* brought with him from *Troy*. They were thoſe tutelar Gods under whoſe Protection that Nation which ſhould poſſeſs them might be aſſur'd of an happy Fate. They were ſhut up at *Rome* in the Temple of *Veſta*, and to the *Veſtals* only was permitted the Sight of them.

[50] It is believed that *Lavinium* was built upon that Hill which is now called *Monte di Lavano*, where the Chapel of St. *Petronilla* ſtands, and which is three Miles diſtant from the Sea.

[51] By the Name of *Veſta*, the antient Philoſophers have chiefly underſtood the Globe of the Earth, with the Fire ſhut up in its Bowels. Thus the Goddeſs *Veſta* repreſented at the ſame time both Earth and Fire. Her Temple was of an orbicular Figure, to ſignify that ſhe was *Goddeſs of the Earth*; and to ſhew that ſhe was *the Goddeſs of Fire*, there was kept a perpetual Fire in her Temple, either upon the Altar, as may be obſerved on the Medals, or by the Means of an earthen Lamp, which was ever burning. *Veſta* was not repreſented by this ſacred Fire only, ſhe had alſo her Statue. *Virgil* diſtinguiſhes them by this Verſe,

——Veſtamque potentem
Æternumque adytis effert penetralibus Ignem.

Beſides, the Medals repreſent her generally ſitting, to expreſs the Stability of the Earth. *Ovid* then is miſtaken, in ſaying that there was no Image which repreſented *Veſta*,

Eſſe diu ſtultus Veſtæ ſimulacra putavi.

And thus in another Verſe,

Effigiem nullam Veſta nec Ignis habet.

This Deity was brought by *Æneas* into *Italy*, and was firſt depoſited at *Lavinium*, then at *Alba*, and laſt of all at *Rome*; and this St. *Auguſtin*, in his *City of God*, B. 3. aſſures us of in theſe Words, *Sacra illa fatalia, Veſtæ, quæ jam tres, in quibus fuerunt, preſſerunt civitates.* And indeed, neither *Lavinium*, *Alba* nor *Rome*, was preſerved by this ſacred Fire.

[52] We ſhall ſpeak in another Place of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Veſtals* at *Rome*; here we will only conſider why none but Virgins were admitted to attend her Worſhip. *Ovid* gives two Reaſons for it: The firſt is, That *Juno*, *Ceres* and *Veſta* were three Siſters, the two firſt of whom married, and had Children, but the third continued a Maid.

Utraque nupſerunt, ambæ peperiſſe feruntur;
Reſtitit impatiens de tribus una viri.

The ſecond Reaſon was, becauſe *Veſta* repreſented Fire, and of Fire nothing is produced.

Nataque de flammâ corpora nulla vides.

But *Cicero* gives us a third Reaſon; he ſays, that it was of great Importance to keep in the ſacred Fire; and therefore Virgins, who had no Cares upon 'em, were moſt capable of ſuch a Charge. *Veſtæ colendæ Virgines præſunt, ut advigiletur facilius ad cuſtodiam Ignis.*

[53] *Dion. Hal.* is not the only Hiſtorian who makes *Anchiſes* come with *Æneas* into *Italy*. *Cato*, quoted by *Aurelius Victor*, ſays, that *Anchiſes* was preſent at the Treaty between *Latinus* and *Æneas*.

[54] We underſtand here the People of that Part of antient *Hetruria*, which comprehended what is now called *St. Peter's Patrimony*, the Dutchy of *Caſtro*, and the Territories of *Orvieto* and *Perouſa*.

[55] *Mezentius* had under his Dominion that Territory which depended on the antient City *Agylla*, now *Cerveteri*, in *the Eccleſiaſtical State*. This City was built by the *Pelaſgi*, and afterwards conquered and called *Cære*, by *Tyrrhenus*, who came at the Head of a Colony out of *Lydia*; and gave his Name to this Country.

Night alone put a Stop to their obſtinate Fury. *Æneas* being puſh'd to the Banks of the *Numicius*[56], was drown'd in that River; but it is probable that the *Trojans* conceal'd his Body, with a View to make him paſs for a Deity in the Minds of his credulous Subjects. They pretended that he had vaniſhed away on a ſudden; and a Temple was erected to him, with an Inſcription[57] upon it, which witneſſed to Poſterity that he was acknowledged at leaſt for a Demi-God. This was the End of a Prince, celebrated by the *Greek* and *Latin* Poets, and who, becauſe born of an unlawful Marriage, and of a Mother remarkable for her Beauty, was called the Son of *Venus*, agreeable to the Manner of ſpeaking in thoſe Times. We may judge of his ſuperior Merit by the Panegyricks of the Poets, who have only embelliſhed a Subject, which the Prejudices of the Publick in his Favour made capable of Embelliſhment.

§. IX. The Death of *Æneas* cauſed no Diſorder in the Affairs of the *Latins*. His Colony and Throne ſubſiſted under the Adminiſtration of his Son *Eurileon*[58], who ſucceeded him. This Prince was born at *Troy*, of *Creüſa*, and had followed his Father's Fortune in *Italy*. He had changed his Name, and at this time bore that of *Aſcanius*, which his elder Brother, who had ſtaid in *Troas*, retain'd likewiſe. The young King did not think it adviſeable to engage immediately in a pitch'd Battle with a formidable Enemy, whoſe Pride was elevated by the Death of *Æneas*. He had the Prudence to reſtrain his Courage, to confine it within the Walls of *Lavinium*, and to try what could be done by a Treaty, before he employ'd his Arms. The haughty *Mezentius* preſcribed to the *Latins* the ſevereſt Conditions; and demanded of them, that they ſhould pay him yearly, by way of Tribute, all the Wine produced in the Territory of *Latium*. *Aſcanius* preferred an honourable War to a ſhameful Dependence; and to put an End to a Treaty ſo injurious to his People, he cauſed all the Vines throughout his Dominions to be conſecrated to *Jupiter*; and by thus transferring the Demeſn to the Gods, he made the Eſtate unalienable. After this, relying wholly on the Courage of his *Trojans*, and *Latin* Subjects, he harangu'd his Troops, animated them with Motives of Religion and Policy, and, full of Confidence, ſallied forth from his Ramparts.

The Enemy had already fortify'd themſelves in the Neighbourhood of *Lavinium*; and the Flower of their Youth, under the Command of *Lauſus*, were intrench'd cloſe to the Gates of the City. But this brave Son of *Mezentius* had more Courage than Precaution. The *Trojans*, who had been accuſtomed, during a ten-Year's Siege, to make brisk and vigorous Sallies, choſe the Night-time to fall upon the Poſt where *Lauſus* was lodged. Nevertheleſs, *Aſcanius* undertook nothing without having firſt conſulted the Gods; and therefore, if we may give any Heed to an antient Fable, he firſt pray'd to *Jupiter* to favour his Enterprize, and to give him a Sign of his Protection; whereupon a Flaſh of Lightning immediately gleam'd from the left[59] to the right. Till this Time, thoſe Preſages only were accounted favourable, where the Lightning was ſeen to paſs from the right to the left: But the happy Event which follow'd chang'd the Nature of Omens in *Italy*; ſo little were they to be rely'd upon. The *Latins*, then, confiding in that which *Aſcanius* had pronounced auſpicious, march'd towards the Enemy, forc'd their Intrenchments; and the reſt of the *Hetrurian* Troops, who were encamped in the Plain, being put into Diſorder, by the unexpected Overthrow

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 52.

[56] The *Numicius*, now *Rio de Nimi*, according to Geographers, was formerly a ſmall River. It is now ſcarcely more than a Rivulet. It ran cloſe by *Lavinium*.

[57] This Inſcription, according to *Aurelius Victor*, was in theſe Words: *Patri Deo Indigeti*. The Word *Indiges*, with the *Latins* ſignified one of thoſe Gods who had been of the Race of Men, and at length were deify'd. The ſame *Æneas*, according to *Livy*, had divine Honours paid him, under the Name of *Jupiter Indiges*. The Temple or Tomb of *Æneas*, in the Time of *Dion. Hal.* was nothing but a riſing Spot of Ground, ſet round with Trees. Perhaps, ſays that Author, it was the Tomb of *Anchiſes*, who died but a Year before his Son.

[58] From thence it is evident that the Son of *Æneas*, who followed his Father into *Italy*, had three Names. He was called *Eurileon*, *Iülus*, and *Aſcanius*. This Name of *Eurileon* is found in *Dion. Hal.* and *Aurel. Vict.*

[59] The Lightning which ſhot from the Eaſt was eſteemed a lucky Omen, with the *Greeks* as well as the *Romans*, with this only Difference, that the *Greeks* turned their Faces to the North, during their Obſervations, and then the Eaſt was on their right Hand: The *Romans* turned to the South, and conſequently the Eaſt was upon their left. From thence ariſe the ſeeming Contradictions in the *Greek* and *Latin* Authors; and they may be eaſily reconciled by the Help of this Explanation.

of the Vanguard, fled to the Mountains. So that this Defeat was followed by that of the whole Army: And the *Latins* reaping all the Advantage offered them by ſo general a Diſorder, purſued the Enemy over the Rocks. The Obſcurity of the Night proved as fatal to the *Hetrurians* in their Flight, as the Swords of the *Latins*. For in the dark they turn'd their Weapons againſt their own Battalions, and it is probable that *Lauſus* then receiv'd his Death from ſome unknown Hand. The Conquerors paſſed the Night upon the Field of Battle: And as ſoon as it was Day, inveſted *Mezentius*, who had retired to the Top of a little Hill. Shame, Deſpair, and Grief for the Loſs of his Son, chang'd his confident Pride into unavoidable Submiſſion; and he ſent to *Lavinium* to ſue for Peace. The young Conqueror had Command enough over himſelf, not to abuſe a firſt Victory; chooſing rather to make a Friend of *Mezentius*, than to irritate his Neighbours by puſhing Revenge to an exceſs. It was agreed, that for the future the *Tyber* ſhould be the Limits both of the *Latins* and the *Hetrurians*. Thus we may already perceive the Marks of the *Roman* Policy and Moderation, in theſe firſt Founders of *Rome*. *Liv. B. 1. c. 3.*

§. X. But *Æneas* having at his Death left *Lavinia* with Child, the young Queen entertain'd a ſtrong Jealouſy of the Ambition of her Son-in-law, whom Victory made abſolute in his new Dominions, and ſhe feared to expoſe the Child ſhe was going to be delivered of to the Danger of his Politicks. She choſe therefore a Retreat in the Foreſts, truſted herſelf to the Care of one *Tyrrhenus*, chief of her Father *Latinus*'s Shepherds, and in that *Aſylum* was peaceably delivered of a Son. The young Prince was brought up in the midſt of Woods, and took thence, with the Name of *Æneas*, the Surname of *Sylvius*, which was afterwards born by all the Kings of *Alba* his Deſcendants. Nevertheleſs, as the Queen's Flight, who had diſappeared on a ſudden, occaſion'd Suſpicions at *Lavinium*, prejudicial to the Reputation of *Aſcanius*; he uſed all poſſible means to remove them, and to regain the good Opinion of the *Latins*, who were fond of the Blood of their antient Kings. He cauſed diligent Search to be made after *Lavinia*, calm'd her Fears, and engaged her to return to the Town with the young Prince her Son, whom he always treated as a Brother. *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 56.*

In the mean while *Lavinium* grew every Day more and more populous. And as it was in reality the Patrimony of *Lavinia*, and the proper Inheritance of *Sylvius* her Son; *Aſcanius* reſolved to yield this Demeſn to the right Heirs, and to found another Town elſewhere. In order whereto he drew out a mix'd Colony of *Trojans* and *Latins:* and the Place he made choice of was agreeable, fruitful, and eaſy to be fortify'd. On the one Side it was covered by a Mountain which render'd it inacceſſible; and on the other, a deep Lake formed a natural Ditch, which could not be paſs'd without Difficulty. The Mountain was very ſoon turned into a Vineyard, which yielded the beſt Wine of *Italy*, next to the *Falernian*; and the Lake ſerved to fertilize the Plain, by means of Canals cut on purpoſe to water it. The Town was built in the middle of an Aſcent, at an equal Diſtance from the Lake and the Mountain, and was called *Alba Longa*. It took the Name of *Alba* [60] perhaps from the *white* Sow, which, according to the Hiſtorians, was found in this very Place: And it was called *Longa*, both to diſtinguiſh it from another Town named *Alba*, and becauſe, without having much Breadth, it extended itſelf the whole *Length* of the Lake, near which it was built. *Liv. B. 1. c. 3.* *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 53.*

It was thirty Years after the building of *Lavinium*, that *Aſcanius* fixed his Abode in *Alba:* And he made it the principal Seat of his new Kingdom. Both *Lavinia* and he remained for the future in the quiet Poſſeſſion of their Rights. The Government of a Woman was reſpected, and ſhe was ſuffered to educate her Pupil in Peace: Whilſt the vanquiſhed *Hetrurians* ſtood in Awe both of the Widow and Children of *Æneas*. In ſhort, *Aſcanius* having quietly enjoyed *Liv. B. 1. c. 3.*

[60] The Account which *Dion. Hal.* has ſo exactly wrote of the founding of *Alba*, gives room to conjecture, that it was not ſituated in that Country which is now called *Albano Nuovo*, but between the *Monte Cavo* and the Lake of *Caſtello Gandolpho*. The Inhabitants of this City were called *Albani*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Inhabitants of another City named *Alba*, in the Country of the *Marſi*, who were called *Albenſes*, *Varr. B. 7. de Ling. Lat.*

his new Settlement, died in *Alba*, after a Reign of about thirty four Years, eight of which he had reſided there, and twenty ſix at *Lavinium*. He left, by
Dion. Hal. B. 1. a Wife whoſe Name Hiſtory has not tranſmitted to Poſterity, at leaſt one Son, who was born in *Alba*, and call'd *Iülus*; ſo there remain'd of the Poſterity of *Æneas* a Son and a Grandſon, the one *Æneas Sylvius*, the other this *Iülus*: And between them lay the Right of Succeſſion to the *Latin* Throne. This little State ſeems to have had no greater Extent, than from *Alba* to the Mouth of the *Tyber*, nor any other Towns than *Lavinium*, *Alba Longa*, and perhaps *Laurentum*, where *Latinus* kept his Court at the Time of *Æneas*'s Arrival; if, after all, *Lavinium* and *Laurentum* were not the ſame Town.

§. XI. It was not for the publick Intereſt of the *Latins* to divide themſelves, and to eſtabliſh two Sovereignties, one in *Alba*, and the other at *Lavinium*.
Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 56. Nevertheleſs, the Ambition of the two Princes, who were deſcended of *Æneas*, raiſed ſome Obſtacle to the uniting the two Inheritances under one Monarch. *Æneas Sylvius* and *Iülus* had each his Pretenſion to the Crown, which the *Latins* were unwilling to divide. The latter, being the Son of the Founder of *Alba*, ſeemed to have a Right to inherit his Sceptre: Tho' after all, he was but the Son of a Stranger. Whereas *Sylvius*, on the other hand, being born of *Lavinia*, the true Heireſs to the Throne, had thereby an undoubted Title to the Kingdom of *Latinus*. Accordingly, the People, who were Judges of the Conteſt, decided it in favour of *Æneas Sylvius*; but, to prevent Diviſions, found an Expedient to ſoften the Harſhneſs of their Sentence. They diſmembred the royal Authority of the ſovereign Power in Affairs of Religion: This was entruſted in the Hands of *Iülus*, and continued in the *Iülian* Family, which had its Name and Origin from that Prince. And it was, perhaps, from thence that the *Julii* preſerved always the Prieſthood in their Family, the *Cæſars* always aſſum'd the Quality of High-prieſts, and that they look'd upon it as a Prerogative inſeparable from the Succeſſion of *Iülus*.

§. XII. The Kingdom of *Alba* enjoy'd all the Sweets of an uninterrupted Tranquillity under *Æneas Sylvius* and his Succeſſors, without being either conſiderably diminiſhed or increaſed. It ſubſiſted four hundred and thirty Years, according to the Computation of *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, from *Æneas*'s Arrival in *Italy* to the Foundation of *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, as a State which continued ſo long in Peace afforded little Matter for Hiſtory, we have ſcarce any thing left us beſides the Names of its Kings, and the Number of Years which each of them reign'd. *Æneas Sylvius* died after a Reign of twenty nine Years. His Son, called alſo *Æneas*, governed *Latium* thirty one Years. *Latinus*, who ſucceeded him, held the Sceptre for the Space of fifty one Years. King *Alba* reign'd thirty nine Years, * *Capetus* twenty ſix, *Capis* twenty eight, and *Calpetus* thirteen. *Tiberinus*, who ſucceeded theſe, being leſs peaceably inclin'd, undertook a War which proved fatal to him. In an Engagement upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, which till then was called *Albula*, he was forc'd into the River, and being carried away by the Current, was drown'd. This Accident of *Tiberinus*, who reign'd but eight Years, cauſed the River's Name to be changed, and ever ſince it has born no other but that of *Tyber*.

* *Atys*, according to *Livy*.

AGRIPPA, Succeſſor to *Tiberinus*, after a Reign of forty one Years, left the Throne to [61] *Alladius*. This latter diſtinguiſh'd himſelf only by his Impiety. He cauſed ſome Noiſes like Thunder to be heard, and a kind of Lightning to flaſh, from his Palace, which was ſituated on the Banks of the Lake, near which the Town of *Alba* ſtood. He ſought by theſe Signs to rob the Gods of their Worſhip, to procure to himſelf divine Honours, and by this Imitation of Thunder and Lightning to ſtrike Terror into his Subjects. But an extraordinary Inundation from the Lake, during a violent Tempeſt, overflowing his Palace, he periſh'd in it; and the People did not fail to aſcribe this Puniſhment of the impi-

61 This *Alladius* has divers Names in different Authors. *Livy* calls him *Romulus Sylvius*. *Ovid* gives him the Name of *Acrota*, and *Euſebius* that of *Remulus Sylvius*. The ſame *Euſebius* adds, that *Alladius* had a Son named *Julius*, who was Great-great-grand-father of *Julius Proculus*, whom *Romulus* carried with him to *Rome*, and who was the Source of the *Julian* Family from which *Julius Cæſar* deſcended. *Livy* makes *Alladius* to have been deſtroyed by a Thunder-bolt from Heaven; and *Dion. Hal.* by the overflowing of the Lake near the City of *Alba*.

ous *Alladius* to the Vengeance of the Gods, whoſe Rival he had declared himſelf. He reign'd nineteen Years.

AFTER the untimely Death of this Prince, *Aventinus* ſucceeded to the Throne. The Hill *Aventinus*, where he was interred, and which for that Reaſon bore his Name, has made him known to Poſterity more than his Valour or Exploits. He reign'd thirty ſeven Years.

PROCAS[62], who ſucceeded him, held the Sceptre twenty three Years. He was the Father of *Numitor* and *Amulius:* and at his Death he bequeath'd the Throne to his elder Son *Numitor*. Here the Times and Tranſactions of the Hiſtory I am writing begin to clear up, and, as they draw nearer to the Foundation of *Rome*, grow more circumſtantial, tho' ſtill mixed with ſome Fables, which are eaſily diſtinguiſhed.

AMULIUS, who doubtleſs ſurpaſſed his Brother in Underſtanding and Courage, had no reſpect, either to Priority of Birth, or to the laſt Appointment of his Father. The bold Uſurper not only ſnatch'd the Sceptre from *Numitor*, and made him obſcurely paſs his Days in [63] Retirement; but uſed all the Precautions of a Tyrant to extinguiſh the Poſterity of his Brother, and did not heſitate even at Murther. He cauſed *Egeſtus*, the only male Child of *Numitor*, to be ſlain at a Hunting. Nevertheleſs, *Rhea Sylvia*, called alſo *Ilia*, the only Daughter of the dethron'd King, ſo far found Favour in the Tyrant's Eyes, that he contented himſelf with taking Meaſures to prevent her having Children, the Conſequences of which he dreaded; and therefore dedicated her from her Infancy to the Worſhip of *Veſta*. The Vow of Virgiuity, which he obliged her to make before the Altars, removed his Apprehenſions, and by this means he thought to ſecure the Kingdom to his Children, without making himſelf odious by a new Crime. It was a Cuſtom which had long prevailed in *Alba*, to dedicate Virgins of the nobleſt Birth to the Service of *Veſta*. And this gave *Amulius* an Opportunity of covering his true Motive under the Mask of Religion. He wou'd have had it thought that his View was to do Honour both to the Goddeſs and the Princeſs. But notwithſtanding all his Care, the *Veſtal*, either by a ſhameful Weakneſs, or by Violence done to her, became the Mother of Twins, which confounded the Tyrant's Policy. The Story is related after the following manner.

Liv. B. 1. c. 3.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 62.

§. XIII. *RHEA SYLVIA* was called to the Performance of ſome religious Service in a Temple of *Mars* near the Town. A Spring of Water glided thro' the ſacred Wood, with which the Temple was encloſed; and the Prieſteſs, in order to diſcharge one of her ſacerdotal Functions, went thither to take the neceſſary Water for the Sacrifice. Then and there a Man [64] diſguiſed in a military Habit, like that in which *Mars* was commonly repreſented, ſurprized and forced the *Veſtal*. *Amulius* was in ſuch ill Reputation, that he was ſuſpected of having done this Violence to his Niece himſelf; not ſo much to gratify a Paſſion, as to have a Pretence for condemning her to that Puniſhment which the Law had aſſign'd for *Veſtals* who prov'd unchaſte. Others aſſert, that the Princeſs had made an Appointment to meet there a young Nobleman whom ſhe loved. However, *Rhea Sylvia* from that time abſtain'd from her Functions, and from entring the Temple, under Pretence of an Indiſpoſition. Uſurpers are ever ſuſpicious. *Amulius* ſoon conjectured what kind of Diſorder it was that afflicted the Princeſs, and therefore cauſed her to be watched. Nay, he ſcrupled not to tax the Father and Mother of the *Veſtal* as the Contrivers of an Intrigue, which might procure them Grandchildren. When *Rhea* cou'd no longer conceal her Shame, ſhe charged the God *Mars* with being the Cauſe of it. The Circumſtances of the Temple, the ſacred Wood, and the pretended

62 If we believe *Euſebius*, this *Procas* was the eldeſt Son of *Aventinus*. *Ovid* gives him the Name of *Palatinus*.

63 This Retirement, according to *Euſebius*, was in the Country; *Amulius* being moſt powerful in *Alba* forced him to withdraw thither. *Amulius* being the younger Brother, ſays *Plutarch*, he had the Gold and Silver for his Portion, and *Numitor* his Father's Crown. *Amulius* made uſe of his Riches to dethrone his Brother.

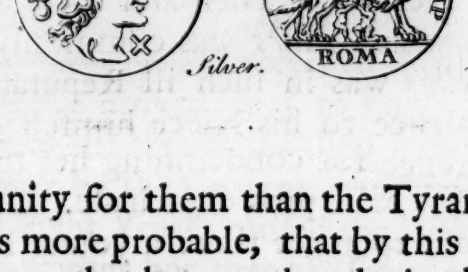
64 The leſs judicious Hiſtorians of *Rome* admit the antient Fable, that *Mars* was truly the Father of *Remus* and *Romulus*. But *Livy* ſeems to doubt it; he ſays that the *Veſtal* might perhaps have found her Account in making her Sons paſs for the Children of *Mars*. *Plutarch* makes *Amulius* their Father. *Dion. Hal.* ſays it was either *Amulius*, or elſe ſome Lover of the *Veſtal*, with whom ſhe had made an Aſſignation.

Preſence

Preſence of that God, who was believ'd to make his Abode in a Sanctuary conſecrated to him, gave a leſs odious Colour to the Guilt or the Misfortune of *Rhea Sylvia*. But theſe Pretexts made no Impreſſion on the Mind of *Amulius*. Some truſty Women, by his Order, kept the Princeſs always in their Sight, till her Delivery: And ſhe was deliver'd of two Sons, whom *Numitor* always affirmed to be the Offspring of a God. Nevertheleſs the Tyrant, like an able Politician, knew how to take Advantage of an Accident, which cover'd with Confuſion the Family of a dethron'd Brother. He laid open the *Veſtal*'s Shame in an Aſſembly of the People, exaggerated her Crime, and urged both Religion and the Laws againſt her. In ſhort, the guilty *Rhea* was condemned by a publick Sentence to be firſt whip'd, and then put to Death; and the inceſtuous Fruits of her criminal Amour were adjudg'd, according to Law, to be thrown into the *Tyber*. But if we will believe what is commonly reported by the Hiſtorians, *Amulius* did not carry his Fury ſo far, as to take away his Niece's Life. He ſuffered himſelf to be ſoftned by the Tears of his only Daughter, the generous Friend of *Rhea Sylvia*, and at her Requeſt [65] chang'd the Sentence of Death into that of a perpetual Impriſonment. And indeed the Princeſs was not releaſed from her Confinement till the dethroning of *Amulius*. As to the Twins, the Sentence againſt them was executed in its full Rigour: and if they did not periſh in the *Tyber* into which they were thrown; it is to be aſcribed to a particular Protection of Heaven, which preſerved them for the Puniſhment of the Tyrant, and for the Foundation of a City, upon which it had ſingular Deſigns.

A little wooden Box was prepared; The two Infants were laid in it: They were carried to the Bottom of Mount *Palatine*, and turn'd a-drift in a ſhallow Bay, form'd by the *Tyber*, which at that time waſh'd the Foot of the Mountain. The Place where the Twins were expoſed was about an hundred and twenty Furlongs from *Alba*. The River overflow'd its Banks, and covered the Country; and the little Skiff floated a while without any Accident; till at length, being carried by the Current to the Extremity of the Flood, a Stone overſet it, and turned the two Brothers out upon the Strand. But it is not without ſome Scruple that we add here, what all Antiquity has believed, what publick Monuments teſtify, and what moſt of the Hiſtorians relate: A She-Wolf [66], ſay they, hearing the Cries of the Infants, ran to them, offered them the Teat to ſuckle them, and

Fabius Pictor, Portius Cato, Calpurnius Piſo, apud Dion. Hal. B. 1.



Silver.

ſeemed to have more Humanity for them than the Tyrant, who had condemned them to be deſtroyed. 'Tis more probable, that by this She-Wolf we are to underſtand a diſorderly Woman, who happened to be in this Deſart, and who was perhaps privately employ'd by *Numitor*, as a Nurſe to the two Brothers. Nay, Hiſtory has even tranſmitted to us her Name; which was *Acca Laurentia* [67]; and ſhe was

65 *Euſebius* makes *Rhea Sylvia* periſh by the Decree of *Amulius*. He even pretends that the *Veſtal* was condemn'd to be bury'd alive, and that the Sentence was executed; tho' it is very uncertain, whether that Puniſhment was really in uſe even in the Reign of *Numa*, who firſt eſtabliſhed the *Veſtals* at *Rome*: and it is generally agreed, that ſhe was only impriſoned. The Daughter of *Amulius*, who interceded for her Pardon, was called *Antho*, according to *Diocles Pepharetianus*, quoted by *Plutarch*.

66 Antient Monuments and Medals have tranſmitted to us this fabulous Story. In the Medal above, may be ſeen on one Side the Head of *Sextus Pompeius* ſurnamed *Fauſtulus*, probably becauſe he reckon'd the Shepherd *Fauſtulus* in the Number of his Anceſtors. The little Vaſe, or *Urceus Pontificalis*, juſt by it, denotes his Prieſthood or Augurſhip. And on the Reverſe you ſee *Rome* repreſented by the Wolf ſuckling *Remus* and *Romulus*. The Shepherd *Fauſtulus*, the *Ficus Ruminalis*, and the *Picus Martius* are there figured agreeable to the Fable which was current among the *Romans*, and of which *Ovid* has given us the Subſtance.

Martia Picus avis gemino pro ſtipite pugnans
Et Lupa———————
Lacte quis infantes neſcit creviſſe ferino,
Et Picum expoſitis ſæpe tuliſſe cibum.
Faſt. B. 3.

67 There were two Women who bore the Name of *Acca Laurentia*, and were honoured after their Deaths:

was the Wife of *Fauſtulus*, the chief of the Shepherds belonging to the Court. In Proceſs of Time, the Memory of *Acca Laurentia* was conſecrated at *Rome*, and a Feſtival with Sacrifices, which were annually renew'd in the Month of *April*, or rather *December*, were inſtituted to her Honour.

It is probable indeed that *Fauſtulus* was not ignorant of the Birth of the two Princes; but he knew how to conceal it. He had likewiſe been Witneſs of the Sentence paſs'd at *Alba* by the People againſt the Twins: yet his Reſpect for the Blood of his Kings made him careful of their Education. He allow'd them to exerciſe themſelves in Hunting and Running, to inure them to Fatigues; and he did not neglect the cultivating of their Minds. He ſent them to [68] *Gabii*, where they learn'd the *Greek* Literature: So that their Minds as well as Bodies became form'd, as they advanc'd in Years. Their Air and Mein betoken'd their Birth, and their Manner had ſomething in it lofty and independent. The Aſcendant they aſſumed over the other Shepherds made them dreaded in their Foreſts, where they exercis'd a ſort of Empire: And an Accident, which had like to have prov'd fatal to them, turn'd to their Advantage, and was the Means of diſcovering to them their high Birth.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 66.

Plutarch. Life of *Romul.*

The Shepherds of *Amulius*, and thoſe of *Numitor*, were not upon much better Terms than their Maſters: and their Diſputes grew warm on account of ſome Cattle carried off by one Party from the other. *Amulius*'s Shepherds had, in the Opinion of the two Brothers, more Juſtice on their Side, than thoſe of *Numitor*. They therefore join'd themſelves to the former, fought againſt the Intereſts of their Grandfather, whom they did not know, and in the Encounter ſome Blood was ſhed. The Party injur'd reſolv'd to be reveng'd on the two Brothers, and to ſurprize *Romulus* and *Remus* (for theſe were the Names by which from that Time they were known) in an Ambuſh. The Feſtival of the [69] *Lupercalia*, which *Evander* had brought from *Arcadia*, and which was conſtantly obſerv'd in *Rome*, till the entire Eſtabliſhment of Chriſtianity, ſeem'd to *Numitor*'s Shepherds a favourable Opportunity to put their Revenge in Execution. While therefore the two young Shepherds ſcour the Plain, with their Whips in their Hands, and cloath'd with the Skins of the Victims which had been ſlain, *Remus* is ſurrounded with his Followers, is led away to *Numitor*, and is accuſed of exerciſing a kind of Tyranny in the Foreſts. This depos'd King for the moſt part led a private Life in the Country, in the utmoſt Subjection to the Uſurper's Will. He durſt not proceed againſt the Perſon accus'd, without the Conſent of *Amulius*. But as ſoon as the King had deliver'd over *Remus* to the Severity of *Numitor*, he was condemn'd to Death; and the Grandfather was juſt upon the

Plutarch.

Aelius Tubero & Liv. B. 1. Ch. 5.

Deaths: and this Similitude of Names has been the Cauſe of much Obſcurity in Hiſtory. Many have confounded them with one another. The one was the Nurſe of *Remus* and *Romulus*; who had her Feſtival in the Month of *December*, and not in the Month of *April*, as *Dion. Hal.* aſſures us, who confounds her with the other *Acca Laurentia*, called likewiſe *Tarentia* or *Tarutia*. This laſt was a famous Courtiſan, who was honoured at *Rome* under the Name of *Flora*. Her Feſtival was celebrated in *April*. *Lactantius* reports, that this Woman left by Will a prodigious Wealth, which ſhe had acquir'd by her Debauchery, to the People of *Rome*, on Condition, that a Feſtival and Games ſhould be celebrated every Year in Honour of her. But the *Romans* were aſhamed to grant divine Honours to ſo infamous a Name; and therefore they decreed her a Feſtival under the Name of the Goddeſs of Flowers. Theſe Games and this Feſtival were in the Month of *April*, and were called *Floralia*.

68 *Gabii* was a City of *Latium*, and according to *Dion. Hal.* originally a Colony from *Alba Longa*. According to the Teſtimony of the ſame Author, and alſo of *Appian* and *Strabo*, it was ſituated between *Rome* and *Preneſte*, Eaſtward at an equal diſtance from thoſe two Cities. The Ruins which have been dug up near to *Campo Gabio*, make it probable the Situation was of that Side. *Holſtenius* thinks, that it was not far from that Place which is called *Hoſteria del Pantano*, near the River *Oſa*. *Cluverius* and *Kirker* place it where now the *Hoſteria del Finochio* ſtands. It was much deſerted in *Horace*'s Time. *Scis Lebedus quam ſit Gabiis deſertior. L. 1. Ep. 2.*

69 *Valerius Maximus* pretends, that the Feſtival of the *Lupercalia* was not older than the Foundation of *Rome*. He is contradicted by *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch*, who are poſitive that this Feſtival was brought by *Evander* out of *Greece*. The Ceremonies which were obſerved in it were theſe. Firſt, two Goats and a Dog were killed; then the Foreheads of two young Men of Quality were touch'd with the bloody Knife, and they were to laugh when they were thus touched. When this was done, the Skins of the Victims were cut into Thongs and Whips made of them for the young Men; who, arm'd in this Manner, and cover'd only with a Pair of Drawers, ran about the City, and the Fields, ſtriking all they met. The young marry'd Women ſuffered themſelves to be ſtruck by them, and believ'd thoſe Strokes were a Help to Fruitfulneſs. This Feſtival was celebrated the 15th of *February*. The Prieſts who preſided at theſe Sacrifices were at firſt divided into two Colleges, one whereof was for *Remus*, the other for *Romulus*; but afterwards there was a third added in Honour to *Julius Cæſar*. This Feſtival was chiefly celebrated in the Villages.

point of polluting his eyes with ſeeing the Blood of his Grandſon ſpilt; when either out of Inſtinct, Compaſſion, or Eſteem for a young Shepherd, whoſe Perſon and Courage ſpoke ſomething ſuperior to his Condition, he found himſelf ſtrongly inclined to ſave him. He therefore deferred the Execution, and reſolved to have a Moment's Conference with the Criminal. He asked him in what Part of *Latium* he was born, and who his Parents were. *Remus* reply'd, that both his Family and the Place of his Nativity were equally unknown to him. All I could learn, ſaid he, of the Matter from the Shepherd who brought up my Brother *Romulus* and me, is, that we are Twins, and that we were found expos'd upon the Bank of the River. An Anſwer which immediately ſtruck *Numitor* with a lively Remembrance of his two Grandſons; and he thought he had again found his Daughter's Children in the Priſoner and his Brother. Their Age, which was ſomewhat more than eighteen Years, agreed exactly with the Time when the two Princes were expos'd upon the *Tyber*; and there needed no more to change his Anger, and Menaces, into Tenderneſs.

§. XIV. *Romulus* on the other hand was very impatient at the taking and detaining of his Brother; and was eager to purſue and attack the Raviſhers, upon the firſt arreſting of *Remus* by *Numitor*'s Shepherds. But *Fauſtulus* both diſſuaded him from it, and repos'd ſo great a Confidence in the Diſcretion of his Pupil, that he diſcover'd to him what he had hitherto conceal'd. *You are*, ſaid he to him, *of the Blood of our Kings, and, if we may credit publick Reports, the Offspring of a God. Nevertheleſs, your Mother* Rhea Sylvia, *for no other Crime but that of bringing you into the World, languiſhes in an obſcure Priſon; and* Numitor, *your Grandfather by your Mother's Side, is excluded from the Throne, and ſuffers the Contempt and Tyranny of an Uſurper.*

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 67. A Diſcourſe of this Nature both ſurpriz'd *Romulus*, and awaken'd in his Breaſt Sentiments worthy of his Extraction. He reſolv'd to hazard every thing to deliver at once his Mother, Grandfather, and Brother from Oppreſſion: and in order to it, aſſembled the Country-People, over whom he had aſſum'd an Authority, and engag'd them to come to the City on a certain Day provided with Arms, which they were to conceal, and enter it by different Gates.

While *Romulus* was diſpoſing every thing for the Execution of his Project, *Remus* entirely gain'd the good Graces of *Numitor*. This oppreſs'd King built mighty Hopes on the two Children, which Heaven had reſtor'd him. He conferr'd with his Daughter, whom he ſometimes viſited in her Priſon, and, in concert with her, form'd the Reſolution to employ the Valour of his Grandſons for his Reſtoration. He took therefore *Remus* aſide, and after abundance of Careſſes, ſpoke to him the following Words, according to *Dionyſius* of *Halicarnaſſus*. *You are not ignorant of the Power* Amulius *has given me to put an end to your Days by an open Puniſhment: And what Obligation then will you think yourſelf under to me if I preſerve your Life? Can your future Services ever ſufficiently requite my preſent Goodneſs to you? May I depend upon your Gratitude?* The young Prince reply'd in ſuch a manner, as the Love of Life would have prompted any other to do; and made reiterated Proteſtations of the moſt entire Devotion to his Service. *Numitor* believ'd them ſincere, put a confidence in them, and open'd his Heart to the young Prince, by thus purſuing his Diſcourſe: *Indeed ſtronger Bonds than thoſe of Gratitude ought to bind you to me. It is Nature which pleads with me in your Behalf. My Daughter brought you and your Brother into the World; but the inhuman* Amulius *reſpected not, in your Perſons, either the Blood of the God from whom you ſpring, nor that of his Sovereign and his Relations. He caus'd you to be thrown into the* Tyber, *where you would have periſh'd, if the ſame God who gave you Being had not preſerv'd you. Nor has the Tyrant forbore to exerciſe his Fury upon my other Children. He caus'd* Egeſtus *to be ſlain at a Hunting, and he detains your Mother* Rhea Sylvia *in Priſon. As for me, depriv'd of the Sceptre which he raviſh'd from me, I have been conſtrain'd to ſubmit to his Violence, and to live under him in Servitude. I ſeek an Avenger of ſo many Crimes: Shall I not find one in you? It is your own Right you are to recover; it is the Shame of your own Family which is to be waſh'd away in the Blood of the Uſurper; and it is your own Grandfather who is to be reſtor'd to his Throne.*

REMUS

REMUS at this Diſcourſe was no longer Maſter of himſelf; but was ready for any Enterprize: And the Grandfather was obliged to moderate the Tranſports of his Grandſon. He was only order'd to acquaint *Romulus* with his good Fortune, and to ſend him to *Numitor*'s Palace. *Romulus* ſoon came, and was receiv'd with the ſame Careſſes as his Brother. It was no difficult Matter to perſuade him of the Truth of his illuſtrious Birth. It flatter'd his Ambition, and he had already been inform'd of it by *Fauſtulus*, who made haſte to follow his Pupil to the City, and to carry thither the indiſputable Token for evincing who the two Brothers were. He took with him the Box in which the Twins were found on the Bank of the River, in order to ſhew it to *Numitor*. It was eaſy to be known by the Braſs Hoops with which it was bound, and by the Inſcription which had been written on it, and was ſtill legible. But *Fauſtulus* endeavour'd in vain to conceal the little Cheſt. The Guards who watch'd at the Gates of the City, judg'd by his Haſte, and the Confuſion of his Looks, that he was loaded with ſomething of Conſequence: and they carried him therefore with his Burden before *Amulius*. Yet neither did the Surprize, nor Fear, deprive *Fauſtulus* of his Preſence of Mind. He own'd that the two Princes were living, but pretended that they were then feeding Flocks in a remote Deſart. This was gaining Time; and Time was precious with regard to the Revolution which *Romulus* had projected. *Plutarch.* Life of *Rom.*

IN the mean while, Suſpicion, and the Cares which attend it, diſturb'd the Tyrant's Breaſt. He privately employ'd one of his Courtiers to learn from *Numitor*, whether he were inform'd of the Fate of the two Princes who had been thought to be drown'd. This Perſon was in his Heart a Friend to *Numitor*; tho' he diſſembled it at the Court of *Amulius*. He found the two Grandſons in the Arms of their Grandfather, and was ſo mov'd with the Sight of their tender Embraces, that he was entirely brought over to the oppreſs'd Party. He immediately aſſiſted them with his Counſel, and promis'd them the Aſſiſtance of his Sword: and from that Moment the Uſurper's Death was decreed. *Remus* undertook to raiſe the City, and *Romulus* to inveſt the King's Palace. The Country-People came on the Day appointed, and form'd themſelves into Companies of an hundred each. Their Enſigns were 70 Bundles of Hay, hanging upon long Poles, which the *Latins* at that Time call'd *Manipuli*; and from thence came the Name of *Manipulares*, which was originally given to Troops rais'd in the Country. *Plutarch. ib.*

ROMULUS inveſted the Avenues of the Palace with this tumultuous Army of intrepid People; immediately forc'd the Guard; and the Tyrant being deſerted by his own Party, and deſtitute of all Succour from abroad, loſt both a Crown which he had unjuſtly worn for the ſpace of forty Years, and his Life. A dreadful Example to the lawleſs Poſſeſſors of uſurp'd Thrones, the Foundations of which are cemented only by the Blood of their true Maſters.

THE Death of *Amulius* reinſtated *Numitor* in his Rights; but he would not aſcend the Throne till he had the Conſent of his Subjects. The finding again of the two Princes, was a Myſtery with which the Publick was not yet acquainted: and the new King therefore judg'd it neceſſary to aſſemble the People, and give them an Account of his Proceedings. He laid before them at large the Enormities of his Brother; his Application to deſtroy his whole Race; the Murder of *Egeſtus* in a Foreſt; the Conſecration of his Daughter to *Veſta* againſt her Will; the throwing the Sons of the *Veſtal* by a God, into the *Tyber*, and their Preſervation by Miracle; the Education of the young Princes among Shepherds, and the Manner by which Heaven had made them known. After which, the two Brothers, follow'd by their Troop, firſt preſented themſelves before the Aſſembly: then turn'd about towards *Numitor*, and ſaluted him King; and their Acclamations were

70 The *Romans* in their Beginning had no other Enſigns.

Non illi Cœlo labentia ſigna tenebat,
Sed ſua quæ magnum perdere crimen erat;
Illa quidem fœno, ſed erat reverentia fœno,
Quantum nunc Aquilas cernis habere tuas:
Pertica ſuſpenſos portabat longa maniplos,
Unde Maniplaris nomina miles habet.

Such was the Beginning of that ſort of Battalion called *Manipulus*, which *Romulus* compos'd of one hundred Soldiers, calling them *Manipulares*. Afterwards the *Manipulus* was increas'd to two hundred Men. According to the Times, their Number receiv'd an Alteration. Thus in the Decline of the Empire, the *Manipulus* conſiſted of leſs than one hundred, as we may infer from a Paſſage in *Ammian*, *B.* 17. We ſhall have Occaſion more than once to ſpeak of the *Manipulus*, when we come to treat at large of the Armies of the antient *Romans*.

follow'd by thoſe of all the People. Such was the Adventure (if Hiſtory may be believ'd) by which *Romulus* and *Remus* came to be diſcover'd. But tho' the Story, thus told, be faithfully extracted from the *Greek* and *Latin* Hiſtorians, yet who can ſay that the Antients have not given it ſome Embelliſhments in Favour to the firſt Founders of *Rome?*

§. XV. *NUMITOR* beheld with Pleaſure the Branches of his Family thus flouriſhing round him. *Rhea Sylvia* his Daughter, was releas'd from her Confinement, and enjoy'd in Tranquillity the Sweets of her Tenderneſs for two Sons, her Deliverers, whom ſhe had thought loſt. Whilſt the King was wholly taken up in beautifying *Alba*, and reſtoring Peace to it, he conſider'd, that it ſtill harbour'd many Perſons ill affected to his Government, and that he had every thing to fear from the Remains of a Faction always attach'd to *Amulius*. He conſider'd likewiſe, that his Capital, too much peopled before with reſtleſs Spirits, had got a new Increaſe of Inhabitants ſince the Inundation of thoſe ruſtick Troops which *Romulus* had brought thither, and that it would be proper to multiply the Towns of his petty State, in proportion to the Increaſe of his People. He propos'd therefore to his Grandſons, that they ſhould make a Settlement elſewhere. To this [71] *Remus* and *Romulus* very readily conſented, and the King gave them for their new Settlement that Country lying near the *Tyber*, upon which they had been caſt by the Waves, and where they had been brought up. *Numitor* ſupply'd theſe two Founders likewiſe with all manner of Inſtruments for breaking up Ground, and with Slaves, and Beaſts of Burden, and granted to his Subjects full Liberty to join the two Princes. Upon which, ſome of the moſt illuſtrious Families, and amongſt the reſt ſeveral who were deſcended from the *Trojans*, choſe to follow the Fortune of *Remus* and *Romulus*; ſo that even in *Auguſtus*'s Time there were fifty great Families ſprung from *Troy*, which had ſubſiſted in *Rome* ever ſince its Foundation.

NEVERTHELESS, as this Handful of People, who came from *Alba*, were of themſelves in no Condition to found a Colony any thing conſiderable, the two Brothers gathered together all the Inhabitants of *Pallantium* and *Saturnia*, two ſmall Towns: (the firſt of which was built by *Evander*, the other by the antient *Aborigines*) and thought it proper to divide thoſe who were to be employ'd about the new City into two Companies, one under the Command of *Romulus*, the other of *Remus*. But this Diviſion, which was reſolv'd upon entirely out of Love for the publick Welfare, ended in nothing but Diſputes, and produc'd an open Rupture. At firſt an Emulation aroſe between the two Parties, which ſhould outdo the other in advancing the Works. This Emulation ſoon turn'd to Jealouſy; and from the People, this Jealouſy affected the two Brothers themſelves. It broke out chiefly when they came to fix upon a Place for planting their Colony. *Romulus* declar'd himſelf for Mount [72] *Palatine*, becauſe at the Foot of that Hill, the *Tyber*, which there forms an Elbow, had thrown the Twins upon the Bank. Whereas *Remus*, whether to thwart his Brother, or becauſe of the Goodneſs of the Air, and Agreeableneſs of the Situation, was for Mount *Aventine* [73]. The Ambition of reigning was alſo a Family Vice, which the two Brothers had taken no Care to guard againſt: Inſomuch that this Obſtinacy terminated in an open Breach. And then there was

[71] *Plutarch* frankly acknowledges it to be very poſſible that *Remus* and *Romulus* reſolv'd to ſeek another Habitation, rather thro' Neceſſity than Choice, being probably diſcountenanc'd by the People of *Alba*, who had Reaſon to fear every thing from ſuch a Troop of fugitive Slaves and Outlaws as attended the two Brothers.

[72] Mount *Palatine* was ſo called, either from the City *Pallante*, where *Evander* the *Arcadian* was born; or from a Colony which came from *Pallantium*, an old City in the Territory of *Reate*, and ſettled themſelves upon that Hill; or from the *Latin* Words *Palando* and *Balatu*, becauſe the Shepherds drove their Flocks thither to feed; or from a Wife of *Latinus*, as ſome ſay, called *Palatia*; or from *Pallanto*, the Mother of that Prince; or laſtly, from *Pallas*, the Son of *Evander*. But be it as it will, for theſe Etymologies are not to be warranted, this at leaſt is ſure, that Cuſtom has introduced the Word *Palatia* or Palace, for the Houſes of Princes ever ſince *Romulus*, *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and after them *Auguſtus*, and the greateſt Number of the *Ceſars* fix'd their Reſidence on Mount *Palatine*.

[73] Some Etymologiſts borrow the Name *Aventinus* either from the Birds which from the Neighbourhood of the *Tyber* frequented that Hill, *ab avibus*, or *ab advectu*, becauſe on the *Tyber* Side the Way was ſo marſhy, that oftentimes it was unpaſſable but with Boats. But *Varro* ſays, that the *Sabines*, the Allies of *Romulus*, being ſettled on that Hill, called it *Aventinus* from *Avens*, a little River in *Sabinia*. It is more likely that it received that Name from King *Aventinus*, as has been obſerved before in the Body of this Hiſtory. This Mount will often furniſh Matter both for critical and hiſtorical Obſervations.

no Law whereby they could decide their Differences; nor could either of them pretend a Superiority of Years or Merit. The Matter was therefore referred to the Grandfather of the two Princes. *Numitor* was very much prepoſſeſſed in favour of *Augury*, with which the *Hetrurians* had infected *Italy*, and therefore was of Opinion that they ought to have Recourſe to the Gods, in order to terminate a Diſpute which no Man had a Right authoritatively to decide. Accordingly, the Flight of Birds [74] was pitch'd on to determine the Place where the City was to ſtand, the Name by which it was to be call'd, and the Perſon who ſhould be the firſt King of it. A Day was ſet for the Ceremony; ſome Perſons were deputed from both Sides to be Witneſſes of the Truth of the Auguries, and the two Brothers poſted themſelves each upon his Mountain. *Remus* choſe Mount *Aventine*, and *Romulus* Mount *Palatine*, for their Obſervatories. *Vulturs* were the Birds they had agreed upon beforehand; and whoever ſhould ſee them firſt, or the greateſt Number of them, was to gain his Cauſe; for, ſaid they, this is a very ſcarce Bird, ſent every Year by the Gods, from foreign Countries, to foretel future Events. Beſides, they remember'd that *Hercules* us'd to judge of the Succeſs of his Undertakings from the Sight of Vulturs. When the Day appointed was come, the two Rivals poſted themſelves each upon his Mountain, and gazed round the Horizon, watching the Appearance of a favourable Augury: And *Romulus*, we are told, made uſe of an Artifice, either to diſturb the Auguries of his Brother, or to make ſure of the publick Voice by a Fraud. He ſent to tell *Remus* that he had ſeen Vulturs: And whilſt his Meſſengers were yet on their Way, *Remus* actually perceived ſix. Upon this he ran inſtantly to Mount *Palatine* to examine the Truth of his Brother's Auſpices; and he had no ſooner got thither, than by an unexpected good Fortune twelve Vulturs appear'd to *Romulus*. Theſe he preſently ſhew'd to his Brother, and in a Tranſport of Joy, cried out, Be Judge, be Judge your ſelf, of the Truth of what my Meſſengers have told you. But notwithſtanding this, *Remus* ſoon found out the Deceit; he was told that *Romulus* did not ſee the twelve Vulturs, till after he had ſeen ſix: And then, one inſiſted on the Number of Birds, the other on the Time he had ſeen them. The People were divided, each Man taking the Part of his Leader; and the Diſpute growing warm, from Words they at length came to Blows. *Plutarch* Life of *Rom.*

The Skirmiſh is ſaid to have begun contrary to the Inclinations of the two Brothers; but be that as it will, an unlucky Blow laid the Shepherd *Fauſtulus* (ſo dear to the two Princes) dead upon the Ground. He had brought them up from their Infancy; and being griev'd to ſee their Differences, without being able to make them up, he had thrown himſelf unarm'd amidſt the Crowd; where, inſtead of being a Mediator between the two Parties, as he deſir'd, he became a Victim to them; and his Death, which he receiv'd from an unknown Hand, prevented him from taking any further Meaſures for reconciling his two Foſter Children. [75] Some Hiſtorians have been of Opinion that *Remus* loſt his Life in the ſame Skirmiſh; but the greateſt Number place his Death later, and give us the Account of it, which we ſhall preſently relate.

§. XVI. *ROMULUS* being now Head of the Colony, by the Advantage of more favourable Auguries than thoſe of his Brother, and by having got the better in the late Engagement, apply'd his Thoughts wholly to the building the City, which he purpos'd to call after his own Name. Mount *Palatine* was the Place choſen for its Situation: And the Founder perform'd all thoſe Ceremonies

74 *Augury*, or the Art of Divination, and foretelling future Events by the Flight, Cries, or Motions of Birds, came from the *Chaldeans* to the *Greeks*, from thence it was tranſmitted to the *Hetrurians*, and from them to the *Latins* and the *Romans*. *Vid. Ciceron. de Divin.* and *Orig. l.* 4. *contra Ceſ.*

75 Of this Number was *Dion. Hal.* He adds, that *Remus* was buried in a Place call'd after his own Name *Remuria*, about thirty Furlongs from *Rome*. This Situation, continues the Hiſtorian, had ſeem'd to him the moſt commodious for building a City. And if we believe ſome Writers, *Remus* went up to *Remuria*, and not to Mount *Aventine*, to obſerve the Flight of the Birds. But *Feſtus* ſeems to decide the Matter. He ſays that the Summit of Mount *Aventine* was called *Remuria* from that Time, when *Remus* reſolv'd to build the City there, which was the Subject of the Diſpute; and yet from the Account given by *Dion. Hal.* it looks as if Mount *Aventine* and *Remuria* were two different Places. *Stephanus*, in ſpeaking of *Remuria*, ſays, it was a City in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*. As to the *Greek* Hiſtorians Opinion about the Time and Circumſtances of *Remus*'s Death, we ſhall reject it, and follow that wherein the Majority of Writers agree.

there which the Superſtition of the *Hetrurians* [76] had introduc'd, for the building of Towns. He offer'd Sacrifices to the Gods, and order'd all the People to do the ſame, every Man according to his Abilities: And from that time decreed that Eagles ſhould be the Auſpices of his new Colony. After this great Fires were kindled before the Tents in which they were encamp'd, and the People all leap'd thro' the [77] Flames to purify themſelves. Then *Romulus* yok'd a Cow and a [78] Bull to a Plough, the Coulter whereof was Braſs; with that mark'd out the whole Compaſs within which *Rome* was to be built, with

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 75.

Silver.

a deep Furrow [79]: And theſe two Animals (the Symbols of Marriage by which Cities are peopled) were afterwards ſlain upon the Altars. All the People follow'd the Plough, throwing inwards the [80] Clods of Earth which the Ploughſhare ſometimes turned outwards: And when they came to thoſe Places where they intended to make the Gates, they took up the Plough and *carried* it. Thus, as Mount *Palatine* ſtood by itſelf, the whole was inclos'd within the Circuit, which was mark'd [81] out, and which form'd almoſt the Figure of a Square

The *Latin* Word *Porta*, a Gate, deriv'd from the Word *portare*, to carry.

76 *Feſtus* remarks that the *Hetrurians* had a ſort of Ritual, wherein were contain'd the Ceremonies that were obſerv'd at the Building of Cities, Altars, Temples, Walls and Gates. *Fabius Pictor* tells us, that *Romulus* caus'd a Prieſt or an Augur to come from *Hetruria* to preſide at the Building of the new City: And *Plutarch* ſays, that Men from *Hetruria* taught the Founder exactly every Rite he ſhould obſerve.

77 According to *Dion. Hal.* thoſe who were then employ'd in any Function, leaped thro' the Flames, being perſuaded that in ſo religious a Ceremony they could not have too much Purity and Reverence.

78 The Bull and the Heifer were both white.

Alba jugum niveo cum Bove Vacca tulit.
Ovid, Faſt. 4.

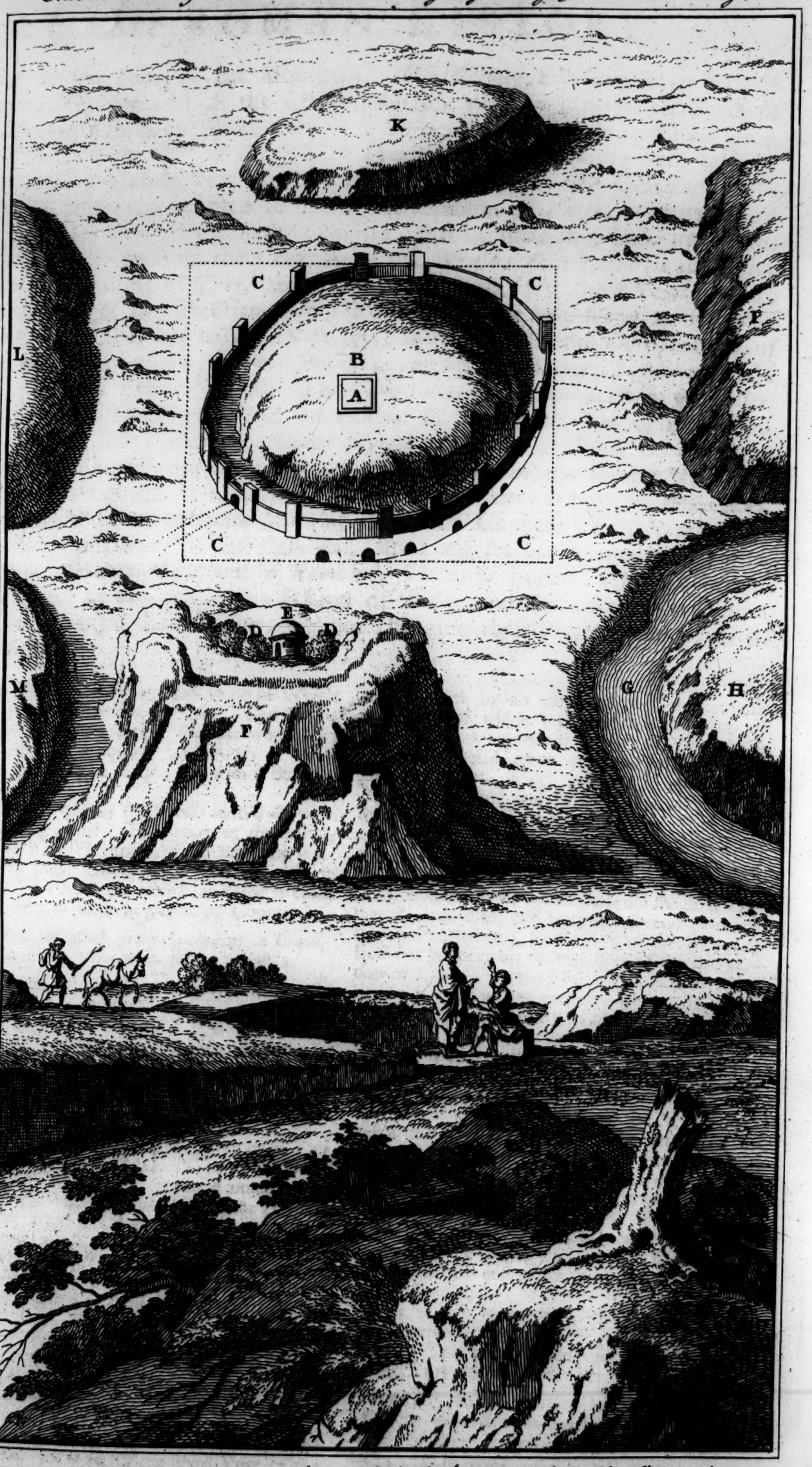
This Whiteneſs was the Symbol of that Purity of Manners and Innocence which ſhould be the Character of every Citizen. *Iſiodorus* 15. 2. ſays, that thoſe two Beaſts (yoak'd together) repreſented the Foundation of Cities, and the Settlement of Colonies; and indeed it is under this Figure that the Monuments of Antiquity repreſent both the one and the other. The Medal which we chooſe to ſhew in this Place, deſerves the Attention of the Criticks. On one Side you obſerve the Head of *Ceres*, with this Inſcription, CAIUS MARIUS. C. F. CARIT. I. But moſt Antiquaries being perſuaded that it ſhould be read CAPIT, they put in P in the Place of the Letter R, tho' that Letter is plain to be ſeen on the Round of the Medal. And from this ſlender Foundation they think this CAIUS MARIUS had the Surname of CAPITO. Whereas we did not think ourſelves at Liberty to alter the Inſcription, and therefore leave it to the Examination of our Readers. Might not the Word CARIT ſignify that the Colony (in queſtion) was ſent into that Part of *Germany* which is water'd by the *Neckar*, and which was inhabited by a People whom *Ptolomy* calls CARITNI; or might not this Colony have been led into the Iſle of *Cos*, to which *Stephanus* gives the Name of CARIS? It is agreed, that together with all *Greece*, that Iſland was ſubjected to the *Roman* Yoke. The I which ends the Inſcription gives us room to think that this Colony was the firſt that was ſent into that Country by *Auguſtus*, in whoſe Reign this Medal was ſtruck, as may be prov'd by another Medal, which has on one Side the Name of C. MARIUS, C. F. and on the other Side that of CÆSAR AUGUSTUS. It is very probable, that this C. MARIUS was Grandſon, or Great Grandſon to the Great *Marius*.

79 According to *Plutarch*, the Compaſs of the City was firſt deſcribed by a Line mark'd out with the Point of a Goad, and then the Founder himſelf directed the Ploughſhare, following the Line before mark'd out. The Antients oftentimes deſcrib'd the Compaſs of their Cities by a Train of white Earth. We read in *Strabo*, that for want of this Earth *Alexander* mark'd out *Alexandria* with Meal.

80 The Care which the People took to throw the Clods of Earth back towards the City, contain'd a Myſtery. The Citizens were to be hereby inſtructed, that Plenty in Cities is owing to the fruitful Product of the Lands about them; and withal, how careful they ought to be to bring every thing from Abroad, which might contribute to the Welfare of the Inhabitants. The whole Length of Ground where the Plough had paſs'd, was by the Antients look'd upon as ſacred and inviolable. For this Reaſon it was that they thought themſelves oblig'd to ſpend the laſt Drop of their Blood in defending their Walls; and to break thro' them was a Crime of the higheſt Nature. But the Gates were not ſacred; otherwiſe, as *Plutarch* obſerves, the City could not have been ſupply'd with the Neceſſaries of Life, without a Breach of the Law, nor could the Filth, dead Bodies, and other things which they reckon'd unclean, have been carried away.

81 *Plutarch* ſeems to make a Diſtinction between *Roma Quadrata*, and the City of *Rome*, when he ſays that *Romulus* had built the former, before he mark'd out the Plan of the City; ſo that this Author's *Roma Quadrata* can have been nothing but a ſimple Redoubt, or ſmall Fort built upon the Hill *Palatin*. *Donatus* has given in to the ſame Opinion; but the Authorities of *Fabius*, *Cato*, and

The first Plan of Rome, as it was in ye beginning of Romulus's reign.



A. Rome Quadrata; *or* Rome *as built in a* Square *form, according to some.*

B. *The Hill* Palatinus.

C. *The first Enclosu*re *of* Rome.

D. *The* Asylum.

E. *The Temple of ye* Asylæan *God.*

F. *The Hill* Capitolinus.

G. *The* Tyber.

H. *The Hill* Janiculus

I. *The Hill* Aventinus

K. *The Hill* Cœlius

L. *The Hill* Esquilinus

M. *The Hill* Quirinalis

BRITISH MUSEUM

Square at the Foot of the Mountain. The People alſo dug there a deep round [82] Pit, into which the new Inhabitants threw a little of the Earth of the different Countries where they were born: And this Hole remained afterwards like a large Well in the publick *Forum* where the *Comitia* were held.

[83] As to the exact Year of the Foundation of *Rome*, the Hiſtorians differ about it. But I have choſen to follow the Opinion of *Varro*, who has plac'd it in the third Year of the ſixth Olympiad; that is, three thouſand, three hundred and one Years from the Creation of the World; four hundred and thirty one after the taking of *Troy*, and ſeven hundred and fifty three Years, before the Beginning of the Chriſtian Æra. This Epoch, not only ſeems to me to be the beſt warranted, but will likewiſe ſerve to direct us in the Computation of the *Roman* Years which follow. For it is certain the *Romans* began to build on the twenty firſt of *April*. That Day was then conſecrated to *Pales*, Goddeſs of the Shepherds: and the Feſtival of *Pales*, and that of the Foundation of the City, were afterwards jointly celebrated at *Rome* on the ſame Day [84]. It likewiſe appears, that the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Month of *April* anſwer'd at firſt to our *September*, and that *Rome* was built in *Autumn* [85]. But by the Addition of ſome Months, and other Changes which *Numa Pompilius* afterwards made in the Calendar, *April* was ſet back; and inſtead of a Month in *Autumn*, as it was in *Romulus*'s Time, it became a Month in the Spring; and by this means the Feſtival of *Pales*, and that of the Foundation of *Rome*, chang'd their Seaſon, without changing their Place in the Order of the Feſtivals.

and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* ſeem to be of Weight enough to determine the contrary. The laſt of theſe Authors ſays expreſly, that the whole City was contain'd in a Square, the Bounds of which *Romulus* caus'd to be mark'd out with a Bull and an Heifer.

82 This Pit was by the *Greeks* term'd Ὑστερπόν, from its being round. The People of the Colony threw into it the Firſt-fruits of all that they were allow'd to make Uſe of for Food, and alſo an Handful of Earth, which every Man brought either from his own or ſome neighbouring Country.

Foſſa fit ad ſolidum, fruges jaciuntur in Imam,
Et de vicino terra petita ſolo. Faſt. 4.

The Deſign of this Ceremony was to let the Heads of the Colony ſee that it ought to be their principal Study to procure for their fellow Citizens all the Conveniencies of Life, to maintain Peace and Union amongſt a People come together from different Parts of the World, and by this Means to form themſelves into one Body never to be diſſolved.

83 Authors are not agreed about the exact Year of the Foundation of *Rome*. *Timæus* of *Sicily*, by a very palpable Miſtake, places it much about the Time in which *Carthage* was built by the *Tyrians*; that is, thirty eight Years after the firſt Olympiad. *L. Cincius* fixes it in the fourth Year of the twelfth Olympiad; *Fabius Pictor* in the firſt Year of the eighth. *Polybius* and *Diodorus Siculus* ſay, that *Rome* was founded in the ſecond Year of the ſeventh Olympiad; *Porcius Cato* and others, in the firſt Year of the ſame Olympiad: And according to *Marcus Verrius Flaccus*, Author of the *Capitoline* Tables, and *Livy*, it happen'd in the fourth Year of the ſixth Olympiad. But the Majority of the beſt *Roman* Writers follow *Varro*'s Calculation, according to which the Foundation of *Rome* is plac'd near the End of the third Year of the ſixth Olympiad. *Plutarch*, from the Teſtimony of ſome Authors, tells us, that an Eclipſe of the Sun happen'd the firſt Day that *Rome* was founded, which was ſeen by *Antimachus* of *Tros*, Cotemporary with *Plato*. *Tarrutius Firmianus*, a famous Aſtronomer, and who follow'd the *Egyptian* Calendar, at the Perſuaſion of *Terentius Varro*, had endeavour'd to determine the Day of *Romulus*'s Birth by an aſtronomical Computation; the Reſult of which was, that this firſt King of *Rome* had been conceiv'd in the firſt Year of the ſecond Olympiad, on the twenty third Day of that *Egyptian* Month, which anſwer'd to *April* in the *Roman* Calendar; and he adds, that on this Day there had been an Eclipſe of the Sun. The Birth of this Prince he plac'd in the Month of *January*, and made the firſt Year of *Rome* to be the third of the ſixth Olympiad. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* mentions another Eclipſe which happen'd the ſame Day that *Romulus* died, and from this ſeveral Aſtronomers have attempted, by the Help of the Tables of Eclipſes, to aſcertain the true Æra of the Foundation of *Rome*. Yet the Fruit of all their Labours has been nothing but endleſs Diſputes, in which every Perſon is at Liberty to chooſe what Side he pleaſes. The Opinion of *Varro* has appear'd to us to be moſt probable, becauſe, as *Petavius* has demonſtrated, it is moſt agreeable to the Rules of Chronology, *Lib. 1. de doct. temp.*

84 Theſe two Feſtivals were join'd together, and ſo the *Romans* celebrated at the ſame time the Birth-day of their Country, and a paſtoral Feſtival call'd *Palilia*, or *Parilia*, in Honour of the Goddeſs *Pales*, whom they invok'd for the Preſervation and Fruitfulneſs of their Flocks. There was no Victim ſlain on that Occaſion, becauſe they judg'd the ſhedding of Blood unſuitable to ſo extraordinary a Feſtival, and which was deſign'd only for publick Rejoicing.

85 It is eaſy to reconcile the Opinion of the Poet *Manilius* with that which we have choſen to follow. This great Aſtronomer ſays that *Rome* was built in Autumn, under the Sign of *Libra*,

Heſperiam ſua Libra tenet quâ condita Roma
Et propriis retinet pendentem nutibus urbem,
Orbis & Imperium retinet———

And yet the Feſtival of its Foundation fell afterwards on the twenty firſt of *April*. But this Irregularity in the Months and Seaſons, proceeded from the Faultineſs of the antient Calendar; for as neither the *Greek* nor *Roman* Years agreed with the aſtronomical Revolution of the Sun, this, in great Length of Time, had occaſion'd very conſiderable Errors.

§. XVII. Thus was the Colony employ'd in marking out the Circuit of *Rome*; whilſt *Remus* could not ſee the Works advance in the Name, under the Command, and according to the Directions of his Brother, without great Uneaſineſs. After the late bloody Engagement, *Romulus* had not above three thouſand three hundred Men left to carry on ſo laborious an Undertaking: And accordingly neither was the Ditch they made broad enough, nor their Walls of an Height ſufficient to hold out for any Space of Time againſt ſuch Enemies as Jealouſy might create them. And as *Remus* therefore ſtudy'd nothing but how to turn both the Project and the Execution of it into Ridicule, he in Deriſion of his Brother, leap'd over both Ditch and Wall at once. This Action provok'd a Man named *Fabius*, who was at Work upon that very Place which *Remus* had diſtinguiſh'd by this inſulting Piece of Mockery: And as he was a rough paſſionate Man, he ſtruck the Prince on the Head with a Mattock which he had in his Hand, and the Wound prov'd mortal. Thus was *Romulus* deliver'd from a jealous ſeditious Brother, whoſe Pride might have made his Reign very uneaſy. As for the Murderer, he had the Name of *Celer* given him, which ſignify'd *a Man too haſty and paſſionate:* And according to ſome Authors, he did Juſtice upon himſelf by a voluntary Baniſhment into *Hetruria*; but others ſay, that he remain'd at *Rome*. Some Hiſtorians tell us that *Romulus* had forbid any Perſon to leap over the Wall; and that as he had likewiſe conſecrated it to the Gods, what *Remus* did was an Act of Impiety, as well as an Inſult. But theſe Circumſtances ſeem to have been deviſ'd afterwards, to render the Murder of the Prince leſs odious. *Livy* is more ſincere, and makes *Remus* die by *Romulus*'s own Hand.

Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 74. Plutarch.

Year of *ROME* I.

§. XVIII. *ROME* had now receiv'd very near the utmoſt Perfection in its building, which Men rude and indigent were able to give it: It conſiſted only of about a thouſand Houſes, or rather Huts, all Ground Floors, without upper Stories, or any kind of Ornament. It was, properly ſpeaking, a Village, whereof even the principal Inhabitants follow'd their own Ploughs, and were oblig'd with their own Hands to cultivate the ungrateful Soil of a barren Country which they had ſhar'd amongſt themſelves. Even *Romulus*'s own Palace was built with [86] Ruſhes, and cover'd with Thatch. Every Man had choſen his Ground to build his own Cottage as he pleaſed, without any Regard to the Regularity or Beauty of the whole, and therefore the Streets were both crooked and narrow. And in a word, until the Time that *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*, it was rather a diſorderly Heap of Huts, than a City built with any kind of Regularity or Order. Such were the Beginnings of this Capital of the World, which never was more worthy of univerſal Empire, than when Poverty preſerv'd in it the Love of civil and military Virtues.

Val. Max. B. 4.

§. XIX. As *Romulus* had not taken upon him the chief Command of the Colony for any longer Time than while the City was building; he as ſoon as the Work was finiſh'd, ſubmitted it to the Determination of the People, what kind of Government ſhould be eſtabliſh'd. He call'd the new Citizens together, and harangu'd them in theſe Words: *If all the Strength of Cities lay in the Height of their Ramparts, or Depth of their Ditches, we ſhould have great Reaſon to be in Fear for that which we have built. The Walls of it are its weakeſt Defence. Are there in Reality any Walls too high to be ſcal'd by the Valour of a Conqueror? And of what Uſe are Ramparts in inteſtine Diviſions? It is by Courage and Prudence chiefly that the Invaſions of foreign Enemies are repell'd, and by Unanimity and Moderation in Deſires that domeſtick Revolts are prevented. Cities fortify'd by the ſtrongeſt Bulwarks have been often ſeen to yield to Force from without, or to Tumults from within. It is Virtue alone in which conſiſts both the Ornament and Happineſs of States. An exact military Diſcipline, and a ſteady Obſervance of Order in Civil Government, are the*

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 78.

86 According to *Vitruvius*, *Macrobius*, and *Seneca*, this Hut of *Romulus* was preſerv'd a long time upon the *Capitol*, as a venerable Monument. Nevertheleſs, it is certain that *Romulus* dwelt upon Mount *Palatin*, as is even own'd by *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*. But ſtill, this Cottage is believ'd to have been the Founder's Palace: And it was a Point of Religion with the *Romans*, never to make uſe of any thing but Ruſhes and Straw to repair it; till at length it was deſtroy'd by Fire under the Reign of *Auguſtus*.

Year of ROME I.

ſtrongeſt Barriers againſt foreign and domeſtick Enemies: and it is doubtleſs the Part of thoſe who govern, to provide well for the publick Safety, both in Peace and War. But there are various Kinds of Government, one of which we muſt chuſe; and when we have choſen it, we ought to maintain it in its Vigour. I have learnt, that amongſt the Greeks *there are divers Methods of governing States; and I freely own that no one of them is without its Inconveniences. Chuſe you then what Form of Adminiſtration you think may moſt contribute to the publick Happineſs. Speak your Minds freely. Shall* Rome *be govern'd by one Man? Shall it be ſubject to a ſelect Number of the wiſeſt amongſt us, or ſhall the People have a Share in the Legiſlature? As for my own Part, I ſhall ſubmit to your Determination, whatever it be, and reckon myſelf ſufficiently happy in a private Life, after having been once the Leader of the Colony, and given my Name to this infant City.*

THUS ſpake *Romulus* by the Advice of *Numitor* his Grandfather, as was then believ'd: And the People gave the Preference to Monarchy without Heſitation; nor were they long in the Choice of a Monarch. They reaſon'd thus among themſelves: *Why ſhould we ceaſe to live under the Government of a King? Have we not experienc'd the Advantages of Monarchy in* Alba? *Our Fathers ſubmitted to it, and maintain'd it; we have been accuſtomed to it, and receiv'd the greateſt Advantages from it. And as we have here a Perſon not only deſcended from our antient Kings, but who has likewiſe given us the moſt convincing Proofs of his Wiſdom and Valour: We will beſtow on him the Honour of governing the Colony, of which he has been the Leader.* They proclaimed the King of *Alba*'s Grandſon King of *Rome*, without delay: And by this firſt Step the *Romans* veſted in themſelves the Right of chuſing their own Maſters ever after, and render'd the Crown elective [87].

ROMULUS.

BUT *Romulus*, who had not all along diſcover'd any very earneſt Deſires of aſcending the Throne, did not take Poſſeſſion of it, till Religion had declar'd in his Favour [88]. He firſt beg'd leave to conſult the Will of the Gods by *Auguries*; and, as ſome ſay, when he had offered Sacrifices in an open Place, Lightning was ſeen to flaſh on his Left Hand. But be that as it will, thus much at leaſt is certain, that from the Time of *Romulus*, it became a ſettled Cuſtom at *Rome*, not to enter upon any of the principal Employments in the State, without firſt having recourſe to *Auguries*. In Proceſs of Time indeed this came to be only a Matter of pure Ceremony; but the Example of the Founder had introduced the Cuſtom, and it ſubſiſted for above ſeven hundred Years.

§. XX. AFTER theſe religious Ceremonies, the whole Care of the new King was taken up in eſtabliſhing Order in his City, and a due Subordination among his Subjects. He thought it a Debt due to his Dignity to take an Habit of Diſtinction, and Guards, for the Security of his Perſon and to command Reſpect. He choſe twelve under the Name of *Lictors*; either becauſe he had ſeen twelve Vultures, the Number which had given him the Superiority over his Brother; or becauſe the little Sovereigns of *Hetruria* [89] were each attended with that Number of Guards. He divided the three thouſand three hundred Men, of which his Colony conſiſted, into three Orders. Several Perſons of a diſtinguiſhed Birth, having follow'd him to *Rome*, and choſen rather to reſide at the new City, than at *Alba* [90]; theſe he choſe

87 The Government of the *Romans* and *Albans* differ'd in this, that amongſt the latter the Crown was hereditary, but elective amongſt the former. The fifteen Kings of *Alba* ſucceeded one another from Father to Son, as we are aſſur'd by *Euſebius* in his *Chronology*. He excepts only one King, *Sylvius Æneas*, who was not the Son of his Predeceſſor. He tells us, he was Son to *Lavinia* by *Mezentius* her ſecond Husband, and was Brother to *Sylvius Poſthumus* by the Mother's Side. And in this laſt Particular *Euſebius* is miſtaken, neither is he follow'd by any body.

88 This Cuſtom remain'd at *Rome* from *Romulus*'s Time to the end of the Republick, and even under the Emperors; tho' it came at length to be no more than a Farce. Thoſe who ſtood for Employments, and who were term'd Candidates, went out, in the Morning of the Day on which the *Comitia* or Aſſemblies for their Election were to be held, from under a Tent erected for that Purpoſe; made a publick Prayer; interrogated the Augurs whom they had paid for their Pains; and from their Anſwers, which were commonly favourable enough, they gave out that the Gods were not againſt their having the Office which they ſollicited. Upon which they obtain'd and bore it *auſpicatò*.

89 *Hetruria* was then divided into twelve Cantons, which had each its petty King. They were called *Lucumones*, and their Cantons *Lucumonias*. Becauſe they were twelve in number, each *Lucumo* had taken twelve *Lictors* for his Guard: and in this therefore *Romulus* imitated his Neighbours the *Hetrurians*.

90 This Choice was not made by the King himſelf.

Year of *ROME* I.

ROMULUS.

D. Hal. B. 2. p. 83.

chose to be the Heads of the Colony, under the Title of *Senators*. And he called them *Fathers*, either because they were the only Persons in this confused Multitude of Slaves and Vagabonds, that could shew their Fathers, and prove an honest Descent; or because they surpassed the rest in Age and Wisdom; or because their Dignity made them Fathers and Protectors of the People. The Children of these first *Fathers* were called *Patricians*, and it was always thought an Honour at *Rome* to be descended from them.

THE Senate of the rising Colony consisted at first of but an hundred Persons. Their Office was to administer Justice, to take upon them the Care of Religion, and to assist the King with their Counsels, upon Occasion. And being thus entirely devoted to civil Affairs, it is probable they were exempted from the Labours of the military. The rest of the Colony consisted of the common People, who all bore the Name of *Plebeians*; and these were again divided into two Orders. The richest and noblest of the Citizens took the Name of *Patrons* 91; whereby they kept as it were a middle 92 Rank, between the Dignity of the Senator, and the Meanness of the Populace. Each of these took upon him to support and protect a certain Number of Families of the lowest sort; to assist them with their Interest and Substance; and to free them from the Oppressions of the Great. It was the Business of the *Patron* to draw up the Contracts of his *Clients*; to extricate them out of their Difficulties and Perplexities, and to guard their Ignorance against the artful Devices of the Crafty. On the other hand, the *Clients* were obliged to unite in contributing towards the Payment of the Portions of their Patrons Daughters; towards paying their Ransom, if they, or their Children were taken in War; and to discharge their publick Debts *gratis*, when they themselves were not able to do it. Both *Client* and *Patron* were also mutually disabled, either from accusing, or bearing Witness against each other. And if either was convicted of having violated these mutual Obligations, the Guilt was no less than of Treason; and the Person injured had Power to put the Offender to Death; which was done by sacrificing him to *Pluto* or to the *Manes*. And whilst the Patronage subsisted thus at *Rome* upon the foot on which *Romulus* had established it, Concord reigned there. It was thought honourable to have a great Number of *Clients*; whilst *They* enjoyed Peace and Tranquillity under the Protection of their *Patrons*, and lived in Union and good Correspondence with one another. In short, mutual Interests so united the People with the Nobility and rich Citizens, that, for more than six

Plut. & Dion. H. B. 2. p. 83, 84.

D. H. p. 85.

self. The whole Colony was divided into three equal Parts, which Parts were called *Tribes* from the numerical Word *tres*, because they were divided into *three*. First each *Tribe* chose three *Senators*, which made nine in all. Then the three Tribes were divided into thirty *Curiæ*, or if you will, thirty Parishes: and each Parish had likewise the Liberty to chuse three, which made the Number of the *Senators* in all ninety-nine. So that *Romulus* chose but one, *viz.* the hundredth; who was the Head or *Prince of the Senate*; and he govern'd *Rome* when the King was in the Field. See *Dion. Hal. B. 1. p. 84.*

91 According to *Plutarch*, this Word comes originally from an *Arcadian*, a Companion of *Evander*, whose Name was *Patro*. He was a Man who was very assistant to the Defenceless, and a Protector of the Poor. But be that as it will; the Inhabitants of *Rome* were not the only Persons who had their *Patrons*. The Colonies, and other Cities allied to or conquered by the *Romans*, had afterwards their *Patrons* also at *Rome*. The only Privilege taken from the *Patronage*, as instituted by *Romulus*, was, the Custom of obliging the *Clients* sometimes to part with their Goods, in favour of their *Patrons*. The *Romans* thought it unworthy of them to sell their Protection. Of this *Plutarch* assures us.

92 It is utterly improbable, that *Romulus* should have chosen his *Patrons* out of the hundred *Senators*, which were then the prime Nobility. These were by Office the Judges of the People, a Title incompatible with that of *Patron*. *Plutarch*'s Account is therefore more rational. He assures us, that *Patronage* was then conferred on the most considerable Persons of the Colony, to distinguish them from *Plebeians* of a lower Rank, who alone were comprehended in the Order of *Clients*. So that we must not reduce the Number of the noble Citizens only to that of the hundred *Senators*, instituted by *Romulus*. For this *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* may be our Voucher. He says, (*B. 2. p. 85.*) the *Senators* were *taken out of the Patricians*, that is, out of the most considerable of the new Inhabitants. He would not have expressed himself so, if he had not supposed, that there was a sort of *Patricians*, or distinguished Persons under *Romulus*, who, tho' not *Senators*, were yet descended from a wealthy and noble Race. It is true indeed *Dionysius Halicarnasseus* gives the Name of *Patricians*, both to the hundred first *Senators*, and to those who were raised to the Dignity of *Patrons*. But strictly speaking, the Title of *Patrician* at first belonged only to those *Romans* who were descended from *Senatorial* Families. Afterwards indeed this Name was also given to those *Plebeians*, who had obtained the Honour of the *Curule-chair*. It is granted that those only who were born of Families originally *Patrician*, formed the Body of the prime Nobility at *Rome*; but it is evident, that the *Romans* acknowledged other Nobles, tho' of an inferior Degree. Otherwise it must be said, that the hundred first *Senators* were the only Persons of Distinction at *Rome*, in *Romulus*'s Reign. But it is nevertheless certain, that the *Patrons* then formed an Order of honourable Persons, who held the middle Rank between the *Senators*, and the Populace.

hundred

Year of ROME I. ROMULUS.

hundred Years, we find neither Jealouſy nor Diſſentions between the *Patrons* and *Clients*, even in the Time of the Republick; notwithſtanding that there were ſometimes Inſurrections among the People againſt thoſe who were moſt powerful in *Rome*.

§. XXI. WHEN Order was thus eſtabliſhed in political Affairs, it was likewiſe neceſſary to introduce ſome Diſcipline among the Troops, which were to be uſed as Occaſion offered 93. In order to this, *Romulus* divided his Colony into three *Tribes*, and placed Commanders at their Head, under the Name of *Tribunes*.

THE *Tribes* themſelves were alſo divided into *Curiæ*, and theſe *Curiæ* into 94 *Decuriæ*. But whether this Diviſion into *Tribes* was made before or after the War with the *Sabines*, is uncertain. Each *Curia* and *Decuria* had its own Commander; and theſe Bodies of Militia were ready formed in the ſeveral Quarters of the City, each of which was in Subjection to its proper Captain, who ſummoned them to the publick Aſſemblies, and was to command them in the Field. And theſe might be term'd the *firſt Sketch* of thoſe invincible Legions which afterwards conquered the whole World. *Plutarch.*

§. XXII. WITH reſpect to Religion, *Romulus* did not indeed give it all that Form to which it was afterwards reduced: He contented himſelf with eſtabliſhing ſome ſort of Regularity in the Prieſthood 95, and in the Worſhip of thoſe Divinities only, which *Evander* had conſecrated, thoſe which *Æneas* had brought from *Phrygia*, and thoſe which the *Aborigines* had worſhipped in their Time. He neither introduced the infamous Fables of the *Greek* Divinities into the publick Faith, nor licentious Ceremonies into the publick Worſhip. He appointed that every *Curia* ſhould have its own Temple 96, and its peculiar Gods and Prieſts. He appointed, that the People ſhould aſſemble on certain ſtated Days, in *Cœnacula* or publick Halls, built for that Purpoſe, each of which was conſecrated to its particular God; and that they ſhould there feaſt in common upon the Victims that had been offered to the Gods. *Romulus* likewiſe eſtabliſhed Feſtivals, whereby Religion became an Eaſe and Relief to a laborious People. He augmented the Number of the Prieſts and Sacrificers, of which each *Curia* had its own. The principal Miniſters of the Gods were choſen only out of the *Patricians*; and the inferior Prieſts out of ſuch Families only, as were honourable. Their Age was at leaſt that of fifty Years, and their Wives alone performed the Functions of Prieſteſſes. Their Sons and Daughters only were, to the Age of *Puberty*, permitted to wait at the Altars 97; and the ſacerdotal Families were made honourable, by the annexing great Privileges to them. They were freed from all publick Taxes, and from bearing Arms. And as their Employment was for Life, it excited the Ambition of many; but *Romulus* forbad the ſeeking of the Prieſthood by Intrigues and Cabals, the purchaſing it with Money, and the truſting it to the Hazard of Lots. He left it to the free Choice of the *Curiæ*, and permitted each of them to pleaſe itſelf, by providing its own Interceſſors with the Gods. In a word, he gave up likewiſe to the ſame free Choice, the Offices of the *Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 90.*

93 *Plutarch* places this Diviſion of the People into *Tribes* after the Union of *Romulus*, and *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*.

94 *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* tells us, the *Curiæ* were divided into *Decuriæ*, in which he ſeems to differ from *Polybius* and *Varro*. Theſe tell us, that this Diviſion took place among the Squadrons of Horſe call'd *Turmæ*; which has made *Grævius* ſay, *p. 7. of the Pref. to 1 vol. of Rom. Antiq.* that *Dion. Halicarn.* is miſtaken. But the Silence of ſome Authors is not a deciſive Proof againſt the *Greek* Hiſtorian. What was done in later Times, with reſpect to the Cavalry, does not contradict the Order *Romulus* at firſt eſtabliſhed in the *Curiæ*.

95 *Dion. Halicarn.* relates, that in *Romulus*'s Time the infamous Fables of the *Grecian* Deities were not made known to the *Romans*. Nothing was ſaid to them of the God *Cælus*, who was caſtrated by the Children of *Saturn*, who ate his own; or of *Jupiter*, who drove his own Father out of his Dominions. So true it is, that *Latium* * was not ſo called, from *Saturn*'s ſeeking a hiding Place there from the Purſuits of his Son; and that the *Saturn* of *Italy* was different from the *Saturn* of *Crete*. Nothing was ſaid at *Rome*, of Gods wounded, impriſoned, and enſlaved by Men. The Paganiſm of the firſt *Romans* was free from the Fanaticiſm of the *Greeks*, the Cheats of Oracles, and thoſe abominable Superſtitions, which authorized the moſt ſhameful Vices.

96 The Temple of the *Curia* was itſelf called *Curia*. It was the holy Place of each Quarter of the City. The Prieſt who preſided over the Sacrifices in it was called *Curio*; whence, without doubt, came the Word *Curate*. In theſe Temples were made common Entertainments for the whole *Curia*; but with admirable Frugality. This was a Means of uniting the Inhabitants of the ſame Quarter together. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of the *Curiæ* hereafter.

97 The Girls dedicated to the Service of the Altars, were called *Camillæ*, the Boys *Camilli*. When a Prieſt had no Children of his own, he might chuſe the handſomeſt Children in his *Curia* to attend him in the Sacrifices.

* The Name of *Latium* was ſuppos'd to be derived from the Word *latere*, i. e. *to lie hid*.

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Aruſpices, and *Augurs* [98]; the former of which preſided over the Inſpection of the trembling Entrails of the Victims, and the latter foretold future Events, by obſerving the Flight and Singing of Birds.

§. XXIII. As to the Civil Laws which *Romulus* inſtituted, they were indeed rather adapted to the preſent Diſpoſition of a ſmall Colony, than ſufficient for the Government of a great People, and the political Regulation of a great State. So that, they afterwards received Additions and Alterations which either weakned or diſannulled them. The moſt durable of them, was that which regulated Marriages. And it was unqueſtionably more wiſely contrived than thoſe of the *Barbarians* or *Greeks*. The [99] Founder of *Rome* confined each Husband to one Wife. Their Union was not indeed abſolutely indiſſoluble; but their Goods [100] were in common between them, and under the Adminiſtration of the Husband.

The

98 It is not improper to ſay ſomething here of the different Offices of the *Aruſpices* and *Augurs*, whom we ſhall often mention, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. The *Roman Aruſpices* were all taken at firſt from *Hetruria*, where their Art had moſt Credit. Afterwards young *Romans* were ſent into *Hetruria*, to be there brought up in their Science. It conſiſted in foretelling future Events by attending to various Circumſtances of the ſacrificed Victims. Firſt, it was an ill Omen, when the Victim would not come to the Altar without dragging, when it broke its Rope, fled away, avoided the Stroke, ſtruggled much after it, made a great bellowing, died hard, or bled but little. Secondly, Preſages were drawn from inſpecting the noble Parts of the Victim when opened, as the Heart, Lungs, Spleen, and eſpecially the Liver. If all of theſe were ſound, if the Top of the Liver was large and well made, and if its Fibres were ſtrong, it preſaged well for the Affair in queſtion. Thirdly, Knowledge was alſo drawn by the *Aruſpices* from the Manner in which the Fire conſumed the Victim. If the Flame brightned immediately, was pure and clear, roſe up in a Pyramid without Noiſe, and did not go out till the Victim was conſumed; theſe were happy Signs. Fourthly, the Smoke likewiſe was conſidered; whether it whirled about in Curls, or ſpread itſelf to the right or left, or gave a Smell different from the common one of broil'd Meat. Fifthly, the Incenſe they burned, was a happy Omen, when it melted all at once, and gave a moſt agreeable Smell. How trifling theſe kinds of Divinations were, is very plain: nor were thoſe the *Augurs* drew from the Air leſs ſo. Theſe *Augurs* or *Auſpices* were very different from the *Aruſpices*. *Romulus*, who was himſelf skilled in their Art, firſt eſtabliſhed them at *Rome*. There were only three in his Time, one to each *Tribe*. *Servius Tullius*, who added a fourth *Tribe*, is alſo ſaid to have added a fourth *Augur*. But their College (for ſo it was called) was afterwards increaſed to fifteen under a Head, or *Maſter of the Augurs*. Their Offices, comprized in the Augural Law, which we find in *Tully's ſecond Book of Divination*, were theſe. They were the Interpreters of the Will of the Gods with reſpect to the making War and Peace. And according to the Divinity of that Time, all were obliged to obey them, in ſo important an Article. They drew their Predictions from the different Signs, they ſaid, appeared in the Air, and upon the Earth. Thus what they pronounced to be contrary to the Intentions of Heaven, was deemed unlawful; and it was capital to act contrary to their Deciſions. They likewiſe appointed the Expiations they thought neceſſary, on account of the Signs the Gods ſeemed to give of their Anger. And from hence it appears how powerful they were in the *Roman* State; ſince by pronouncing any Affair, any Aſſembly of the *Comitia*, Election of Magiſtrates, War or Peace, to be diſagreeable to the Gods, they prevented them. They pretended to make theſe Diſcoveries of the Will of the Gods, ſeveral Ways. Firſt, by the Flight, or Chirping of Birds Secondly, by Thunder or Lightning. Thirdly, by the ſetting of the Wind. Fourthly, by the Hunger and different Poſtures of Chickens which were bred up in Cages on purpoſe for the *Augur*'s Uſe, and were carried about in the *Roman* Armies. When the Augur, in the Execution of his Office, was to obſerve the Heavens, he went up upon ſome high Place; took the Augural Staff, (which was a ſort of Croſier, bent at one End) in his Hand, and marked out the four Quarters of the Heavens with it. Then he turned to the Eaſt, having the Weſt behind him, the South to his Right, and North to his Left; and this is what the *Romans* called, *Servare de Cœlo*. In this Situation he waited for the Sign, whether it were given by Thunder, Birds, or the Wind. Firſt, as to Thunder; when it was heard to the Left, when the Lightning came from the Eaſt, and was driven back by the Wind to the ſame Point, without darting forward to the Weſt; when it did not upon the falling ſtrike into the Earth, but rebound towards Heaven: theſe were happy Preſages. Secondly, as to Birds; ſome, as Ravens, Owls, *&c.* were thought to preſage things by their croaking and ſcreeching; others, as Eagles, Vultures, and eſpecially Wood-peckers, by their flying, which they obſerved whether it was from the Right to the Left, or from the Left to the Right. Thirdly, in the Wind, its Changes were obſerved, eſpecially if ſudden. When theſe Sorts of Signs fail'd, they had Recourſe to the Pullets, which were bred in Cages, for this Purpoſe, at the publick Expence. The Augur went to conſult their Preſages early in the Morning, without giving any Notice to their Keeper. When they came but ſlowly out of their Cage, did not eat greedily, ſpoiled their Food, ſcattered it abroad with their Wings, let a great deal of it fall from their Mouths to the Ground, and above all, when they refuſed to eat, theſe were ill Prognoſtics. And beſides all theſe, the *Romans* had other Ways of diving into Futurity, which aroſe rather from the Superſtition of the People, than from the *Augural* Science.

99 Divorces ſeem, in certain Caſes, to have been permitted, even from *Romulus*'s time. *Plutarch* ſays it. The Wife indeed could not put away her Husband; but the Husband could put away his Wife, when ſhe had endeavoured to poiſon any of his Children, had put a ſtrange Child upon him for one of his own, or had been unfaithful to his Bed. Divorces in any other Caſe were puniſhed with giving one part of the Husband's Goods to the divorced Wife, and conſecrating the reſt to *Ceres*.

100 This Community of Goods was thus expreſſed in the Marriage Ceremonies: The Perſons to be married came to a Sacrifice, in preſence of ten Witneſſes; and the Prieſt, among other Offerings, preſented a Wheat Loaf, and ſcattered Pieces of it over the Victim. This was to ſhew that Bread, the Symbol of all other Goods, ſhould for the future be in common between the Husband and Wife; and this Rite was called *confarreatio*. Hence

The Wife was declared univerſal [101] Heireſs to her Husband, if he died inteſtate, and without Children; but if he had Children by her, the Mother and the Children were equal Sharers in the Inheritance. Two Faults eſpecially were unpardonable in the Wife, the [102] one the Breach of her conjugal Fidelity, the [103] other her drinking Wine. *Romulus* ordained that for each of theſe Tranſgreſſions, the guilty Perſon might be condemned to die. Wine, ſaid he, is in Women the Foundation of Corruption, and Incontinence the Exceſs of it. Theſe Laws were indeed ſevere; but the Judgment of the Criminal was in both Caſes reſerved to the Relations of the accuſed.

WITH reſpect to the Dependance which this Lawgiver required Children to have upon their Parents, it was greater and more general than was ever required in any other Nation. Among the *Greeks*, ſome freed Children from the Juriſdiction of their Fathers three Years after *Puberty* at the fartheſt, and others, at leaſt at the Time of their Marriage, or * when the Republick thought them fit for the Magiſtracy. And the ſevereſt Puniſhment that an offended Father could inflict upon an unruly Son, in *Greece*, was to diſinherit him. But *Romulus* [104] ſet no Bounds to the Power of Fathers over their Children: Of what Age ſoever they were, or to whatever Dignities advanced, they were ſtill ſubject to the Correction of their Fathers. Theſe had a Right to beat them, to ſend them in Chains to cultivate their Lands, to diſinherit them, to ſell them for Slaves, and even to put them to Death. Every Father of a Family was a little Sovereign in his own Houſe. His Power over his Children was more extenſive than that of Maſters over their Slaves. [105] A Father might put up his Son to publick † Sale three times; whereas a Maſter could ſell his Slave but once, and loſt all Power over him after he had once given him his Liberty.

ROMULUS was of Opinion that the ſedentary Arts and Occupations of Peace ſoften Mens Minds, and enervate their Courage; he therefore would per-

* Or when they were regiſtered in the publick Roll of Men. *Dion. Hal. p.* 96.

† Sell his Son for a Slave. *Dion. Hal. p.* 97.

it is ſaid in *Romulus*'s Law, *Uxor farreatione viro juncta, in ſacra & bona ejus venito.* It appears likewiſe by the ſame Law, that the Wife, upon Marriage, profeſſed the ſame Gods, and the ſame Worſhip with her Husband; both as to the Houſhold Gods of each Family, and the reſpective God of each *Curia*. The Law adds, *jus devortendi ne eſto, i.e.* let not the Husband have an abſolute and unlimited Power of *divorcing* his Wife. This is the ſtrict Meaning of *devortendi*; but it is alſo ſometimes uſed to ſignify a Power of refuſing to accept the Perſon who had only been betrothed.

101 This is all *Dion. Hal.* ſays of the Share the Wife had, in *Romulus*'s Time, in the Husband's Effects after his Deceaſe. But this Law is not among thoſe of *Romulus*, which now remain. There were two Sorts of Marriages among the *Romans:* The firſt was to marry their Wives without any other Covenant but that of keeping them in their Houſes. But theſe were not truly Wives, till they had continued with their Husbands a whole Year, without three Days Interruption: And this was called *a Marriage by Uſe, uſu.* The other Way was, to marry a Woman after Marriage-covenants had been made; and this was called *a Marriage by mutual Sale, ex coemptione.* In this Caſe the Woman gave her Husband three Pieces of Money call'd *Aſſes*, to ſhew that ſhe purchaſed of him a Right of ſharing in his Goods; and the Huſband gave the Wife the Keys of the Houſe, to ſhew he committed to her the Care of the Family. Theſe latter only were called *Mothers of Families, matres-familias*; and it is probable they only were ſole Heireſſes to their Husbands.

102 The Law, according to *Juſtus Lipſius*, was this, *Si ſtuprum commiſſit, aliudve quid peccaſſit, maritus judex & vindex eſto, deque eo cum cognatis, cognoſcito.* And another very antient Law, attributed to *Romulus*, which ſpecifies the Puniſhment of the Wife's Infidelity to her Husband, is this: *Adulterii convictam vir & cognati, uti volent necanto.*

103 According to *Lipſius*, *Romulus*'s Law ran thus: *Temetum mulier ne bibito*; and *Dion. Hal.* ſays Wives were forbidden Wine, and were puniſhed when caught drinking it; εἰ τις οἶνον ἐνεδρεύη πιοῦσα γυνή, &c. This Law was ſo ſeverely obſerved, that, according to *Valerius Maximus*, *Romulus* did not think himſelf obliged to condemn *Egnatius Mecenius*, or *Metellus*, who having caught his Wife drinking Wine, killed her upon the Spot: And *Fabius Pictor* mentions another Woman whom her Relations ſtarved to Death, for having broke open the Cheſt in which were the Keys of the Cellar. *Aulus Gellius* and *Pliny* likewiſe aſſure us, that in conſequence of this Law, it was cuſtomary at *Rome*, for the Ladies to be ſaluted by their near Relations whenever they met them, not ſo much out of Civility and Friendſhip, as to find out by their Breath if they had been drinking Wine. But in Proceſs of Time the Severity of this Law was ſomewhat abated. The Women who had drank Wine were only condemned to loſe their Portions. Which appears by *Cneus Domitius*'s Judgment, as related by *Pliny*. *Cujas* the Civilian indeed pretends, in the *25th Chap. of his Obſervations*, that this Law did not decree Death againſt her who had drank Wine, but only ſome Puniſhment in general, at the Husband's Diſcretion: and ſupports his Opinion on this, that the Word Ζημιῶσαι, uſed by *Dion. Hal.* ſignifies to *inflict Puniſhment* in general, without ſpecifying the Nature of it. But *Bodinus*, in his *Method of Hiſtory*, brings the Authorities of *Valerius Maximus*, *Fabius Pictor* and *Pliny*, in Proof of the contrary.

104 The Law, the Senſe of which we have collected from thoſe Authors who mention *Romulus*, is this: *In liberos ſuprema patrum authoritas eſto. Venumdare, occidere licito.*

105 *Romulus*'s Law was expreſs, that the Son was not free from the ſupreme Authority of the Father, till he had ſold him three times. *Si pater filium ter venumduit, filius a patre liber eſto.*

Year of *ROME* I. Romulus.

mit none but Strangers or Slaves to be employed in them. Only War and Agriculture, were by him thought to be Employments noble enough for Men whom he was forming for Conquerors. And if he tolerated Agriculture itſelf, it was only as conſidering it to be a laborious Exerciſe, which diſpoſed Men to bear the Fatigues of War. With this View he diſtributed the Lands of his little Diſtrict, among all his *Curiæ*, in equal Proportions; reſerving only ſo much Land for his own Demeſnes as were neceſſary to defray the Expences of Religion, and maintain the Temples.

Year of *ROME* II.

§. XXIV. Thus was the Colony founded; and the Wiſdom of its Laws ſeemed to promiſe it an eternal Duration. Nevertheleſs, it wanted both Men to make it more numerous, and Women to perpetuate it by Marriages. But the Care and Artifice of *Romulus* provided a Remedy for both theſe Inconveniences. In order to augment his Colony with Men fit to bear Arms, he filled the neighbouring Countries with the Fame of his happy Adminiſtration, and of the Peace and Tranquillity that were enjoy'd at *Rome*. But theſe Reports, tho' very advantageous, did yet but little increaſe the Number of the *Romans*. However, as the neighbouring Cities were governed by imperious Sovereigns, ſuch of their Inhabitants as were in a State of Freedom, inoffenſive in their Behaviour, and came to *Rome*, were well received there, and admitted to the Privileges of the Colony. As to fugitive Slaves, Homicides, and Families overwhelm'd with Debts, they ran to the new City from all Parts: But they were not admitted within the Walls; an *Aſylum* was open'd for them without the Gates of *Rome*. The Hill [106] *Saturnius*, afterwards called *Capitolinus*, had two Summits, with a Valley [107] between them, and being flanked to the Right and Left with very thick Woods, was thought an impenetrable Place. Here then *Romulus* receiv'd all the Profligates that fled to him, all the Slaves that were tired of their Maſters Government, and all ſuch Perſons as were purſued for Debt. Nor was the Appearance of Religion wanting to cover the Policy of the new King. He erected a Temple to a new Sort of Divinity, which he called the [108] *Aſylæan* God. All Criminals, and all that fled from the Cities of *Italy*, were to live ſecurely there, under the Protection of the God; or rather under that of *Romulus*, and his Colony. And afterwards, when the Founder himſelf enlarged the Borders of his City, and the Hill *Saturnius*, under the Name of *Tarpeius*, became a Part of it, the Aſylum was incloſed within the Walls, and thoſe Profligates, after having been brought under ſome Regulation by *Romulus*, became Citizens of *Rome*.

Plutarch and *Livy*, *B.* 1. *c.* 8.

Dion. Hal. p. 88. *Plutarch.*

Year of *ROME*, III, IV.

But the Colony, tho' become more numerous, ſeemed yet to promiſe no longer a Continuance, than during the Lives of its preſent Members. There were but few Women in it, among ſo great a Number of Men. *Rome* therefore muſt, for want of Marriages, ſoon come to nothing; at leaſt her jealous Neighbours had conceived Hopes of it. In vain had *Romulus*, by the Advice of his Senate, ſent Embaſſies to the neighbouring Nations, to ſollicite them to enter into Alliances with *Rome*, by giving the *Romans* their Daughters in Marriage. He had repreſented to them, that riſing Colonies were not always contemptible; and that the Gods had hitherto ſhewn Favour enough to *Rome*, to give them Reaſon not to diſdain to enter into Alliances with her. But the Deputies brought back only Railleries for Anſwers: *You have nothing to do*, ſaid they, *but to open an Aſylum for Women too; and then your People will be well matched. A Parcel of vagabond and looſe Women, will be fit Matches for a Crew of Fugitives loaded with Crimes or Debts.*

106 The Hill *Saturnius* was ſo called, becauſe, as was commonly believed, *Saturn*, an antient King of *Latium*, reſided there, in a little Town, called from him *Saturnia*. The Adventure of the famous *Tarpeia* changed its Name. It was thence called *Mons Tarpeius*, and afterwards *Mons Capitolinus*, from the finding there the Head of one *Tolus*, as they were digging the Foundations of a Temple, which was built on this Hill to the Honour of *Jupiter*.

107 This Valley was called *Intermontium*. The Eſtabliſhment of the Privilege of *Aſylums* by *Romulus*, was borrowed from the *Greeks*, and chiefly from the *Athenians*.

108 According to *Plutarch*, this *Aſylum* was put under the Protection of the *Aſylæan* God. But *Dion. Hal.* acknowledges that this tutelary Deity was unknown to him. It is certain, the Place was in his Time conſecrated to *Jupiter*, who might be the ſame with him, whoſe Worſhip *Romulus* eſtabliſhed under the Title of *Aſylæus*, that is, Protector of *Aſylums*.

Year of *ROME* III, IV.

ROMULUS.

WHEN therefore this inſulting Refuſal of the neighbouring Cities was brought to *Rome*, all the Prudence of *Romulus* was little enough to reſtrain the Reſentment of the *Roman* Youth. They expreſſed an ardent Deſire of procuring themſelves Wives by their Arms. But the King did not think it proper to dedicate his firſt Victories to the Conqueſt of Women. He choſe rather to make publick Sports an Occaſion of Marriages. *Romulus* thought that to ſeize and carry off by Force the Women (by whom he intended *Rome* ſhould be peopled) in the Height of their Merriment at a publick Shew, would be a leſs unlikely Means to ſoften their Hearts than Blood ſpilt in Battle.

As Workmen were digging in a Field very near *Rome*, they accidentally found an Altar dedicated to *Neptunus Equeſtris*, or the *Equeſtrian Neptune*, otherwiſe called *the God Conſus*. It was probably a Monument of the Piety of *Evander*, and his *Arcadians*. Why *Neptune* was called *Equeſtris*, is well known: According to the *Grecian* Fables, he had brought the firſt *Horſe* out of the Earth, with a Stroke of his Trident. And it was probably *Romulus* who gave him the Name of [109] *Conſus:* becauſe he hoped to receive uſeful Advice or *Counſel* from him in the Affair he was meditating. The Altar [110] was under Ground, to ſhew that Affairs which require Counſel, require Secrecy, and cannot be kept too private. And the Diſcovery of this Sanctuary was thought of Importance enough to deſerve a Celebration by publick Sports inſtituted in Honour of the God. To the Shew was added a Fair, and Leave was given to all the Merchants of the neighbouring Cities to come there and trade. For which end, *Romulus* proclaimed the Day he had fixed for theſe Sports, in all the Countries round about him: and for his own Part, made all the pompous Preparations for it that the Poverty of his Colony would admit. As to the Nature of theſe Sports, it is probable they chiefly conſiſted of Chariot-Races, and Horſe-Races; ſince this was the Manner that afterwards prevailed of celebrating the Sports [111] called *Conſualia*; which were perpetuated at *Rome*, in Memory of this firſt Shew which *Romulus* had given.

Plutarch.

Liv. B.1. c.9. Dion.Hal.B.1. p.99, 100.

Florus, &c.

THE Multitude of People which this Feſtival drew to *Rome*, was unſpeakably great: and they obſerved the Diligence of the Colony, in raiſing their Walls and building their Houſes, with Admiration. The Strangers were every where received with all the Demonſtrations of a friendly Hoſpitality: But in the mean while *Romulus* had agreed with his People upon a Signal to be given when the Rape ſhould begin.

WHEN the Day fixed for the Sports was come, the King preſided in a ſtriped Robe, which the *Latins* call [112] *Trabea:* The Aſſembly conſiſted of a vaſt Number of People, which were come together from the neighbouring Countries; but chiefly from the Cities, or rather little Towns of *Cænina, Cruſtumium*, and *Antemnæ*, which ſeemed to be emptied to furniſh Spectators for the *Roman* Sports. Men, Women, Girls and Children, all came to them: But it may be affirmed that the *Sabines* came in greater Numbers than other People. The Shews and the Fair laſted a conſiderable Time; for the Feaſt begun at the Beginning of the Month [113] *Sextilis*, and did not end till the twentieth of that

109 The common Opinion is, that *Romulus* invoked *Neptune* under the Name of *Conſus*. But others have made him a different God from *Neptune*. And *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* leave it undetermined. The former acknowledges he had heard that the Feſtival called *Conſualia*, was conſecrated to *Neptune*; but that the ſubterranean Altar was dedicated to a myſterious Deity, who preſided over ſecret Deſigns, and whoſe Name was unknown to the Vulgar.

110 *Plutarch* ſays, this Altar was preſerved under Ground, in the publick Place where *Ancus Marcius* built the great *Circus*. The *Romans* uncovered it only during the Celebration of the Sports inſtituted in Honour of this God *Conſus:* at which Times they offer'd Libations and Sacrifices upon it.

111 We ſhall ſpeak of theſe Games or Sports, in another Place. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that they were repreſented every Year, on the 20th of *Auguſt*, or the 12th Day before the Calends of *September*, becauſe the Rape of the *Sabines* was on that Day.

112 The Learned have wearied themſelves with Enquiries about the Habits of the antient *Romans*, eſpecially the *Trabea*. All things conſidered, *Dion. Hal.* and other antient Authors, incline one to believe it was very like the *Toga*; with this Difference, that it was adorn'd with Stripes of Purple, at due Diſtances, on a white Ground. This was the ordinary Habit of the Kings of *Rome:* And it will hereafter appear, that the chief Magiſtrates of the Republic, and the *Roman* Knights, appeared in it, on certain Days of Ceremony. But there was likewiſe another Sort of *Trabea*, worn only by the *Augurs*; of which more in its Place.

113 Reckoning from *March*, which began the Year, according to *Romulus*'s Calendar, the ſixth Month was *Auguſt:* which was for that Reaſon called *Sextilis*, even after the Regulations made by *Numa* and *Julius Cæſar*.

Month.

Year of ROME III, IV. ROMULUS.

Month. The Peace and Harmony that continued during the Sports, lulled the Spectators into Security; for the *Romans* did not put their Enterprize in Execution till the laſt Day of the Feſtival. They had Orders to come armed to the laſt Shew, and conceal their Arms under their Clothes: And in the mean time, every one, during the Sports, pitched upon the Woman whom he determined ſhould be his Wife. When therefore the Multitude was moſt attentive to the Shew, *Romulus* roſe from his Seat, adjuſted his Robe, folded it, and unfolded it again. This was the Signal agreed on for [114] beginning the Rape; and inſtantly the *Roman* Youth appeared Sword in Hand, and fell [115] upon the

Silver.

Spectators. They, being unarmed and frighted, fell in Diſorder. And in the Tumult, the *Romans*, who had no Deſign of ſhedding Blood, carried off every one his Prey. The reſt of the Strangers were ſuffered to diſperſe themſelves, and to go home and bewail the Loſs of their Daughters or Siſters: But in the Hurry of the Rape, ſome *Romans* of Diſtinction, perceiving a Body of their People, of the meaneſt Sort, running away with a young Woman of ſingular Beauty, envied them ſo fine a Prey: And they, to prevent their being deprived of their Booty, cried out, *Thalaſſio, Thalaſſio* [116]; a Word uſed in *Rome*, in the Celebration of Marriages, ever after. Their Meaning was, that the young Perſon they were carrying away, was deſigned for *Thalaſſius*, an illuſtrious *Roman*, who was in great Eſteem in the Colony. And from hence it was, that the crying out *Thalaſſio*, was always cuſtomary at *Rome*, in the Marriage Ceremony; in the ſame manner as *Hymen* and *Hymenæe*, prevailed among the *Greeks*.

Aurel. Victor.

But nevertheleſs, as youthful Paſſions had a leſs Share in theſe Marriages than publick Neceſſity, *Romulus*'s Law is ſaid to have been obſerved with great Exactneſs. He had forbidden any Attempts to be made upon the Women who were carried off, till lawful Marriages had been ſolemnized in Form. For which Purpoſe, the King cauſed the *Sabine* Women (for ſo were they all call'd, becauſe the greater Number were *Sabines*) to be brought into his Preſence the Day after the Rape. They were by this time a little recover'd from their Fright; and the King comforted them under the Loſs of their Relations, by his Panegyrick on the Husbands he was going to give them: *The* Romans, ſaid he, *did not come upon you Sword in Hand to diſhonour you: It was to ſecure you a happy Settlement in a riſing Colony, of which you are going to be both the Support and the Glory. It is more honourable for you to have been ſeized as you were, than to have obſerved the Rules of common Marriages. For this was the Caſe of the many Heroines of* Greece. *I will take Care that you ſhall meet with all the Tenderneſs from your new Husbands, which could have been ſhewn you in your Father's Houſes. Soften then the Fierceneſs of your Anger, and ſurrender your*

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 100. Liv. B. 1. c. 9.

114 The Rape of the *Sabines* is repreſented in the Medal above. It was ſtruck by *L. Titurius*; whoſe Name, together with the Head of *Titus Tatius*, a *Sabine* King, which are on one Side of the Medal, prove that the *Titurean* Family was originally *Sabine*.

115 Some Authors ſay, it was in Memory of this Rape that it became cuſtomary in the *Roman* Marriages, for the Bridegroom to ſnatch the Bride out of her Mother's Arms, and carry her as it were by Force to his own Houſe. *Qui rapis teneram ad virum Virginem*, ſays *Catullus*.

116 I have followed the Opinion of *Livy* and *Plutarch*. I know *Varro*, as quoted by *Sex. Pompeius*, differs from them. He thought the Word *Thalaſſio* antiently ſignified thoſe little Baskets in which the Ladies put their Work, to this Day; and that for this Reaſon, that as the *Sabines* would not afterwards give themſelves voluntarily to the *Romans*, but on condition that they ſhould only be obliged to work in Wool, they carried little Baſkets to their Husbands Houſes, on the Day of Marriage, to put their Work in. Whilſt others ſay, the Word *Thalaſſio* was the Word *Romulus* agreed ſhould be uſed, when they begun the Rape. And indeed this Cry agreed very well with the God of the Sea, whoſe Feſtival they then celebrated: And therefore the Poets always give him the Surname of *Thalaſſios*. *Ariſtophanes* ſpeaking of *Neptune* calls him, Θαλάσσιος Ποσειδῶν.

Hearts

Hearts to Men who thought themſelves obliged to take you by Violence for the Good of their State. If we have ſought you in a military Way, impute it to your Fathers, who denied you to our civil Requeſts. In a word, lay aſide all Reſentment, and be rather pleas'd with the extraordinary Method we have taken to poſſeſs you. After this he married them into the beſt Families of *Rome*, with this Form, which has been ſacred ever ſince in Marriages; *Partake ye of your Husbands Fire* [117] *and Water.* As to the Number of theſe *Sabine* Women, ſome Hiſtorians make them to have been ſix hundred eighty-three, others five hundred twenty-ſeven, and others reduce them to thirty only. And the latter pretend, that the Word *Curia* comes from them, becauſe they had for the moſt part been Natives of *Cures* [118], a City of the *Sabines:* But no eminent Hiſtorian has been of this Opinion.

Year of *ROME* III, IV. ROMULUS.

Juba apud Plutarch.

ROMULUS had the Comfort of finding, that among this Multitude of young Women ſeized in a tumultuous Manner, there was only one that was married, whoſe Name was *Herſilia.* Poſſibly a very young Look made them confound her with the reſt, and take her for a Maid: And a *Greek* Hiſtorian ſays, that *Romulus* made her his wife, and had a Daughter by her, named *Prima*, becauſe ſhe was his *firſt* Child, and a Son named *Abilius.* But other Hiſtorians, who were perhaps better informed, contend, that *Herſilia* was married to *a noble Roman* named *Hoſtus*, and that *Tullus Hoſtilius*, one of the Kings of *Rome*, deſcended from her. But be that as it will, the *Sabine* Women experienc'd the truth of *Romulus*'s Promiſes. The Virtue and Fondneſs of their Husbands made them ſoon forget their native Country and their Father's Houſes. Their Attachment alſo to *Rome* will ſoon ſignally appear by the moſt tender and generous Demonſtrations. In Memory of this Rape, it afterwards became cuſtomary in all Marriages there, for the Brides to be taken up under the Arms and carried at leaſt over the Threſhold of the Door [119], when they enter'd their Husbands Houſes, as if they had been taken from their Fathers by Force.

Zenodotus Trezenius.

§. XXV. THE *Sabines* have been thought by ſome to have been a Colony [120] of *Lacedæmonians*, tranſplanted into *Italy*; and that not improbably. At leaſt the Moderation, Wiſdom, and Frugality of theſe two Nations, bore a great Reſemblance to each other. Their State was a pretty extenſive one, if compared with the little neighbouring Sovereignties; but the People lived altogether in Villages which were open on all Sides, or at leaſt only encloſed with Paliſades. And tho' their Courage inclined them to revenge the Affront offered them in the Perſons of their Daughters; yet their Prudence made them fear every thing from the *Roman* Arms, in an open and defenceleſs Country. They therefore propoſed to repair their Honour by Treaties, before they run the hazard of a War; and ſent to demand their Daughters, promiſing to enter into an Alliance with the *Romans*, whereby they ſhould have Liberty to intermarry with them. But *Romulus* was inflexible. He on his Part demanded, that the *Sabines* would confirm the Marriages of his *Romans*, which were made indeed by Violence, but a Violence which was unavoidable. Whilſt the ſlow Progreſs of the Treaty ſuſpended Hoſtilities on both

Year of *ROME* V. ROMULUS.

Plutarch.

117 This Communication of Fire and Water between the Husband and Wife, was the Symbol of conjugal Union; and inſinuated that their Goods were in common between them: Whilſt on the contrary, the Orders for Baniſhment were expreſſed, by prohibiting the Uſe of Fire and Water, becauſe the baniſhed were thought excluded from the public Society.

118 *Feſtus* is of this Opinion. His Words are theſe: *Curiæ—ſunt ea in quas Romulus populum diſtribuit, numero triginta——— hiſque Curiis ſingulis nomina Curium virginum impoſita dicuntur, quas virgines quondam Romani de Sabinis rapuerunt.*

119 It is an antient hiſtorical Tradition, that the Brides never ſtep'd upon the Threſhold, when they went into their Husbands Houſes. They were held up to prevent it.

Turritâque premens frontem matrona coronâ
Tranſlatâ vitat contingere limina plantâ.
Pharſ. B. 2.

Varro indeed contends, that this was out of Reſpect to this Part of the Houſe which was conſecrated to *Veſta:* But *Plutarch* ſays, it was to ſhew, that the firſt Marriages were made by Rapes. And from hence, ſay ſome Authors, comes the Cuſtom of parting the Hair of the new married Woman with the Point of a Lance. This was intended to ſhew, that Iron and Violence gave the *Romans* their firſt Wives: And the truth of this Cuſtom ſeems to be confirmed by *Ovid*, in theſe Words,

Comat Virgineas haſta recurva comas.

120 *Dion. Hal.* upon the Credit of an antient Hiſtory of the *Sabines*, ſays, that the *Lacedæmonians*, not being able to ſubmit to the Severity of *Lycurgus*'s Laws, fled from their own Country into *Italy*, and landed at *Pometia*, whence they

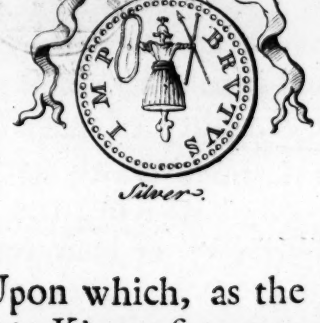
Year of *ROME* V.

ROMULUS.

both Sides, *Acron*, whom the Hiſtorians call King [121] of *Cænina*, and whom we ſhall ſtile the Head of that Town, prevented the *Sabines*, and firſt took the Field. He was a Man of Valour; and had ſignalized himſelf in more Wars than one. Beſides, he thought the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which had given him Jealouſy from their firſt Eſtabliſhment, was now become more formidable ſince the audacious Rape committed on his Country-women. He thought it neceſſary to ſtifle a Colony in its Birth, which otherwiſe would increaſe in Strength as it grew in Age: And he, for theſe Reaſons, ſollicited the *Sabines*, as well as the Inhabitants of [122] *Cruſtuminum* and *Antemnæ*, to join their Forces with his. But their Delays put him out of all Patience. *Acron* thought he could himſelf ſubdue an Handful of Men, who were gathered together in a City newly founded, and very little fortified: But the March of his Army had more the Air of an Incurſion of Robbers, than of a regular Expedition. The *Cæninenſes* ravaged and pillaged the Lands of the *Romans*; and *Romulus* did not confine himſelf within his Walls: He inſtantly marched out againſt the Enemy, and went to give the firſt Proof of the *Roman* Valour againſt Strangers in open Field, where they joined Battel: and where the *Romans* fought for every thing that was dear to them, and even for the Hopes of their Poſterity. But before we proceed, it is neceſſary to obſerve here, a Cuſtom in Fighting very common in the heroical Times, and not then aboliſhed; which was this: It was uſual for the two Commanders mutually to provoke each other with their Eyes and Voices in the Heat of the Engagement, and to ſhew the Deſire they had of engaging ſingly: Upon which the two Armies open'd, and made a Circle, wherein the two Leaders were to engage. And *Romulus* on this Occaſion made a Vow to *Jupiter*, that if he came off Conqueror, he would erect a *Trophy* [123] to him of

D. Hal. B. 1. *p.* 101.

Plutarch.



Silver.

the Spoils of the Conquered. Upon which, as the Prejudices of Religion inſpire with Courage, the young [124] King of twenty-five or twenty-ſix Years of Age,

went into the Country of the *Sabines*, who ſoon became one People with them. But *Porcius Cato* ſays, the *Sabines* took their Name from *Sabinus* the Son of *Sancus* or *Sabus*, whom they worſhipped under the Name of *Dius Fidius*. Whereas *Silius* the Poet calls the Founder of the *Sabines*, *Sabus*.

Pars Sancum voce canebant
Auctorem gentis, pars laudes ore ferebant
Sabe tuas, qui de patrio cognomine primus
Dixiſti populos magna ditione Sabinos.

The Name of *Sancus* was given him, becauſe he preſided over Compacts or Treaties, *a ſanciendis fœderibus*.

121 *Cænina* was ſituated on the Confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. *Plutarch* and *Stephens* make it a City of the *Sabines*; but the Authority of *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Feſtus*, who think this a City of antient *Latium*, is againſt them. *Cluverius* thinks, that *Cænina* was on this Side the *Anio*, four Miles from *Rome*. *Holſtenius* places it beyond that River, in the Neighbourhood of *Monticelli*.

122 *Cruſtuminum* and *Antemnæ* were either ſubject to, or in the Neighbourhood of, *Sabinia*. Some Geographers think the former was ſituated near the Place where *Marcigliano Vecchio* now ſtands. They place the latter upon the *Tyber*, almoſt between the *Tiburtine* and *Nomantine* Ways. But it is uncertain where they ſtood. *Plutarch* ſays, that *Fidenæ* made a League with *Cruſtuminum* and *Antemnæ*, againſt the *Romans*.

123 The Uſe of Trophies, eſpecially among the *Greeks*, is immemorial. It was cuſtomary to erect them upon the Field of Battle. The antient Trophies conſiſted of a Poſt, a Stake, or a Trunk of a Tree dreſſed up with the Spoils of the Enemy. We have the Figure of one of them in the Medal above, which was ſtruck after the Victory gained by *Brutus* over the *Beſſi*, a People of *Thrace*, near *Myſia*. And in After-times, the Conquerors erected Pillars of Braſs, or Marble, or Stone, and towers, and triumphal Arches, with Inſcriptions to perpetuate the Memory of their Victories. But according to *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Queſtions*, Antiquity abhorred thoſe who firſt made uſe of Marble and Braſs for Trophies, becauſe, ſays he, it ſeemed inhuman to tranſmit the Shame and Misfortunes of People to future Ages: And he adds, that in conſequence of this, they would not ſuffer the triumphal Arches to be repaired. Theſe Monuments were generally dedicated to ſome Divinity.

124 If, according to *Tarrutius*, it be true, that *Romulus* was born the ſecond Year of the ſecond *Olympiad*, and we fix the Eſtabliſhment of the new Colony, according to *Varro*, to the third Year of the ſixth *Olympiad*, we ſhall then be forced to ſay, that *Romulus* was not at moſt but in his nineteenth Year when he laid the Foundations of his City. It is plain there are but eighteen Years between theſe two Terms: ſo that upon this Suppoſition, we agree with *Dion. Hal.* who makes the Founder of

Year of *ROME* V. ROMULUS.

Age, fought like a Hero, ſlew an antient Warriour, and ſtripped him of his Armour. The Death of *Acron* was alſo followed by the Flight and Diſcouragement of the *Cæninenſes*; and *Romulus* purſued them to their Town, which they had of late ſlightly fortified. The *Romans* enter'd it with the Fugitives, and took it without oppoſition. And then did the Conqueror ſignalize at once, both his Moderation and his Policy. He ſpared the Blood of the Conquered, and contented himſelf with [125] razing *Cænina*, and carrying the Inhabitants to *Rome*, to augment his Colony. And the Eſtabliſhment he gave them, upon the ſame foot with his firſt Citizens, was a Rule of Conduct from which he never after departed upon any Victory. But either out of Oſtentation, or to animate his People with an ardent Love of Glory, *Romulus* now adorned his Victory with a Pomp hitherto unknown. He decreed to himſelf the Honours of a *Triumph* [126]; for ſo the Reception given to Conquerors at their Return from their Conqueſts was called. It is reaſonable to think, that this firſt example which *Romulus* gave in his own perſon, excited the Emulation of all the *Roman* Generals; and perhaps nothing contributed more to the Conqueſt they made of the world: But the Preparations for this Triumph were ſuited to the Poverty of the *Romans* in thoſe Days. Whatever *Dion. Hal.* may ſay of it, *Romulus* did not ride in a Chariot; he enter'd *Rome* on Foot [127], with his Troops marching ſome before and ſome after him. His long Hair flowed upon his Shoulders, and his Head was crowned with Laurel. He had fixed the Spoils of *Acron* to the Trunk of a little Oak, and covered it with them. This

Silver.

Trophy repreſented an armed Man which he carried in Triumph on his Right Shoulder [128]. All the People came without the Walls to meet the Conqueror, ſinging his Praiſes; and lined the Road on both Sides. When he was enter'd

of the Empire to be of that Age. But is it probable, that a young Man, ſcarce out of his Childhood, ſhould be entruſted with the Conduct of an Enterprize of ſo great Importance, as the founding of *Rome*? It is more rational to ſay, that *Tarrutius* is miſtaken in the exact Year of *Romulus*'s Birth. And it is therefore better to adhere to the Tradition of ſome Authors, namely, that the firſt King of *Rome* was conceived five Years before, on the fourth of *April*, which they ſay was remarkable for an Eclipſe of the Sun, which *Tarrutius* places on that Day. According to this Computation, *Romulus* was above twenty-two, when he was elected King of *Rome*. So that if, with *Cneius Gellius*, we place the Rape of the *Sabines* in the fourth Year of *Romulus*'s Reign; it will then follow, that he was twenty-five or twenty-ſix Years old, when he defeated *Acron*. We have likewiſe thought fit to reject their Opinion, who place the Rape of the *Sabines* in the firſt Year of the Foundation of *Rome:* becauſe it is incredible that the Head of a Colony ſo lately planted, ſhould dare undertake ſo hazardous an Enterprize, before he had ſettled his own little State.

125 If we may believe *Dion. Hal. Romulus* treated the Conquered with yet more Clemency, in giving them their Choice, either to ſtay at home, or ſettle at *Rome:* And the ſame Author adds, that the Conqueror thought fit to ſend a Colony of three hundred *Romans* to *Cænina*.

126 This was the firſt *Roman* Triumph. The Word comes originally from θρίαμβος, one of the Names of *Bacchus*, who conquered the *Indies*; and who, according to *Pliny* and *Diodorus Siculus*, firſt received the Honours of a Triumph. They who followed the Conquerors, made the Air reſound with this Name of *Bacchus*; whence the Acclamation, *Io Triumphe!* which is thus expreſſed by *Horace:*

Teque dum procedis, Io Triumphe!
Non ſemel dicemus Io Triumphe!
Civitas omnis.

The Order, Laws, and Pomp of the antient Triumphs, will be ſpoken to hereafter.

127 *Plutarch* differs from *Dion. Hal.* who repreſents *Romulus* as carried in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, τεθρίππῳ παρεμβεβηκώς, during the Ceremony of his Triumph. He, and *Zonaras* after him, pretend, that old *Tarquin* was the firſt that rode in a Chariot. But others think this Cuſtom was introduced by *Poplicola*. *Dion. Hal.* who was a *Grecian*, was probably miſtaken in the Meaning of the Word *Feretrum*, which ſignifies *a Bier*.

128 We learn from *Plutarch*, that there were at *Rome* in his Time, Statues repreſenting *Romulus* on foot, and loaded with this Trophy. Some Medals prove it, as particularly that above. It was ſtruck by the Order of *Adrian* the Emperor. On it appears *Romulus* on foot, holding with one Hand the Trophy which he had on his Shoulder, and carrying in the other the Pike which the *Sabines* call *Quiris*. In imitation of the Founder of *Rome*, it was cuſtomary for the Conquerors, ſince the Uſe of Chariots, to walk through the City, with a Trophy on their Shoulders.

Year of *ROME* V.

ROMULUS.

Rome, they preſented him Wine, and ſpread Tables before the Houſes, for the Soldiers who had a mind to refreſh themſelves. Such was the firſt *Roman* Triumph. But theſe Triumphs afterwards degenerated into Luxury and Exceſs, which ſerved more, in the latter Times, to make an oſtentatious Shew of odious Treaſures, than to excite Virtue. However, *Romulus* purſued his March to the Hill *Saturnius*, ſince called the *Capitol*, in the ſame Order he enter'd the City. He had there erected ſo ſmall a Temple [129], that it was only ten foot [130] long, and five broad; and there the triumphant Victor depoſited his Trophy, and conſecrated it to *Jupiter Feretrius* [131]. This Name was then given to *Jupiter*, becauſe *Romulus* had himſelf *carried* thither the Preſent that he had vowed: And a Name of Diſtinction was likewiſe given to the glorious Spoils that *Romulus* had taken from the King of *Cænina*. They were called [132] *opima Spolia*, becauſe they were more excellent than any other that could be taken from the Enemy. It was the General of the *Roman* Army, who had taken them from the General of the Enemy's Army, after he had killed him with his own Hand: And it will hereafter appear, how rare a thing it was, even in the moſt glorious Times of the Republick, to bring Trophies to *Rome*, which were diſtinguiſhed with ſuch remarkable Circumſtances.

a ferendo.

Plut. & Livy, B. 1. ch. 11.

§. XXVI. In the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Cruſtuminum* [133] and *Antemnæ* had not loſt their Deſire of revenging the Violence done to their Daughters; nor had any thing delay'd it, but the Care of making Preparations for War. The *Antemnates* were firſt in the Field, and ſpread themſelves all over the *Roman* Lands, which were already enlarged with the Territory of *Cænina*, and laid them waſte: whilſt the *Cruſtumini*, on their Parts, deſtroyed the Harveſt of the *Romans*. *Cruſtuminum* was indeed a Colony from *Alba* as well as *Rome*; but Jealouſy among the Children of the ſame Mother is not uncommon. However, one [134] Legion haſtily formed at *Rome*, delivered *Romulus* firſt from the *Antemnates*, and then from the *Cruſtumini*, who were more eaſily ſubdued. The *Romans* had already gained ſuch an Aſcendant over their Neighbours, as made them victorious in all their Engagements. They had nothing to do at *Rome*, but to conſider what Method was to be taken with the Conquered: And *Herſilia*, who in all appearance was born at *Antemnæ*, diſpoſed the King to favour her Countrymen. However, he conſulted his Senate about the Treatment he ſhould give to the Cities he had ſubdued: but he inclined the Senators to the merciful Side. The Reſult of the Conſultation was, that the Inhabitants of the conquered Cities ſhould be brought to *Rome*.

Dion. Hal.

But before he put in Execution this favourable Determination, he cauſed ſuch of the Women, ſeized at the late Sports, as were born in either of thoſe two Cities, to be brought before him into the Senate. It is hard to imagine their loud Cries at the Sight of the Conqueror of their Fathers. They hid their Faces with their Robes, to conceal their exceſſive Grief. But *Romulus* forbad their Tears, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this Manner: *Your Countrymen preferred a bloody War to the Offers we made them of an advantageous Alliance. The Fate of that War has been againſt them, and made us Maſters of their Lives, their Goods, and their*

129 Some Remains of this Temple, whoſe Ruins *Auguſtus* had repaired, were to be ſeen in the Time of *Dion. Hal.*

130 Another Verſion of *Dion. Hal.*'s *Roman Antiquities*, ſays fifteen Foot long.

131 *Plutarch* derives the Word *Feretrius* from *ferire* to ſtrike; and ſupports his Conjecture by *Romulus*'s Prayer to *Jupiter* to ſtrike *Acron*. But this Interpretation does not very well agree with what he ſays in another Place, that the *Greek* Tongue was in Uſe in the Reign of *Romulus*. What he ſays in his Life of *Marcellus*, is moſt probable, namely, that *Feretrius* came orginally from φερετρον.

132 *Feſtus* derives the Word *Opima* from *Ops*, which ſignifies the Earth, and the Riches it produces; ſo that *opima Spolia*, according to him, ſignifies *rich* Spoils. But *Plutarch* derives it from *Opus*, as if one had ſaid *Spoils difficult to be obtain'd*. This Name was given only to ſuch Spoils as the General of the *Roman* Army had taken from the General of the Enemy's Troops; at leaſt this is *Plutarch*'s Opinion. Tho' *Varro* aſſures us, that not only a ſubaltern Officer, but even a common Soldier might make a Trophy of the Spoils he had taken from him who commanded in chief the Enemy's Army. In the ſpace of about five hundred and thirty Years after *Romulus*, only *Cornelius Coſſus* and *Claudius Marcellus* are reckoned to have had the Glory of carrying off this ſort of Spoils.

133 *Dion. Hal.* contrary to both *Livy* and *Plutarch*, ſays, that *Romulus* defeated the *Cæninenſes* and *Antemnates* before his Triumph, and the *Cruſtumini* after it.

134 The Word *Legion* comes from *legere*, which ſignifies to *chuſe*. And indeed the *Roman* Legions were all *choſen* Men. The Number of Men in a Legion, was different at different Times. We ſhall often ſpeak of them in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that when *Livy* ſays, *Romulus* led one Legion againſt the *Antemnates*, he muſt be underſtood to mean, that he led three thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe againſt them; which was almoſt all the Forces the *Romans* then had. *Plutarch* ſhews us, that the *Roman* Legion then conſiſted of three thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe.

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Liberty. They have juſtly merited our Anger and Reſentments, but we forgive them. Our Regard for your Husbands, and our Affection for you, give us a tender Concern for every thing that nearly affects you. Your Fathers ſhall owe to you their Lives, Liberties, and Eſtates. And we doubt not but your Husbands will find from your Gratitude an Increaſe of Reſpect and Affection, on account of the Benefits we now grant you, in their Names. And that you may have nothing left to wiſh for, Leave is given to the Conquered to ſettle in Rome, *if they pleaſe; and ſo to comfort you by their Preſence (when intermixed with us) for your paſt Loſs of them. I will not ſo much as deſtroy the Walls of your Cities. A Colony of* Romans *ſhall go and take Poſſeſſion of the Houſes of your Countrymen, who ſhall come and ſupply their Places here; and we will take nothing from them but a third Part of their Lands.*

At this, the Fear and Grief of theſe Women were inſtantly turned into an unexpected Joy. And their Satisfaction was complete, when they ſaw their Relations incorporated in a Colony, which began already to extend it ſelf, and could reckon more than one City within its Juriſdiction.

In this manner did the Valour and Clemency of *Romulus* daily gain him new Subjects. Whole Cities, of which *Medulia* was [135] one of the firſt, ſubmitted to his Laws. The *Hetrurians* were even in Haſte to come and taſte the Sweets of ſo wiſe a Government. One of their Generals, named *Cælius*, led all the Troops under his Command to *Rome*: Where *Romulus*, either out of Policy or for Want of Room, placed him upon a Hill near the City, which had then no Name; but has ever ſince been called *the Hill* [136] *Cælius*, from his taking Poſſeſſion of it, to build and ſettle there. The City of *Rome* was already too much confined to contain ſo great a Multitude of Inhabitants: And they were therefore obliged to enlarge its firſt Bounds, beyond the firſt *Pomærium*, and to build new Walls. *Rome* had hitherto contained only the Hill *Palatinus*, which was encompaſſed with a ſquare Wall: But now it ſpread it ſelf to the [137] *Capitol*, which was at this time called the Hill *Saturnius*. And on the Top of this Hill was built a Citadel, which was committed to the Government of a noble *Roman* named *Tarpeius*. This Citadel was ſurrounded on all Sides with Ramparts and Towers, which equally commanded the City and the Country: By which means the Aſylum which the Founder had opened for Slaves and Fugitives, was encompaſſed with a new Encloſure. In ſhort, the People built a Wall from the Foot of the *Capitol* to the *Tyber*, and opened a Gate in it [138] which they called *Carmentalis*.

Alex. Donatus ex Tito Livio.

Year of ROME VI, VII, VIII.

But this Increaſe of the *Roman* Forces and Fortifications did not terrify the *Sabines*. As they were Enemies ſuperior to the reſt in Wiſdom, they were therefore more formidable: And they had as much reſented the Rape of their Daughters, as any of thoſe Towns which had brought Deſtruction upon themſelves, by engaging in an inconſiderate War. But as Precipitation had been deſtructive to theſe latter, ſo was Slowneſs to the former. Had the *Sabines* joined themſelves at firſt to the *Cæninenſes*, *Cruſtumini* and *Antemnates*, they would have made themſelves the more formidable by their Confederacy; and the *Roman* Colony had been perhaps deſtroyed in its Infancy. But Providence determined otherwiſe. And as Hiſtorians ſo far differ in the Circumſtances of this War, that it is impoſſible to reconcile them, I am determined chiefly to follow *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, whoſe Account appears to me to be the moſt particular, and the moſt probable.

135 *Medulia* was at a ſmall Diſtance from *Rome* and the *Anio*. No Footſteps of its antient Situation are now remaining.

136 *Tacitus* ſays the Hill *Cælius* was covered with Oaks, before it was inhabited, and was from thence called *Mons querquetulanus*.

137 *Dion. Hal.* is miſtaken in ſaying that *Romulus* fortified the Hill *Aventinus*, to make the Approaches to *Rome* the more difficult. This Hill was then at too great a Diſtance from the City. Beſides, this Hiſtorian himſelf owns that it was *Ancus Martius* who fortified the Hill *Aventinus*. So that to avoid charging him with a Contradiction, we muſt ſay his Text has been altered. I ſhould rather credit *Strabo*, who ſays *Romulus* built Fortifications and a Ditch round the Hill *Quirinalis*.

138 This Gate was called *Carmentalis*, either becauſe *Carmenta* choſe to live there, or on Account of ſome Altar or Oratory erected there to her Honour.

Year of *ROME* VI, VII, VIII.

ROMULUS.

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 104.

§. XXVII. THE Capital of the *Sabines* was the City of [139] *Cures*; which was under the Government of *Titus Tatius*, who had the Title of King: (We know that every City, and even every Town of a State had then its own Governour, who honoured himſelf with that Title.) And at *Cures* therefore was held the general Aſſembly of the *Sabines*, to deliberate on the Affront they had received at the *Roman* Sports. All were of Opinion that Satisfaction was to be demanded, and an Army raiſed, ſufficient to humble a Colony, which they had already ſuffered to gain too much Ground. The King of *Cures* was choſen to be General. And whilſt the *Sabines* were preparing to come and attack the *Romans*, they, on their Parts, were buſy in augmenting their Troops, in order to a vigorous Defence. *Hetruria* furniſhed them with Supplies under the Command of *Lucumo*, or rather, one of their *Lucumones*, that is, one of their Kings: And *Numitor* did not forget his Grandſon in a Time of ſo much Danger. He ſent to *Rome* Supplies of Men, Proviſions and Arms, and proper Machines for ſuſtaining a Siege. And when all was ready on both Sides, the *Sabines*, to preſerve their Character of Equity in the Country, ſent a ſecond Summons to *Romulus*, to reſtore them their Daughters. To which the King anſwered, that the *Sabine* Women, tho' taken away by Force, were yet contented with their Lot; and that he would not deprive them of the Happineſs they enjoyed at *Rome*. An Anſwer which was a ſufficient Pretence for the *Sabines* to begin Hoſtilities. Their Troops began their March towards *Rome* early in the Spring. Their Army is ſaid to have conſiſted of 25000 Foot, and 1000 Horſe; which is an incredible Number for ſo ſmall a Nation: And it is added, that the *Romans* were ſcarce inferior in Number to their Enemies. They came out againſt them with 20000 Foot, and 800 Horſe, whom they poſted on the Mountains, which did then ſurround the City, but ſoon after became a Part of it. They divided theſe Troops into two Bodies: *Romulus* with his took Poſſeſſion of the Hill *Eſquilinus*; and the *Lucumo*, with his *Hetrurians*, poſted himſelf on the Hill, ſince called *Quirinalis*. And the *Romans* likewiſe called in all their Husbandmen out of the Country, and incloſed their Cattle within Entrenchments made for that Purpoſe.

In the mean time the *Sabines* advanced in good Order, and preſerved an exact Diſcipline in their March. All on a ſudden they came and encamped at the Foot of the *Capitol*, in that vaſt Plain which has ſince been called the *Campus Martius*. *Titus Tatius*, upon ſeeing all the Poſts guarded, was extremely uneaſy about the Succeſs of his Enterprize. But an unforeſeen Adventure extricated him out of his Difficulties. As the *Sabines* were ſtrolling round the *Capitol*, to find a Paſſage whereby they might get privately into the Citadel, the Governor's Daughter, named *Tarpeia*, who went accidentally to draw Water for a Sacrifice, was charmed with the Bracelets and Rings with which the Enemies were adorned. She therefore privately ſent one of her Maids to deſire a Conference with the *Sabine* General: And at Night *Titus Tatius* came to the Poſtern-Gate that had been ſhewn him; and agreed to give *Tarpeia* what the Soldiers wore on their left [140] Arms, provided ſhe would facilitate their Entrance into the Citadel, by that very Gate. But it is probable the young *Roman*, whoſe Eyes were at firſt dazled with the Jewels of the *Sabines*, immediately repented of the Treachery. And then, in order to turn the Stratagem againſt the *Sabines* themſelves, ſhe ſent to *Romulus* deſiring a ſtrong Body of Troops to oppoſe *Tatius*, who expected to enter the *Capitol* the Night following, by a Gate that ſhe was to open to him. But it unfortunately happened, that the Expreſs ſhe ſent proved a Traitor, and went to the Camp of the *Sabines*, to inform them of the Ambuſhes that were laying for them. *Tatius* did not fail of being at the Gate at the Time appointed, but with a greater Body of Men than *Tarpeia* expected. As ſoon as the

Lucius Piſo, apud Dionyſ. & Aurel. Vict.

139 *Cures* was ſituated in the Territory now called *Correzè*, or *Curezè*, upon a little River of the ſame Name, which falls into the *Tyber* above *La Farſa*. *Cluverius* gueſſes that this City was built in the ſame Place where now ſtands the Monaſtry called *Il veſcovio di Sabina*, or the *Biſhoprick of Sabina*. He aſſures us ſome old Remains of Towers and Walls are to be ſeen there.

140 According to *L. Piſo* the Hiſtorian, as quoted by *Dion. Hal. Tarpeia*'s Deſign was only to ſtrip the Enemy of the Bucklers they wore on their left Arms, in order thereby to expoſe them defenceleſs to the Mercy of the *Roman* Garriſon.

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Gate was opened, he led in his *Sabines*; who meeting with but little Reſiſtance, *Tatius* made himſelf Maſter of the Citadel of *Rome:* And then he found Means to revenge himſelf on the *Roman* Lady by keeping his Word. The *Sabines* cruſhed her to Death with the Bucklers they wore on their left Arms, and ſo killed her. By which Puniſhment, and the Tomb which *Romulus* erected for [141] her, it appears that her Intentions to her Country were

Silver.

good. The Hill *Saturnius* took from her the Name of *Tarpeius*, which it retained till it was afterwards called *Capitolinus*. And even then, the ſteepeſt Part of it, down which Criminals were thrown, continued to be called *Rupes Tarpeia*.

THE *Sabines* being thus lodged on the *Capitol*, promiſed themſelves the Conqueſt of *Rome*. At leaſt, they might depend on a ſafe Retreat, if they were worſted in a general Action. Several Days were ſpent in Skirmiſhes, which coſt more Blood than they brought Advantage to either Party. But at laſt, *Romulus* offered Battle to the *Sabines*, who were poſted as advantageouſly as himſelf; and they confidently accepted it. The *Roman* therefore drew up his Troops within the new Incloſure of his City, between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*, where the Ground was ſtraitned by the new Walls which he had lately built there. Whilſt on the other hand, the *Sabine* General marched down from the Citadel with his Troops, to try his Strength with *Romulus*. It is impoſſible that two great Armies ſhould engage in ſo narrow a Space of Ground; and we muſt therefore abate much of the twenty thouſand and upwards, which the Hiſtorians give to each Party.

THE Field of Battle was bounded, on the Side of the *Sabines*, by the Hill *Tarpeius* and the Citadel; and on that of the *Romans*, by the Hill *Palatinus*, and the firſt Encloſure of *Rome*. The Troops which lined the Walls of the Citadel, and City, were Spectators of the Battle, and encouraged the Armies by their Shouts. Nevertheleſs, the firſt Action determined nothing; the Night coming on put an End to it: And the Days following were taken up with burying the dead, and refreſhing themſelves. But at length, the Day was fixed for a ſecond Engagement, which began early, and did not end till Night. *Romulus* commanded the right Wing, and the *Lucumo* the left. The Battle was fought with a Valour natural to theſe two Nations of *Italy*, who valued themſelves for their Bravery. The *Romans* had at firſt the Advantage in both Wings; but they fought a great while in the Center of the two Armies, without giving way on either Side. Till at length a brave *Sabine*, named *Metius Curtius*, turned the Scale in favour of his Countrymen. He firſt broke into the Heart of the *Roman* Army, and then ran with great Fierceneſs to rally the Wings of the *Sabine* Army, which had been put into Diſorder by *Romulus* and the *Lucumo*. Then ſome of the *Roman* Cohorts gave way, and *Curtius* drove them to the Gates of their City: But *Romulus*, in his Turn, purſued the victorious *Sabines*, brought *Curtius* into great Danger, and

[141] *Fabius* and *Cincius* aſſure us, according to *Dion. Hal.* that *Tarpeia* exactly kept her Promiſe, of delivering up the *Capitol* to *Tatius*. To which *Piſo* adds, that the *Sabines* were going to give her the golden Bracelets they wore on the left Arms; but that upon her demanding the Bucklers, *Tatius*, enraged at the Deceit, threw his with all his Strength at *Tarpeia*'s Head, and made all his Soldiers follow his Example; and that they thus bruiſed her to Death. Whilſt, on the contrary, *Fabius* throws all the Treachery on the *Sabines*. He pretends that they, being enraged that *Tarpeia* would abate nothing of the exceſſive Price ſhe had demanded of them, beat her to Death with their Bucklers, and thought themſelves freed from their Promiſe, by this cruel Artifice. We have to this Day a Medal, as above, which has on one Side *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*, and on the other, *Tarpeia* beat down under a Heap of Bucklers. The Creſcent and Star on the Medal confirm what *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that the whole Intrigue was executed in the Night.

drove

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drove him and his Troops back to their Posts. But *Curtius* sustained the Attack of the *Romans* with indefatigable Vigour, and was a Shield to his Men in their Retreat. Till at length *Romulus* came up to him; and *Curtius* halted to receive his Attack. Then, according to Custom, the Engagement was changed into a single Combat. The Duel between the two Heroes was vigorously fought on both Sides; but *Romulus* carried off all the Glory of it. His Rival, being wounded and covered with Blood, quitted the Field of Battle. And as he was surrounded by Enemies on all Sides, he chose rather to throw himself into a Pool, which was made by the Inundation of the *Tyber*, than to go a great Way about. This Pool was deep, and encompassed on all Sides with thick Mud: And therefore *Romulus*, thinking *Curtius* lost, rejoined his Army. But the *Sabine* was taken out of the Water, and only left his Name to the Place in which he had like to have perished. It was ever after called [142] *Lacus Curtius*, even when it was dried up, and covered with Houses, and became almost the Center of the *Roman Forum*.

ROMULUS, upon his Return to his Army, pursued the *Sabines* with such Vigour, that they fled in Confusion, and gained the *Capitol*. The *Romans* followed them, and, flushed with their Success, expected to have regained their Citadel. But an unfortunate Accident delayed the taking it. The *Sabines* rolled great Stones from the Top of the Hill, and one of them hit *Romulus* on the Head. Who being stunned with the Blow, fell down senseless; and whilst his Men were carrying him to the City, the *Sabines* recovered their Courage, took the Advantage of his Absence, and fell with Fury upon the right Wing of the *Romans*, which had lost its commander. The [143] *Lucumo* with the left Wing did indeed more than make a brave Resistance; he penetrated into the *Sabine* Legions: Till at length, being run thro' the Side with a Javelin, he died on the Spot. But then the *Romans*, being worsted on all Sides, left the Field of Battle; and flying in their Turns, sought for a Retreat within their Walls. The *Sabines*, who pursued them to the Gates of *Rome*, hoped to enter it with them: but the Foresight and Bravery of *Romulus* secured the Place from an Assault. He having by this time a little recovered his Senses, sent out a Body of Reserve, which had not yet engaged: and immediately after, he appeared himself at the Head of his Troops, and rallied his Men about him. His Presence alone restored the Courage of his Party, and struck the *Sabines* with Terror. All the Plain, to the very Capitol, was strewed with their dead Bodies, and as they could not recover the Place of their Retreat without climbing, their Loss was considerable. The Night only put an End to the Action, which was remarkable for a continual Change of good and bad Success, on both Sides; and at last ended, after an equal Loss, to the Advantage of the *Romans*.

Aurel. Victor, &c.

In the most critical Minute of the Day *Romulus* is said to have made a Vow to *Jupiter*, in order to obtain of him the rallying of his Troops, after their Flight: and, as Fortune would have it, they stopped at the Sight of their General. Out of a Belief therefore, that this was the Blessing of Heaven, he erected a

142 That one *Curtius* gave Name to this Lake or Pool, which was made by the Overflowings of the *Tyber*, is attested by all the *Roman* Historians; but they are divided between three different Persons of this Name. *Procilius* says, that the Earth having opened it self, the *Aruspices* declared it necessary, for the Safety of the *Republick*, that the bravest of the Citizens should throw himself into the Gulph; and that, for this Reason, one *Curtius* mounted on Horseback, and leaped armed into the midst of it. After which the Gulph immediately closed up, and immortalized the Name of *Curtius*. But *Piso* and *Dion. Hal.* authorise our Relation in the Text. They assure us that *Curtius* the *Sabine*, to avoid *Romulus*'s Pursuit, threw himself into a Pool, which then overflowed a Piece of Land, which lay between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Capitolinus*, and which was afterwards made the *Forum Romanum*, or the Great Place of *Rome*. Before the building of the Common-Sewers, this Pool was a Sort of Sink which received all the Waters of the Neighbourhood: And other Authors say, that this Place having been struck with Lightning, the Consul *Curtius*, Collegue to *Marcus Genutius*, caused it to be walled in, and according to them, gave *his* Name to the Lake *Curtius*. *Varro de Ling. Lat. l.* 4.

143 *Livy* makes no Mention of this *Lucumo*, who, according to *Dion. Hal.* came to *Romulus*'s Assistance. But he speaks of one *Hostus Hostilius*, who fought bravely against the *Sabines*, and fell, wounded in several Places, in the Heat of the Battle. This *Roman* Officer was Grandfather to *Tullus Hostilius*, the third King of *Rome*. The *Greek* Historian says nothing of him, or the Circumstances of his Death: But *Plutarch* says, that he was found among the Dead after the Battle.

Temple to *Jupiter*, whom he called [144] *Stator*, in memory of the happy Moment, when the *Romans*, recovering their Fright, *ſtopped*, and made head againſt

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the Enemy. Some Hiſtorians indeed ſay, that in this very Moment the *Sabine* Women came out of the City, with their Hair about their Shoulders, and their Children in their Arms: and add, that making their Way through the Enemy's Legions, they put a ſtop to the Fury of their Fathers, and of their Husbands, by their Tears. But this is an Adventure too wonderful, not to be thought fabulous. What Part the *Sabine* Women really had in the Reconciliation of the two People, of whoſe Differences they had been the Cauſe, will appear by the Sequel of our Story.

Plut. Florus, Livy, B. 1. ch. 13.

TITUS TATIUS continuing Maſter of the *Capitol*, and *Romulus* being ſhut up in his City, they mutually watched one another, without daring to appear in the Field. The *Sabines* held a Council, and deliberated whether they ſhould raiſe the Siege, and content themſelves with ravaging the *Roman* Territory, or ſhould ſend for new Levies from *Sabinia* to continue the Attacks. The firſt was the ſafer, the ſecond the more honourable. And the *Romans* were equally doubtful and undetermined what to do. The *Sabines* were, after all, a powerful Nation. The Victory of the preceding Days had neither been compleat nor deciſive: and it was more difficult for the *Romans* to repair their Loſs, than for the Enemy. Beſides, could they with Honour reſtore the *Sabine* Women whom they had ſeized? Would not that have been an Acknowledgment of their Weakneſs? And might not the *Sabines*, who would thence become more haughty, take advantage of ſuch a Confeſſion to deſtroy them ſome time or other?

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 109.

BUT whilſt the Men were thus deliberating in the Senate, the Women, for whoſe Sake the War had been made, met together; and, at the Perſuaſions of *Herſilia*, formed a Deſign of mediating between their Countrymen, and their Husbands. They demanded Admittance into the Senate, were received, and their Deſign approved: which was, to go into the Camp of the *Sabines*, and repreſent to the Head of their Nation the Happineſs they enjoyed under *Romulus*'s Government, and in the Families into which they were married. All the Security that was required of them, was to leave one or more of their Children at *Rome*: And ſuch of them as had ſeveral, were permitted to carry one at leaſt in their Arms, to raiſe the Compaſſion of their Grandfathers.

THE *Sabine* Women then laid aſide their Ornaments, and put on a mourning Dreſs. They advanced towards the *Capitol*, and filled it with their Cries; which they redoubled when they came into the Preſence of their Relations. Being introduced into the national Council, their Tears, at the Sight of *Titus Tatius*, flowed afreſh: and [145] *Herſilia* is ſaid to have been their Speaker. But be that as it

144 We here give the Reader the Reverſe of one of *Gordian*'s Medals, on which is the Figure of *Jupiter Stator*, holding a Pike in his right Hand, and Thunder in his left. *Tully* and *Dion. Hal.* ſay that *Romulus* built a Temple to *Jupiter*, at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, near the Gate *Mugionia*, in Gratitude for the Protection he had received from him. Whereas *Livy* ſays only, that he made a Vow to erect this Temple; and that it was not built till long after, and then by Order of the Senate. Several Authors have ſpoken of this Building, but do not agree in the Time, when or Place where it was erected. We learn from *Tacitus*, that the old Temple of *Jupiter Stator* was burnt down in the Time of *Nero*.

145 *Plutarch* makes this *Herſilia* to be different from her who is ſaid by *Livy* to have been *Romulus*'s Wife. The firſt was *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*'s Widow, and mediated between the *Romans* and *Sabines*. The ſecond had inclined her Husband *Romulus* to favour the *Antemnates*. It's probable they were both of thoſe *Sabine* Women who were carried away at the Sports conſecrated to *Neptune*. Nevertheleſs, ſome Authors quoted by *Dion. Hal.*

 ſay,

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it [146] will; *We are come*, ſaid they, *to ask Favour of our Relations, for our Husbands. Your Love for us has been but too evident, in the War you have made with the* Romans. *Ceaſe therefore your Hoſtilities in Favour of thoſe, whoſe Reſtitution you have demanded with your Swords. Our pretended Intereſts have made you ſhed Blood enough; let now our real ones diſarm you. Wiſdom will doubtleſs make you come to a Reſolution, which is ſuggeſted to you by the public Intereſt, as well as by the Affection you have for yourſelves, for us, and for your Grandchildren.*

INDEED, the *Sabines* wanted only a Pretence to put an end to their Reſentments; which they were furniſh'd with by this Contrivance of the Women. The Truce propoſed by the latter was therefore accepted, and gave room to hope for a laſting Peace: and afterwards the two Kings had a Conference, which ended to the Satisfaction of both Parties. Perhaps never was Reconciliation ſo ſudden and ſo perfect. They mutually engaged by Oath to become one People, and to be governed by the ſame Laws, and live within the ſame Walls. It was agreed, that the two Kings ſhould live together in *Rome*; and be equal in Power; that *Romulus* and *Titus Tatius* ſhould have the ſame Honours paid them; and that their common City ſhould continue ſtill to bear *Romulus*'s Name; but that the *Romans* ſhould take the Name of *Quirites*, till then peculiar to the [147] *Sabines*, and the latter be admitted to publick Offices, both civil and religious.

THREE powerful *Sabine* Families follow'd the Example of their King, and ſettled at *Rome*; where their Deſcendants were ever held in great Veneration and Eſteem. The Head of one of them was *Valerius* [148] *Voleſus*; of another, *Talus Tyrannus*; and of the third, that *Metius Curtius*, who had ſignalized himſelf ſo much in the laſt Battel. And a great Number of their Clients and Slaves ſettled in the ſame Place with their Patrons and Maſters. The reſt of the *Sabine* Army diſperſed, and return'd to their old Towns: But it's probable, that after they had been long united to the *Romans* in Alliance, they all made at laſt but one State, under the Adminiſtration of the two Kings. Thus ended a three Years War, which one would naturally have thought muſt have been deſtructive to thoſe, who, in the end, drew moſt Advantage from it.

Plutarch and *Livy*, *B.* 1. *ch.* 13.

§. XXVIII. A Treaty ſo advantageous to *Rome*, and ſworn to on the Altars by both the Parties concerned, conſiderably increaſed the Colony, and made it formidable: And then were inſtituted thoſe illuſtrious Bodies of *Roman* [149] Knights, who have ſince been looked on as the Flower of the Nobility, next to the *Patricians*.

ſay, that this *Herſilia* who negotiated the Peace, had been married before the Rape, and lived at *Rome* of her own Accord, with her only Daughter, who had been carried off. Her Husband's Name is not mentioned.

146 This Account, which we give after *Dion. Hal.* is more probable than that of *Livy* and *Plutarch*. They ſay, the Women that were ſettled at *Rome* ran together from all Parts, to ſtop the Fury of the Combatants; that theſe deſperate Women preſented themſelves to their Husbands, with their Children in their Arms, and their Hair about their Shoulders, in the midſt of a Shower of Arrows; and that they, by their Tears and Entreaties, diſarmed both Parties, and made them enter into a Truce, which was ſoon followed by a laſting Peace, between *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

147 It appears by the Treaty between *Romulus* and *T. Tatius*, that they were willing to put every thing upon an equal foot. As the common City was to retain the Name of *Romulus*, and be called *Rome*; ſo the common Inhabitants of this City, were to aſſume the Name of thoſe of *Cures* the Capital of the *Sabines*, and be called *Quirites*. The Origin of the Words *Cures* and *Quirites*, which were originally peculiar to the *Sabines*, and became, in *Romulus*'s Time, the general Name of the Inhabitants of *Rome*, has been much ſought for; and the moſt probable Account Antiquity gives us of them, is this. The Word *Quiris*, according to *Plutarch* and ſome others, ſignified in the *Sabine* Language, both a Dart, and a warlike Deity armed with a Dart. 'Tis uncertain whether the God gave Name to the Dart, or the Dart to the God. But be that as it will, this God *Quiris* or *Quirinus*, was the ſame with *Mars* or ſome other God of War; and the Worſhip of this God *Quiris* continued in *Rome* all *Romulus*'s Reign: but after his Death, *He* was honoured with the Name *Quirinus*, and took the Place of the God *Quiris*.

148 *Livy* calls him *Voleſus*; *Feſtus* and the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Voluſus*. *Plutarch* gives him the Honour of negotiating the Peace between *Romulus* and *Tatius*.

149 In their firſt Inſtitution, theſe Knights alone formed the Body of the *Roman* or legionary Cavalry. They, who aſpired to the Honour of being admitted into this Order on account of their Fortunes or Birth, often ſerved in the Army as Voluntiers; with this Difference, that the State furniſhed the former with Horſes out of the public Treaſury, whereas the latter were obliged to furniſh themſelves with Horſes at their own Coſts. This Cuſtom continued to the Time of *Marius*. Then *Rome* had recourſe to her Allies, to ſupply the Deficiency of the *Roman* Knights: And from that Time, the Provinces furniſhed as many Horſe, as were wanted to recruit the Legions. Indeed the Equeſtrian Order never had any ſettled Form, till after the *Cenſus* appointed by *Servius Tullius*. They

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tricians. *Romulus* gave thoſe, whom he choſe, the Name of [150] *Ramnenſes*; and *Tatius* called his *Tatienſes*, from his own Name. To which was added a third Order, out of thoſe Fugitives, who had formerly come and peopled the *Aſylum*: and they, from the Wood they inhabited, which the *Romans* called *Lucus*, were named *Luceres*. Theſe three Bodies of Horſe were incorporated into the *Roman Legions*, which, according to *Plutarch*, conſiſted afterwards [151] of ſix thouſand Foot and ſix hundred Horſe each. But the moſt common Opinion is, that the *Roman* Legion did not then conſiſt of above four thouſand Men at the moſt.

§. XXIX. AND, that he might likewiſe imitate and equal *Romulus* in all Reſpects, *Tatius* formed a Council of an hundred Senators of his own Nation. They bore the Name of *Fathers*, and enjoyed the ſame Privileges with thoſe who had been at firſt inſtituted by the Founder of *Rome*: And both the *Roman* and *Sabine* Senators held their firſt Aſſemblies on Affairs of State ſeparately, at the Houſes of their reſpective Kings. But afterwards, they all aſſembled together, near the Temple of *Vulcan*: in a Place therefore called [152] *Comitium*; becauſe the *Sabines* and *Romans* were here *united in one Aſſembly*.

§. XXX. *ROME* could not without Ingratitude forget the Services that had been done her by the *Sabine* Women, who were become entirely *Roman*, both by Marriage and Affection. Their ſtrict Adherence to, and Regard for, their Husbands, was what had juſt then completed her Grandeur and Felicity; and therefore nothing was neglected, in diſtinguiſhing them from the other Ladies. Every body was commanded to give way to them when they

They who had the Honour of being joined to them, engaged themſelves to be Soldiers by Profeſſion. They fought equally on Foot or on Horſeback, as Occaſion, or the Diſpoſition of the Ground, required. They were ſometimes poſted in the advanced Guard, ſometimes in the Centre, but more frequently in the Wings, of each Legion. But in length of Time, this illuſtrious Body degenerated, and the *Roman* Knighthood became a bare Title of Honour. Thoſe who enjoyed it, were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians*, by a Gold Ring they wore on their Fingers. So that in the latter Times of the Republic, the *Roman* Knights were no more confined to War, than any other Citizens. On the contrary, they undertook to collect the public Taxes, under the Name of Publicans. But of this more hereafter.

150 *Varro*, *Plutarch*, and *Feſtus* give the ſame Name to the three Tribes eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, which *Livy* gives to thoſe three hundred Horſe which were drawn out of each Tribe. Which is eaſily reconciled, if we ſuppoſe each hundred to bear the Name of its Tribe. *Dion. Hal.* dates the Diviſion of the Colony into Tribes, from the firſt Year of *Rome*. *Plutarch* brings it down to the Time of his Union of the *Romans* with the *Sabines*. And what can we infer from theſe different Opinions, but that *Romulus* inſtituted the Tribes from the Beginning of his Reign, thereby to ſettle his Form of Government; and that each Tribe had no particular Name, till after the Concluſion of his Treaty with *Tatius*. What confirms this Conjecture, is, that the ſecond Tribe was called *Tatienſis*, or *Tienſis*, from the Name of *Titus Tatius*. Some Authors indeed give all the three Names, *Ramenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*, an *Hetrurian* Derivation. But the generality of Hiſtorians agree in calling the Colony of the Inhabitants of *Alba* that went to *Rome* with *Romulus*, *Ramnenſes*; and ſo they do, in calling the ſecond Tribe, *Tatienſes*. The others who fled into the *Aſylum*, were called *Luceres*, if we may believe *Feſtus*, from *Lucerus*, King of *Ardea*, who, according to him, joined with *Romulus* againſt the *Sabines*.

151 The moſt learned Critics have obſerved, that *Plutarch* is miſtaken, when he ſays the *Roman* Legion conſiſted of ſix thouſand Foot and ſix hundred Horſe, after the Concluſion of the Treaty between *Romulus* and *Tatius*. But it's probable, that *Plutarch* meant no more, than that *Romulus* formed two Legions, of the two united Nations, which conſiſted each of three thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe. Αἱ λεγιῶνες ἐγένοντο πεζῶν μὲν ἑξακισχιλίων, ἱππέων δὲ ἑξακοσίων. And by the Help of the ſame Interpretation, we may explain *Dion. Hal.*'s ſaying, that *Romulus* incorporated into his Legion, or Army, three thouſand of the *Cæninenſes* and *Antemnates*. Tho' it were true, as ſome Authors conjecture, that each Legion did conſiſt of above three thouſand three hundred Men at this time; yet it is certain, that, *ordinarily ſpeaking*, it did not exceed four thouſand Foot. For this Reaſon, *Feſtus* calls a Legion *ſquare*; tho' this Denomination owed its Origin to their Order in Battel. I ſay, *ordinarily ſpeaking*, becauſe on ſome Occaſions, the Legion did conſiſt, if we may believe *Vegetius*, of five thouſand Foot, and two hundred, three hundred, four hundred, and ſometimes ſeven hundred Horſe. *Livy* tells us, the Legions which were appointed to go over into *Africa* with *Scipio*, conſiſted of ſix thouſand two hundred Foot and three hundred Horſe. And therefore *Feſtus* is miſtaken, when he ſays that *Marius* firſt made the *Roman* Legion to conſiſt of ſix thouſand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe. The Number of Soldiers in a Legion was therefore different at different Times. Nevertheleſs, it's probable, that from *Marius*'s Time, the Legions did more commonly conſiſt of ſix thouſand Foot and three hundred Horſe.

152 The *Comitium* was Part of the *Forum* at *Rome*; and was at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, over-againſt the *Capitol*. Not far from thence, the two Kings built the Temple of *Vulcan*, in the *Forum*. They uſually met here to confer with the Senate on the moſt important Affairs. *Dion. Hal.* adds, that *Romulus* then built the Temple of *Jupiter Stator*, near the Gate *Mugionia* ſo called from the *lowing* of the Oxen which paſſed through it; or from one *Mugius*, who ſtood Centinel there: and that *Tatius* built Temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, *Veſta*, *Diana*, and *Enyalius*, whom both *Romans* and *Sabines* worſhipped under the Name of *Quirinus*, without being able to ſay expreſsly, whether he was *Mars*, or ſome other Divinity. *Tatius* alſo erected Altars in every *Curia*, to *Juno Quiritis*; which was the Name the *Sabines* gave to a little Image of *Juno*, which they carried on the Top of a Pike.

Year of *ROME* VI, VII, VIII, Romulus.

paſſed by; all immodeſt and too free Diſcourſe was forbidden in their Preſence: it was a Law, that indecent Objects ſhould never be brought into their Sight; they were exempted from the Juriſdiction of the ordinary Judges, in capital Caſes; and laſtly, were permitted to hang a Ball [153] of Gold about their Childrens Necks, to diſtinguiſh them from the Vulgar. A particular Robe was alſo aſſigned theſe Children, called [154] *Prætexta*, the Uſe of which was forbidden to all others: And by theſe Laws, which theſe illuſtrious Women conſidered as a proper Recompence, it is evident how much Modeſty was in eſteem among them.

Year of *ROME* IX, X, XI, XII, XIII. Romulus.

For five Years together, the two Kings lived at *Rome* in a ſurpriſing good Correſpondence. *Romulus* knew how to reſtrain his lively Temper and aſpiring Genius. *Titus Tatius*, who was more peaceable and leſs warm in his Deſires, could well enough bear with a Partner, in a Throne which he was juſt admitted to ſhare with him. *Romulus* had his Palace on the Declivity of the Hill [155] *Palatinus*; and his particular Dominion reached all over old *Rome*, to the Hill *Cælius*, which was then but very thinly inhabited. *Tatius* reſided, and held his Court, on the Hill [156] *Tarpeius*; and his *Sabines* had fixed their Settlements

153 It's difficult to find out exactly what was the Form of this Ornament, which the *Sabine* Women had leave to hang about their Children's Necks. It was called *Bulla*. *Plutarch* ſays, that this *Bulla* was like the little Bubbles which the Drops of Rain make, when they fall upon running Water: And it is therefore probable, that theſe little golden Balls were both hollow and light. But ſeveral think, that they were but half Globes, with one Side flat, and the other globular. *Macrobius* pretends, that *Tarquin the Elder* extended the Right of wearing theſe ſort of Necklaces to all the Children of the *Patricians*, and began with his own. The Account we have given of theſe Marks of Honour, which *Romulus* granted to the *Sabine* Women and their Children, has been in part taken from *Plutarch* and *Livy:* tho' we don't deny but *Macrobius* relates the Thing otherwiſe, on the Credit of ſome Writers. Theſe ſay, that *Herſilia* being carried away with her Daughter, fell in Marriage to *Hoſtus*, an Officer diſtinguiſhed by his Merit among all thoſe of his Colony, and was the firſt who gave a Child to *Rome*. This Child, ſay they, bore the Name of *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, and was the only one to whom *Romulus* gave the Privilege of wearing the *Bulla Aurea*. But however that be, this Ornament was already of very antient Uſe among the *Hetrurians*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſays, that the *Egyptians* uſed it. And in After-times, not only the Children of the *Patricians*, but they alſo who had the Honours of a Triumph, the chief *Veſtal*, and the *Roman* Ladies, wore this ſort of Ornament. The young *Romans*, when they came to the Age of Manhood, quitted the *Bulla*, and made an Offering of it to the *Dii Lares*, which were then called *Lares Bullati*. *Perſius* aſſures us of this, in theſe Words:

Cum primum pavido cuſtos mihi purpura ceſſit,
Bullaque ſuccinctis Laribus donata pependit.

And this Ornament was alſo ſometimes conſecrated to ſome other Divinity, as appears by this Inſcription which *Gruterus* gives us from an antient Monument:

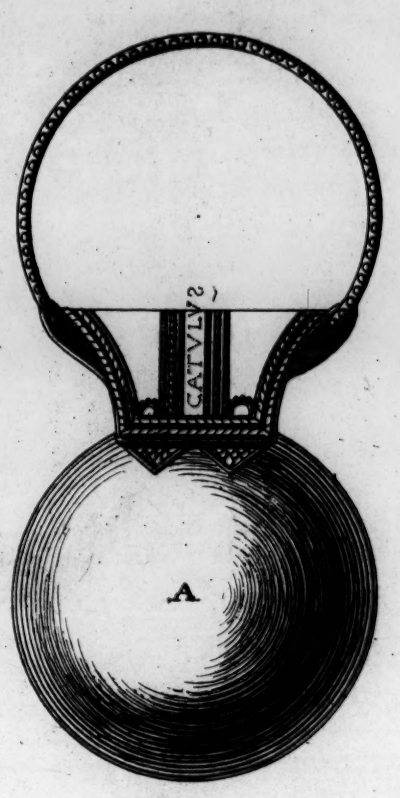
JUNONI PLACIDÆ,
CONSERVATRICI AUGUSTÆ
CLAUDIA SABBATIS
BULLAM. D.D.

The *Romans* uſed alſo to incloſe in theſe *Bullæ*, certain Preſervatives which Paganiſm had conſecrated, to ſecure their Children againſt Enchantments: And they perhaps attributed this Virtue to ſome Hieroglyphicks, or other myſterious Characters, which had more of Superſtition in them, than of Magic. The Figures of the Deities and of Animals were perhaps made uſe of for this Purpoſe; as in that particular Preſervative, which the *Latins* called *Amuleta*, whoſe Form was arbitrary. The Figure of theſe *Bullæ Aureæ* may be judged of, by the Repreſentations here given of ſome of them. The Figure of a Man's Heart was ſometimes impreſſed upon them, to put their Children continually in mind, ſays *Macrobius*, of this moral Truth, *That Men are only valuable for the Qualities of their Hearts:* In like manner as the purple Colour of the *Prætexta* put them in mind of the Rules of Modeſty, of which it is the Emblem.

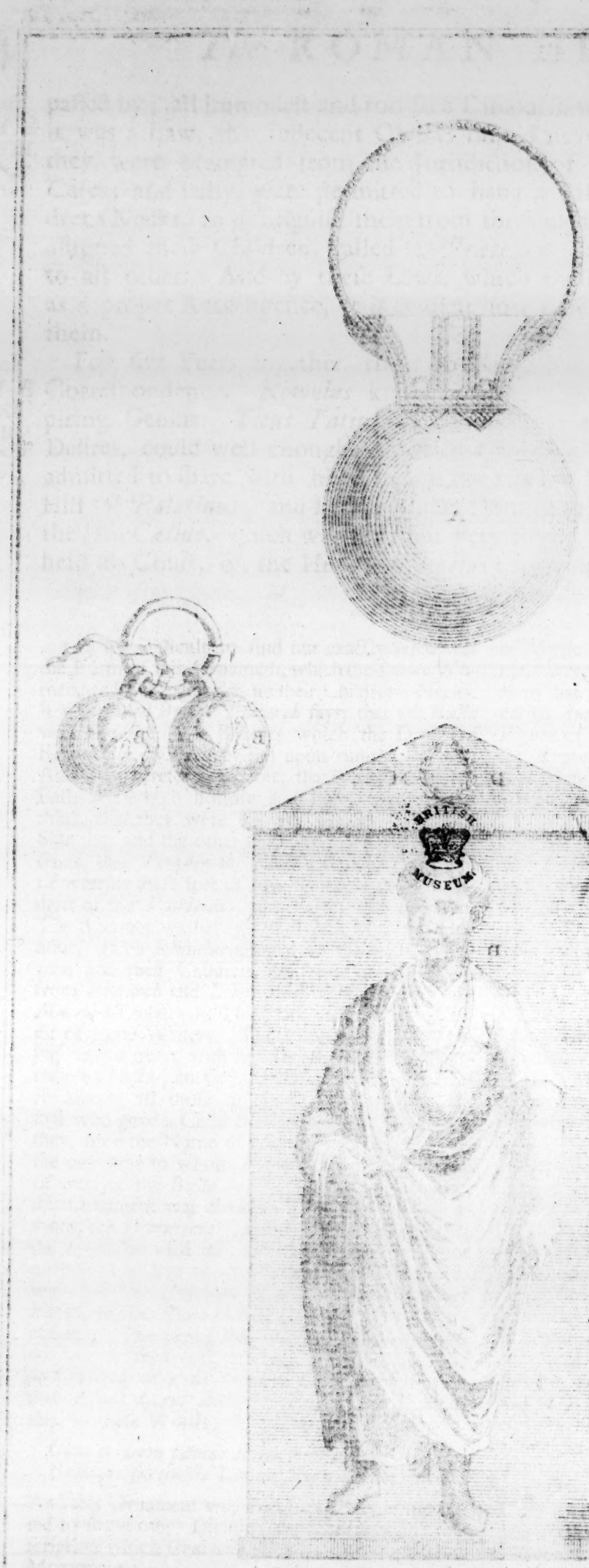
154 The Liberty of bordering their Childrens Robes with Purple, was at firſt granted only to the *Sabine* Ladies. Theſe Robes were laced at the Bottom, and perhaps on the two Lappets, if what *Rubenius* thinks be true, that they were open before. They were called *Prætextæ*, from this purple Border or Lace. They were worn by Girls till their Marriage, and by Boys till they were ſeventeen, and took the *Toga Virilis*, or *Manly Robe*. But what was in *Romulus*'s Time a Mark of Diſtinction for the Children of the *Sabine* Ladies, was afterwards very common. All even to the Children of the *Liberti*, or Men who were made free, wore Robes bordered with Purple in their Youth: And at length, the graveſt of the Magiſtrates wore them likewiſe, not only at *Rome*, but in the Colonies, and *Municipia*, or free Cities.

155 That is, according to *Plutarch*, upon that Deſcent of the Hill *Palatinus* which led down to *the Great Circus*. The Credulity of the People had ſpread the Fable, that *Romulus*, to ſhew his Strength, had thrown a Javelin from the Hill *Aventinus* to his own Houſe; that the Wood of the Javelin was ſtill green; that it ſtuck deep enough into the Earth to take Root; and that the Tree it produced was long honoured by the *Romans*, and thought fatal; (*i.e.* that the Safety of *Rome* depended on its Preſervation:) and *Romulus*'s Deſcendants walled it in. If any one perceived that the Verdure of this Tree loſt its wonted Freſhneſs, he gave the Alarm to the City: and then the Citizens ran together from all Parts, with Veſſels full of Water, to water the ſacred Tree; till at laſt, when *Caius Cæſar* repaired the Steps that went up the Hill *Palatinus*, one of the Workmen hurt this Tree ſo much, with his Digging, that it loſt all its Sap, and died ſoon after.

156 This is the ſame Hill which was afterwards called *Capitolinus*. The Place on which *Tatius*'s Houſe ſtood, was afterwards dedicated to *Juno Moneta*; becauſe, as it's ſaid, ſhe had given the *Romans* wholeſome *Advice* in the War with the *Aurunci*;



A. *The* Bulla *usually worne by the Young* Patricians *about their necks.*
B. *Another sort of* Bulla *with an heart engraven or impressed upon it.*
C. *An Amulet, which contains five heads in one, most probably representing some of the Pagan Divinities.*
D. *A Young* Roman *in his* Prætexta *and with his* Bulla *about his neck.*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A Second Plan of Rome *representing its Situation after the Union between* Romulus & Tatius.

A. *The Hill* Palatinus
B. *The* Capitol
C. *The* Tyber
D. *The Gate* Carmentalis
F. *The Gate* Pandana
F. *The Gate* Muſonia
G. *The Gate* Romanulia
H. *The Hill* Janiculus
I. *The Hill* Aventimus
K. *The Hill* Cœlius
L. *The Hill* Eſquilinus
M. *The Hill* Quirinalis
N. *The Habit.n of the* Rhamnenſes
O. *The Habit.n of the* Tatienſes
P. *The Habit.n of the* Luceres

ments on the Hill, which they called *Quirinalis*, either in Memory of their City *Cures*, or in Honour to their God *Quiris*. The Space between the Hills *Palatinus* and *Tarpeius*, became a public *Place*, or common *Market-place* for the two united Nations; and they gave it the Name of *Forum*, which it retained ever after: and there they alſo held their Aſſemblies for Public Affairs.

Year of ROME IX, X, XI, XII, XIII.

ROMULUS.

§. XXXI. THE Union of the two Nations ſoon produced a Mixture of Manners, Cuſtoms, and Religion. The *Romans* borrowed from the *Sabines*, and the *Sabines* from the *Romans*. *Rome* readily adopted the *Sabine* Gods; and *Tatius* built Temples to the *Sun*, the *Moon*, *Saturn*, *Rhea*, and *Quiris*, who was moſt probably the ſame with the God *Mars*. But whether he took this Name from the Lance he carried in his Hand, or the *Sabines* called the Lance *Quiris*, becauſe he had ſuch a one in his Hand, is uncertain. *Juno Sabina* was introduced to preſide over the public Entertainments of *Tatius*'s *Curiæ* in *Rome*: and the two Nations agreed to inſtitute ſome new Feſtivals, by common Conſent: That called [157] *Matronalia* was inſtituted in Memory of the Peace, which had been brought about by the Mediation of the Women. The *Romans* changed alſo the Form of their Bucklers to that of thoſe which the *Sabines* wore; and they in their Turns conformed themſelves to *Romulus*'s Calendar [158], and obſerved the Computation of the *Romans*. In a word, never was a more perfect Harmony; nor did ever any two Nations which had been Enemies, ſo ſoon bring themſelves to bear with and love one another, and unite ſo cordially in Intereſt and Inclinations. *Plutarch.*

THE Years in which *Romulus* had an Aſſociate on the Throne, were remarkable for little more than Works of Peace. Whether it were out of Fear of ſharing the Glory of his Conqueſts with a Rival, or whether Neceſſity required that the whole Time ſhould be taken up, in enlarging and regulating a City, which on the Union with the *Sabines*, was increaſed by almoſt one half; ſo in fact it was, that martial Enterprizes were almoſt laid aſide by *Romulus*. The *Camerini* were the only People that were united to the *Roman* State under the Joint-Government of the two Kings; and the Conqueſt of them was not difficult. *Cameria* was [159] a City founded in the moſt antient Times, by the *Aborigines*. The *Albans* had poſſeſſed themſelves of it, and placed a Colony in it long before the Foundation of *Rome*: and its Inhabitants having been uſed to live by Pillage, had made Incurſions into the *Roman* Territory. Upon this, the Senate cited them to appear, and anſwer for their Rapines. *Rome* from that time haughtily aſſumed that Aſcendant over her Neighbours, which ſhe ever after kept, and which gained her ſo many Enemies, and ſo many Conqueſts. But *Cameria* remember'd her Independance, and refuſed to pay Obedience to a Tribunal but newly erected, though it already gave Law to the moſt antient Cities. However, one ſingle Battel brought the *Camerini* into Subjection to the *Roman* Laws: And the two Kings contented themſelves with diſarming them, and depriving them of only a ſmall Part of their Poſſeſſions. But rebelling, and being vanquiſh'd a ſecond time, they forced *Romulus* and *Tatius* to put the Maxims of their old Policy in execution upon them. *Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 114.*

runci; or according to *Suidas*, becauſe ſhe had promiſed that they ſhould not want *Money* in the War with *Pyrrhus*.

157 This Feſtival was celebrated on the firſt of *March*. *Ovid*, in his *Faſti*, gives other Reaſons for the Inſtitution of it; but grants that the chief of them was the Remembrance of the Benefits the *Romans* received from the *Sabine* Women. The *Matronalia* was to the *Roman* Ladies, what the *Saturnalia* was to their Husbands. They now ſerved their Slaves at Table, and received Preſents from their Husbands, as the Husbands did of their Wives in the *Saturnalia*. The *Matronalia* was conſecrated to *Mars*, and according to ſome, to *Juno Lucina*; and on it the Ladies ſacrificed to theſe two Deities. *Plutarch* ſays the two Kings inſtituted likewiſe the *Carmentalia*, in Honour of the Goddeſs *Carmenta*.

158 *Solinus* reports, *Chap.* 3. that before the Foundation of *Rome* the Year conſiſted of thirteen Months, and of three hundred and ſeventy four Days: But nevertheleſs, it is probable, that great Part of the People of South *Italy* followed the *Greek* Calendar, which made the Year firſt to conſiſt of three hundred and ſixty, and afterwards of three hundred and fifty four Days, which is a lunar Year. However, the *Sabines* thought fit to conform themſelves to *Romulus*'s Calendar. The common Opinion is, that he made his Year to conſiſt of only ten Months, *viz. March*, *April*, *May*, *June*, *Quintilis*, *Sextilis*, *September*, *October*, *November* and *December*. *March*, *May*, *Quintilis* and *October*, had each thirty one Days, the other ſix Months had but thirty.

159 This City was not far from *Rome*. It is thought to have been in the Neighbourhood of *Cenina*, pretty near the *Anio*. But *Holſtenius* places it beyond this River, towards the Place where *Palombara* now ſtands.

Year of *ROME* IX,X,XI,XII, XIII.

ROMULUS.

They deprived them of their Lands, tranſplanted as many of them to *Rome* as would go, and gave them all the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens, whereby four thouſand were incorporated in the *Curiæ*; and laſtly they ſent a Colony of *Romans* to *Cameria* to ſupply their Places, and to ſhare the Lands of theſe their unfortunate Neighbours.

Year of *ROME* XIV.

§. XXXII. BUT as it is ſcarce poſſible that Concord ſhould be perpetual in a State which is governed by two Sovereigns, whoſe Power is equal, and whoſe Intereſts in the End prove different; in the ſixth Year of *Romulus* and *Tatius* that Union was broke, which Policy had made, and reciprocal Condeſcenſions had maintained: And *Romulus*, who was formerly ſuſpected of not being able to endure a Brother for a Competitor, was likewiſe thought to have had a Share in the Aſſaſſination of his Collegue on the Throne, or at leaſt of having rejoiced at it, ſince he did not revenge it: It is true, *Titus Tatius* gave great Provocation to an Attempt upon his Life. He ſhewed too much Favour to his Relations and Friends. He ſuffered them to undertake unjuſt Things, and often even authoriſed their Violence. One Day ſome of his Courtiers gathered together, and went to make Inroads upon the Lands of *Lavinium*, which they plundered; and forcibly brought away ſeveral Herds of Cattle, contrary to the Law of Nations. *Lavinium* was one of the antient Capitals of *Latium*, built by *Æneas* himſelf, after his Arrival in *Italy*; and was therefore looked on as the Mother both of the *Alban* and *Roman* Colonies: And this made the *Lavinians* think it proper to make their Complaints to *Romulus*, and demand Juſtice at his Hands, upon thoſe unjuſt Aggreſſors. Accordingly, the King heard them with all the Friendſhip of an Ally, and gave Sentence that a Crew of Robbers who had ravaged their Country without any Warrant, ſhould be given up to their Diſcretion. But *Titus Tatius* interpoſed. Theſe Men, ſays he, are *Roman* Citizens, who ought not to be given up to the Fury of a Foreigner, before the Senate has pronounced Sentence upon them. And ſo far indeed his Proceedings were juſtifiable. But his Favourites ſoon rendered his Conduct completely odious. They added Aſſaſſinations, and Breaches of the Law of Nations, to the moſt unjuſt Depredations. As the Envoys of *Lavinium* were returning home from *Rome*, full of Grief that they could not get Juſtice done them, theſe very Villains prepared an Ambuſh to intercept them on the Road. The *Lavinians* being benighted, pitched their Tents, in order to take a little Reſt; and there the *Sabines* attacked them, maſſacred thoſe whom they found aſleep, plundred the reſt of what they had, and then returned to *Rome*.

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 114.

UPON this Occaſion at leaſt *Tatius*'s Protection ought doubtleſs to have been changed into Juſtice, upon the Aſſaſſines; and he ſhould have let the Law have its free Courſe againſt the guilty. But this Murder abated nothing of his Favour to the Aſſaſſines. He connived at the whole Matter, and skreened them. Upon which the *Lavinians* were provoked to ſhew their juſt Reſentments; and made the whole Country ring with their Complaints: And *Romulus*, who thought they ought to be appeaſed by an honourable Satisfaction, ſettled theſe two Things: Firſt, that the Murderers ſhould be given up into the Hands of the Perſons injured. Secondly, that the two Kings of *Rome* ſhould go in Perſon to *Lavinium*, and there offer an expiatory Sacrifice to the Gods of their Allies, who had been provoked by ſo barbarous an Action. But *Titus Tatius* carried his Injuſtice to the utmoſt Height. He ſent armed Men after the *Lavinians*, who took his guilty Friends away from them. As to the Journey to *Lavinium*, he agreed indeed to go; but it coſt him dear. The common People of the City being enraged, [160] conſpired together to kill the Protector of the Aſſaſſines. In the midſt of the Sacrifice therefore, and at the Feet of the Altars, they fell upon the *Sabine* King, and running him thro' with the Knives of the Prieſts, and the

Plutarch.

160 *Livy* and *Plutarch* ſay, that *Tatius* was aſſaſſinated in the City of *Lavinium* it ſelf, by the *Laurentes*. Theſe, according to ſome Authors, had ſent Embaſſadors to *Rome*. *Tatius*'s Friends and Relations ſurprized them on the Road, robbed them, and offered them many Violences; for which the *Laurentes* demanded Satisfaction of the *Sabine* King, who ſhewed no Regard to their Remonſtrances. The *Laurentes* enraged at this Contempt, waited for him at *Lavinium*, where they killed him as he was ſacrificing. But *Dion. Hal.* charges this Aſſaſſination upon the *Lavinians*. Poſſibly, thoſe two Authors may have made *Laurentum* and *Lavinium* but one City, as others have thought ſince.

Spits that were deſigned for roaſting the Limbs of the Victims, mixed his Blood with that of the Sacrifices. As for *Romulus*, they re-conducted him out of the City with Acclamations. *Tatius*'s Corps being brought back to *Rome*, was buried on the Hill *Aventinus*. The *Lavinians*, for fear of *Romulus*'s Reſentment, delivered up the Aſſaſſines of the King his Collegue, into his Hands. But *Romulus* ſent them back to *Lavinium*, without puniſhing them. *The Death of your Ambaſſadors*, ſaid he to them, *has had no more than a juſt Satisfaction made for it, by the Death of the too indulgent Prince who authorized it:* And this Neglect of revenging the Attempt made upon ſo ſacred a Perſon has made it believed, that he was at leaſt not ill pleaſed to be rid of him. Year of *ROME*, XIV. ROMULUS.

ONE would have thought, the *Sabines* muſt either have abandoned *Rome*, after the Aſſaſſination of their King, or have obliged *Romulus* to revenge it. But *Romulus* knew how to quiet all their Minds. He made them ſenſible, that Equity is the chief Virtue of Princes, and ought to guide or reſtrain the Arm of the Avenger. By this means, he appeaſed both the *Romans* and the Foreigners that were ſettled at *Rome:* And in ſhort, this Aſſemblage of People, out of ſo many different Countries, readily obeyed one ſingle Maſter, who was famed for his Juſtice, his Prudence, and his Valour. Year of *ROME* XV, XVI.

§. XXXIII. In the mean time, a cruel Plague raged in *Rome*. It took Men off very ſuddenly, and left no Space between their Seizure and Death: And the Infection of the Air ſpread it ſelf likewiſe over the Cattle and the Grain. So that the Scarcity brought a Famine, which was a ſecond Scourge added to that of the Plague. And as the *Lavinians* were viſited in their Turn, it was thought that the Gods were at once puniſhing the Authors of the Death of *Tatius*, and of the Murder of the Deputies of *Lavinium*. Then the Cities that were jealous of *Rome*, thought they might improve theſe Times of Affliction to the utter Deſtruction of a Colony, which ſeemed to be threatned with Ruin by Heaven it ſelf. And the *Camerini*, among whom were yet ſome of the antient Inhabitants mixed with the *Romans* who had been tranſplanted into their City, ſeized this critical Moment, in order to ſhake off the Yoke. Hoping that the Plague had deſtroyed the Forces, and ſunk the Courage of their Conquerors, they inſulted the *Romans*, and laid their Lands waſte. But *Romulus* did not let the Revolt eſcape unpuniſhed. He marched out of his City, gave the *Camerini* Battle, killed ſix thouſand, tranſplanted twice as many *Romans* to *Cameria*, as there were left of the antient Inhabitants; and thereby put the City out of a Condition of attempting to recover her Liberty for a long time. And by ſo glorious a Conqueſt the King merited the Honours of a ſecond Triumph. He entered *Rome*, as after the Defeat of *Acron*, with the Acclamations of his People: And brought to *Rome* from *Cameria*, a magnificent Chariot all of Braſs, which he conſecrated to the Gods in the Temple of *Vulcan*, as an eternal Monument of his Victory. The *Faſti Capitolini* place this Triumph [161] on the firſt of *Auguſt*, in the ſixteenth Year of *Rome*.

THE Inhabitants of *Fidenæ* [162] were likewiſe particularly concerned to have *Rome* deſtroyed. They were but forty *Stadia* diſtant from it: and great and numerous as they were, they foreſaw that the continual Increaſe of the *Roman* Colony would ſoon be followed by the Subjection of its Neighbours. They therefore had joined Intereſts with the *Camerini*, and taken Part with them in their Quarrels with *Rome*. They had already begun their Hoſtilities with plundring ſome Lands that lay between *Rome* and *Cameria:* and they had juſt gone Year of *ROME* XVII, XVIII. *Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 116.*

161 Its true, Time has effaced out of the Marble in which the *Faſti Capitiloni* were engraven, the Name of the People over whom *Romulus* triumphed: And we only read there the Year and Day of his Triumph. But all learned Men who have commented on them, or filled up their *Lacunæ*, have thought we are here to read *de Camerineis*. *Dion. Hal.* ſays expreſly, that *Romulus*'s ſecond Triumph was the Reward of his having taken *Camerium*. *Plutarch* ſets down the ſame Day and Year, without ſaying any thing of the Triumph. And the former Author aſſures us likewiſe, that Romulus *conſecrated a brazen Chariot to the God* Vulcan, *out of the Spoils of* Camerium; ſo that it is uncertain whether *Romulus* took the Chariot among the Spoils, or cauſed it to be made. Near the Chariot, if we may believe the ſame Hiſtorian, *Romulus* placed his own Statue, with a *Greek* Inſcription, reciting his warlike Actions.

162 It is not well known where *Fidenæ* was ſituated. It is thought to have ſtood upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, forty *Stadia*, or five thouſand Paces from *Rome*, near the Place where that River joins the *Teverone*, in the Neighbourhood of *Caſtel Jubileo*.

upon

Year of *ROME* XVII, XVIII.

ROMULUS.

upon another Expedition, which was more prejudicial to the *Romans*. Theſe had had Recourſe, in the late Scarcity, to the *Cruſtumini*, one of their Colonies; who had loaded ſome Boats with Proviſions, and ſent them down the *Tyber*. But the *Roman* Convoy was beaten, and the Proviſions ſeized by the *Fidenates*. *Romulus*, who never declared War with any Aggreſſors till he had firſt cited them before his Senate, did not take the Field, till after they had refuſed to appear. But then the Neceſſity being preſſing, his Army marched without Delay: and the better to deceive the Enemy, he advanced but with a ſmall Party towards *Fidenæ*, and concealed the reſt in a Wood at ſome Diſtance from the *Roman* Camp. After this, *Romulus* appeared with a Body of Horſe under the Enemy's Walls, and skirmiſhed to their very Gates, His Deſign was to draw the Enemy to a Battle: and the Stratagem ſucceeded. The *Fidenates*, thinking the *Roman* Troops reduced to a ſmall Number, by Sickneſs and Famine, flew upon them with Vigour. Upon the firſt Onſet the *Roman* Cavalry gave way, and by a pretended Flight drew the Infantry after it. At this, all the Troops of *Fidenæ* marched out in Purſuit of the *Romans*, and their precipitate Heat ſoon brought them to the Place of the Ambuſcade. Immediately the *Roman* Cohorts appeared, and ſurrounded them, which put them into ſuch a Terror that they betook themſelves to Flight, before *Romulus* had Time ſo much as to face about with his Cavalry. Then the *Fidenates*, flying in their Turns, endeavour'd to regain their Walls; and that with the more Expedition, as their Flight was real. Nevertheleſs the *Romans*, who were as ſwift as they, follow'd them ſo near that they enter'd the City with them, and took it without Oppoſition. Thus *Fidenæ*, as well as the other Cities, was reduced to a *Roman* Colony, and Part of its Lands diſtributed among the new Inhabitants whom *Romulus* tranſplanted thither.

Livy, B. 1. c. 14.

BUT the taking of *Fidenæ* drew new Enemies upon the *Romans*. Though ſituated on this Side the *Tyber*, it was deem'd within the Territory of the *Hetrurians*, or at leaſt was in Alliance with them. All *Hetruria* therefore ſhewed a Concern for its Misfortunes; but the *Veientes* were the firſt who openly declared againſt the Conquerors. The City of [163] *Veii* was but one hundred *Stadia* diſtant from *Rome*: And the Irruptions of the new Conquerors came too near their Frontiers not to make it neceſſary for them to put a Stop to them. The *Veientes* therefore reclaimed *Fidenæ* as within their Juriſdiction; and ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, to demand the reſtoring of the City to her Liberty, the withdrawing the foreign Garriſon, and the re-inſtating of the *Fidenates* in the Lands which had been taken from them.

Dion. Hal.

THIS Conqueſt was too convenient for the *Romans* to diſpoſſeſs themſelves of it. Beſides, it appeared to be a Weakneſs in the *Veientes* to reclaim a City which they did not think fit to aſſiſt when it was attacked. However, the Refuſal of the *Romans* made them take Arms: They came and blocked up *Fidenæ*, and encamped within Sight of its Walls. And the *Roman* King was too careful of his Colonies, to abandon that of *Fidenæ*, in Time of Danger. He marched thither with a Part of his Army; firſt entered the City with Succours, and then marched out to attack the *Veientes*. The firſt Day's Engagement was not deciſive; the next was more happy for the *Romans*. *Romulus* was indeed a great Commander for his Time; he, unknown to the Enemy, poſſeſſed himſelf of a Hill, and in the Night-time poſted freſh Troops upon it, which were juſt come to him from *Rome*. Depending then upon this Reinforcement, he fell upon the *Veientes*, who were drawn up on the Plain; and in the midſt of the Engagement gave the appointed Signal, for the Deſcent of thoſe Soldiers, who lay in Ambuſh in the Mountain; and who inſtantly fell upon the Enemy with ſuch Shouts as ſtruck them with Terror, and put them to the Rout. The Slaughter was not great, during the Action; nevertheleſs the

163 *Veii* was ſituated on a very high Rock, and of difficult Acceſs; near the Place, as *Cluverius* gueſſes, where *Scroſano* now ſtands. *Dion. Hal.* compares *Veii* with *Athens* for Grandeur and Riches: And in another Place ſays, that *Rome*, in *Servius Tullius*'s Time, was equal to *Athens* it ſelf. But *Cluverius* can't think *Veii* was then ſo powerful and populous; and therefore concludes that either we ought to read *Fidenæ* inſtead of *Athens*, or that the *Greek* Writer has exaggerated. But would *Dion. Hal.* who writ for the *Greeks*, have thought of comparing *Rome* to *Fidenæ*, a City which was, in all appearance, as much unknown to them as *Veii* it ſelf?

Loſs of the *Veientes* was conſiderable. Many of them were forced headlong into the *Tyber*, and there found that Death in the Waters, which they had eſcaped from the Sword. Year of *ROME* XVII, XVIII.

Romulus.

But this ſevere Blow did not leſſen the Courage of the *Veientes*. They raiſed another Army in their City, which was then ſo conſiderable that it is ſaid to have equall'd that of *Athens*. They ſollicited Succours of their Allies, and returned to *Fidena* to make a ſecond Attempt upon it: And there they received the laſt Stroke, which abated their Pride, and taught them to reverence the Power of the invincible Colony. *Romulus* gained a compleat Victory over them; but what one Hiſtorian ſays of it is indeed with Reaſon thought incredible by *Plutarch*. He affirms, that of fourteen thouſand Men that remained dead upon the Spot, *Romulus* killed half with his own Hands. But this Exaggeration really means no more than this; that the King of the *Romans* did ſuch Feats in Arms, as ſeemed to be beyond the Power of Man. The Enemy's Camp was plundered, and great Treaſures found in it. The Number of the Priſoners was conſiderable; with whom, the old King of the *Veientes*, who was taken in the Battle, was conducted to *Rome*, in Boats down the *Tyber*: And the Sale that was then made of theſe Slaves, laid the Foundation of a Cuſtom which prevailed ever after. As oft as the People offered Sacrifices to the Gods, in Thankſgiving for any Victory, they dreſs'd up an old Man in a Child's Coat, and cried all around him, 164 *Sardians to ſell.* By which Cries and Ceremony, they alluded to theſe two Things: 1*ſt*. They ſignified thereby, that the old King of the *Veientes* had governed his State like a Child: And 2*dly*. That the *Veientes*, an *Hetrurian* People, were a Colony of the *Lydians*, whoſe capital City was *Sardis*. *Plutarch.*

In the mean time *Romulus* was intent upon making the beſt Advantage of his Victory. He paſſed the *Tyber*, and purſued the *Veientes* to the Gates of their City; whoſe Situation preſerved it. *Veii* was built upon a ſteep Rock, and *Romulus* had then neither Troops nor the neceſſary Proviſions to beſiege it. He therefore retired, with a Reſolution of returning in a little Time, and reducing that City to Aſhes, which had no other Motive to conſpire againſt *Rome*, but Jealouſy or Ambition. But two Defeats had taught the *Veientes* Wiſdom; and they prevented their Ruin by their Submiſſion. They ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, in a ſuppliant Manner, thereby to ſoften the Conqueror: And he puniſhed the Conquered without driving them to Deſpair. He made them ſurrender up to him a little Diſtrict upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, in which were ſeven ſmall Towns; and deprived them of their Right in ſome 165 Salt-Pits, which were near the Mouth of the River. He obliged them to give Hoſtages for their Fidelity; and fifty of their chief Citizens were ſent to *Rome*, as Securities for the Treaty. And for his own Part, he engaged to let them enjoy a Truce of an hundred Years: And a publick Monument was erected in Memory of this Treaty, which was engraven on Stone. In a Word, as by a War thus advantageouſly ended, *Romulus* merited the Honour of a third Triumph; he obtained it on the *Ides* of *October*, in the ſeventeenth Year of *Rome*. And as his City was now much increaſed both in Riches and Inhabitants, it is probable this laſt Triumph might ſomewhat exceed the two former ones in Magnificence. *Livy, B.* 1. *ch.* 15. *Dion. Hal. B.* 2. *p.* 118. *Faſt. Capit.*

§. XXXIV. After this, the Fears of the neighbouring Nations ſuſpended the Effects of their Jealouſy, and left *Rome* to enjoy the ſweet Fruits of her Conqueſts in Peace. And *Romulus*, for his Part, was deſirous of preſerving the Appearances of Equity; and was afraid to be ſeen to be the firſt in beginning Wars, tho' they muſt infallibly have turned to the Advantage of his Colony. He would have it thought, that he had not aggrandized it by any Year of *ROME* XIX — XXXVII.

Romulus.

164 We take our Account of this Cuſtom from *Plutarch*. But *Sinnius Capito* gives it a later Date. He ſays, that when *Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus* the Conſul had conquered *Sardinia*, he brought ſo great a Number of Slaves from thence, that for a great while together, nothing was to be ſeen in the Markets but *Sardinians*, or *Sardi*, to be ſold. Which gave Riſe to the Proverb, *Sardi venales, alius alio nequior*. That is, Sardinians *to ſell, every one worſe than his Fellow*.

165 Theſe Salt-Pits were near the Place now known by the Name of *Campo di Saline*.

Year of *ROME* XIX—XXXVII.

ROMULUS. *Plutarch.*

other Conqueſts than thoſe of ſuch raſh People, as had, of their own Accord, and without any Provocation, given juſt Cauſe for his Revenge and his Victories. And his Moderation appeared yet more, in his Renunciation of a Crown, to which his Birth gave him a Right. After the Death of his Grandfather *Numitor*, *Alba* and its Dependances were his Inheritance, which he might juſtly have ſeized, and ſubjected to the *Roman* Laws. But he choſe rather to let *Alba* enjoy its Liberty under the Form of a Sort of Republick; and reſerved to himſelf no other Dominion over it, than the Right of nominating annually a ſupreme Magiſtrate to govern it, with the Title of *Dictator*.

BUT whilſt the King of *Rome* was making himſelf equally feared and beloved Abroad, his People at Home began rather to dread than love him. Pride and Haughtineſs, the common Attendants on Proſperity, corrupted his Heart, and tarniſhed the Glory of his Virtues. The Name of *Senator* or *Father* was now become a mere empty Title in *Rome*: the new Splendor of the King obſcured all other Diſtinctions of Honour. The Senate was now aſſembled only for Form's ſake; *Romulus* made himſelf the ſole Arbiter and Judge in all Affairs. All the uſe he made of the antient Council of his Colony, was only to inform them firſt of his Will, and to charge them to communicate it to the People. But this illuſtrious Body could not ſee the Laws broken by the very Man who had made them, without inexpreſſible concern; And what piqued the *Romans* moſt, was the Authority the King took upon him, of ſending back the Hoſtages of the *Veientes*, without conſulting either the People or the Senate. The diſdainful Air with which he received their Petitions and Salutations was not to be born. He was fond of diſtinguiſhing himſelf by a purple Robe, which he always wore; and his Guards were more numerous than formerly. In War or Peace, he always had a Body of three hundred young Horſemen to attend him; and he called them *Celeres* [166], either from their readineſs to obey his Commands, or becauſe they were commanded by that *Celer*, whoſe Mattock had been fatal to *Rhemus*. Theſe young Warriors fought round the King, either on Horſeback, or a Foot, as there was occaſion: and to this Guard he added a Company of *Lictors*, armed with Thongs, Rods, and Axes, whom he made uſe of for arbitrary Executions, without the Knowledge of the Senate. In a word, the Sweetneſs of his Adminiſtration, which was very lovely whilſt the Colony was in its Infancy, ſoon degenerated into Severity, when the City came to be greatly increaſed. Tho', after all, *Romulus* made his Government odious to none but the Senate. The People and the Soldiery always retained that Reſpect and Affection for their Sovereign, which Superiority of Merit will command from the People, notwithſtanding their Diſcontents. Beſides, they were convinced that there was a Neceſſity of increaſing the Severity of the Government, in proportion as the People multiplied in *Rome*.

BUT the Hatred of the Senate proved more prejudicial to *Romulus* than the Eſteem of the People was advantageous. The Senators conſpired againſt him, and watched for a favourable Moment to get rid of him. His Death is differently related. Some *Roman* Hiſtorians, who give the God *Mars* a ſhare in his Birth, do likewiſe carry him up to Heaven alive in a Cloud, in the midſt of Thunder and Lightning. But as the *Greek* Hiſtorians ſeem to reject all miraculous Stories in general, which relate to the *Romans*, tho' they readily admit them in favour of their own Heroes; we ſhall here follow the Relation of the latter, as moſt probable.

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 119. & Plutarch.

§. XXXV. ON the ſeventh Day of *July* [167], in the thirty-ſeventh Year of *Rome*, *Romulus* appointed a Review of his Troops in a Plain, without the City, and

166 The three hundred Horſe which *Romulus* had for his Guard, were the firſt *Corps* of the *Roman* Soldiery. They were choſen by the thirty *Curiæ*, each furniſhing ten Men; and *Romulus* divided them into three Companies, under the Command of a general Officer called *Tribunus Celerum*. The particular Captain of each Company was ſtiled *Præfectus Celerum*. The *Tribunus Celerum* had great Authority in *Rome*, and may be ſaid to have been the ſecond Perſon in the State next the King. He had a Right of aſſembling the People on preſſing Occaſions.

167 In the *Roman* Calendar, the Nones of *July* is marked as a Feſtival, under the Name of the *Populi fugium*, (i. e. *the Flight of the People*) and the *Caprotine Nones*. Which, according to *Plutarch*, had no other Foundation than a fabulous Tradition maintained by the Superſtition of the People, to immortalize the Memory of their Founder. They ſaid, that *Romulus* having aſſembled

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and harangued them near a Pond which was called *Goats-pond*. Here the King was ſurrounded with his Senate, who attended him for the greater State: And whilſt he was ſpeaking, was overtaken with a ſudden Storm mixed with Hail and Thunder. The Rain diſperſed the Soldiers; and the Senators remaining alone with the King, they thought this too favourable an Opportunity of executing the Deſign their Hatred had formed, to be neglected. The King was therefore 168 killed, and his Body convey'd out of Sight in an Inſtant: And ſome pretend, that the better to conceal the Fact, the Senators cut him into an hundred Pieces, and every Senator carried away one under his Robe. But however that be, the Circumſtance of the Storm gave occaſion to the Fable which the Aſſaſſines ſpread among the People. They reported, that the King was all on a ſudden ſurrounded with Flame, and ſnatched up in it, from Earth to Heaven. The moſt Credulous were indeed contented with a Story which made the Founder of their Colony a God: but the more Penetrating conceived juſt Suſpicions againſt the true Authors of the Murder; inſomuch that the Senate became odious thereby to all the better Sort in *Rome*. This then made it neceſſary to find out ſome Secret to ſtop the Complaints, and appeaſe the Hatred of the Multitude: And *Julius Proculus*, a conſiderable Man among the *Fathers*, was the Perſon whom the Senate ſuborned to impoſe upon the People. This venerable Senator had always been thought a Friend to *Romulus*; and having come from *Alba* with him, had preferred the doubtful Fortune of an unſettled Colony to his own Country. Being likewiſe a Branch of the *Julian* Family, and deſcended from *Iülus* himſelf, he had from the beginning been of diſtinguiſhed Rank in *Rome*; and the Eſteem of his Probity gave a new Luſtre to his Birth. When therefore the *Curiæ* were aſſembled together, *Proculus* harangued them, and calmed their Minds with a Fable which he told them, affirming the Truth of it, with an Oath. *As I was travelling along*, ſays he to the *Romans*, Romulus *ſuddenly appeared to me: His Stature was taller than that of Mortals, and his Armour caſt a dazzling Brightneſs. The Apparition inſtantly filled me with a religious Dread: and I addreſſed myſelf to it in theſe reproachful Words. Why have you left us ſo ſoon? What Suſpicions have you raiſed againſt us? We are taken to be the Authors of your Death, and our Reputation ſuffers by it. What Sorrow has not your diſappearing ſpread all over the City which you founded?* To which he replied, *It has pleaſed the Gods to call me back to Heaven, from whence I originally came. They have placed me among themſelves, now that I have put* Rome *into a Condition of becoming the Capital of a great Empire. Go then, dear* Proculus, *and admoniſh my* Romans *to love Temperance and warlike Exerciſes. They may by that means hope to become one Day the Maſters of the World. And as for me, I will always be aſſiſtant to you, under the Name of the God* Quirinus.

THE Harangue of a Man whom the People thought ſincere, ſoon removed the Suſpicions *Rome* had formed againſt her Senate, and cauſed Divine 169 Honours to be paid to *Romulus*. The People were tranſported with Joy, and

bled the Citizens of *Rome* near *Goats-Pond*, ſo furious a Storm overtook them, on a ſudden, as entirely took away the Light of the Sun; That the *Romans* were ſo frighted with this terrible Darkneſs, the Noiſe of the Thunder, and the Whirlwind, that they fled in Confuſion; and that, as ſoon as the Sky was clear, they returned to the place of Meeting, where they were informed that *Romulus* had been carried up to Heaven in the midſt of the Thunder and Lightning, and in the ſight of the Senators, who kept cloſe to him in the Midſt of the Storm. This Adventure, according to *Plutarch*, gave Riſe to the *Caprotine Nones*, *Populi fugium*. But the moſt celebrated Authors do, with Reaſon, give another Origin to this Feſtival, of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper place. On it, the *Romans* offered Sacrifices, without the City, near *Goats-pond*.

168 Hiſtorians differ about the Place where *Romulus* loſt his Life; ſome ſaying it was in the open Field, whilſt he was haranguing his Army; others in the Temple of *Vulcan*; others in the Senate. But theſe two laſt Opinions are in effect the ſame, ſuppoſing the Senate was then aſſembled in the Temple of *Vulcan*. Nor do the Hiſtorians agree any better about the Manner in which he was aſſaſſinated. Some ſay it was done by the People, who were enraged at the King for ſhewing more Favour to thoſe who were newly come to *Rome* from the conquered Cities, than to the old Inhabitants: Whilſt others pretend, the Senators ſtabbed him in full Senate, and having cut his Body in Pieces, every one took a Part of it, and carried it away under his Robe.

169 A Feſtival was inſtituted to *Romulus*, at *Rome*, called *Quirinalia*. It was celebrated on the 17th of *February*. An High-Prieſt, who was always choſen out of the *Patricians*, preſided over the Worſhip of the new God, with the Title of *Flamen Quirinalis*. The Perſon who created this ſacerdotal Office in Honour of *Romulus*, was *Numa*.

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ROMULUS.

turned their Murmurs into the Worſhip of this new Deity. *Romulus* became a new *Mars* in *Rome*, under the Name of *Quirinus*, and there took the place of the old God *Quiris*, whom the *Sabines* had long worſhipped.

THUS ended the Reign of a Prince, for whoſe Loſs *Rome* could be no otherwiſe comforted, than by the Hopes of having him to be her Protector among the Gods. *Romulus* reigned thirty-ſeven Years [170] in a City, whoſe Foundations he laid. He found Means to make it ſo conſiderable, that numerous Colonies were ſent from thence, in a few Years, to people the Cities it had conquered. In order to gain himſelf Authority in *Rome*, he knew how to make his Advantage of the Opinion the People had of his Divine Birth. He was thought to be the Son of *Mars*, and certainly did not appear to act unbecoming that Character. For, according to the prevailing Opinions of thoſe Times, his military Exploits made him thought worthy of being eſteemed the God of Battels himſelf. Nor were his Wiſdom and Policy inferior to his Courage. *Romulus* made a Handful of Men, gathered together by Accident, and without any Choice, formidable to all *Italy*: And what is more ſurpriſing, he formed a Colony out of a Company of Profligates, which has been yet more illuſtrious for its Virtue, than either for its Bravery, or its Conqueſts.

170 We thought it neceſſary to follow their Opinion, who make *Romulus* twenty three Years old, when he was elected King of *Rome*. And all Writers agree, he reigned thirty ſeven Years. He was therefore, according to this Opinion, about ſixty when he died.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK II.

§. I. ROMULUS died at near ſixty Years of Age, and left no Children. Had he had any fit to have ſucceeded him, the Affection the *Romans* would have had for the Race of the Founder of *Rome*, would doubtleſs have determined them to have made their Crown [1] hereditary. That of *Alba*, from whence *Rome* was a Colony, was ſo, and it's probable they would have followed this Example, and have filled their Throne with a Prince deſcended from ſo long a Succeſſion of Kings. But the Blood of *Æneas* ceaſed to reign with *Romulus*: Tho' it is ſaid to have been ſtill preſerved in the *Julian* [2] Family, which in a leſs elevated Station than a Throne continued down the Remains of the pureſt *Trojan* Nobility in *Rome*. So then the Want of Iſſue of *Romulus*, was what made the Crown of *Rome* elective, which otherwiſe would naturally have been hereditary.

Year of *ROME* XXXVII.

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 119.

HOWEVER, the Diſſentions of the *Romans* about a Succeſſor to *Romulus*, kept them long in Suſpence. Not that the Ambition of any private Perſons who coveted the Crown, raiſed theſe Commotions among the People: No one of the Senators had Superiority enough over the reſt, to make him aſpire at a Rank which would have raiſed him above that Equality in which *Romulus* had placed them. But what deferred the Election of a King, was the Conteſt that aroſe between the two principal Nations, of which the *Roman Curiæ* then conſiſted. *Alba* had furniſhed *Romulus* with the firſt Inhabitants of his new City, and the *Sabines*, under *Tatius* their King, had increaſed the Colony. It was then, between the *Romans* who came from *Alba* with *Romulus*, and the *Sabines* who came from *Cures* with *Tatius*, that the Diſpute aroſe. Each Party would fain have given a King to their common City. The *Romans* contended that they, as Founders of the City, had a Right to fill the Throne with a Prince choſen from among them. The *Sabines* urged, that their Moderation in ſuffering *Romulus* to reign alone, after *Tatius*'s Death, ought not to prejudice their Rights. To which they added, that they had in their Compact reſerv'd to themſelves the Liberty of having a Sovereign in *Rome* of their own Country; and that, if it was not thought proper to have two Monarchs together upon the ſame Throne, at leaſt the *Sabines* ought in their Turn to ſee a Prince of their Nation fill it.

Year of *ROME* XXXVIII, XXXIX.

Plutarch. in the Life of *Num.*

1 Beſides what has been obſerved of the hereditary Deſcent of the Crown of *Alba*, the following Remark ought not to be omitted. *Florus*, who wrote from the Memoirs of the antient *Roman* Hiſtorians, aſſures us, that the *Alban* Scepter deſcended from Father to Son, down to *Amulius*, who deprived *Numitor* his eldeſt Brother of it. *Ab his Amulius, jam bis ſeptima ſoboles, regnabat, patre pulſo Numitore.* It's true, in the greateſt part of the Editions of *Florus*, this Paſſage runs thus: *Ab his quarto decimo filio regnat Amulius.* But, beſides that this Text, when thus mangled, has the ſame Senſe which it has when corrected by the antient Manuſcripts, *Jornandes*, who quotes *Florus*, expreſſes it in the ſame Terms as they do who are for the Correction: *Amulius jam bis ſeptima ſoboles regnabat.* He means, that *Amulius* was the fourteenth King of *Alba*, to whom the Crown deſcended from Father to Son. It was therefore hereditary.

2 We have already obſerved, that *Euſebius* in his *Chronology*, aſcribes the Origin of the *Julian* Family in *Rome* to *Julius Proculus*, *Romulus*'s Favourite. He was ſo conſiderable there, that the *Romans* had Thoughts of making him King, after the Death of *Romulus*, and appointed him to be one of the two Deputies ſent to *Cures*, to bring *Numa Pompilius* to *Rome*. And it is therefore ſurprizing that *Pighius* ſhould, in his Enumeration of the illuſtrious *Patrician* Families that were in *Rome* from its Foundation, omit the *Julian*. He mentions only the *Hoſtilian*, *Potitian*, *Fabian*, *Horatian*, *Antonian*, *Quintilian* and *Tarpeian*.

Year of *ROME* XXXVIII, XXXIX.

THE Senators, who were one half *Albans* and the other *Sabines*, made themselves Masters of *Rome*; and they being divided among themselves, as well as the People, were so far from healing the Divisions, during the *Interregnum*, that they increased them. Nay, the Senate resolved to take Advantage of the publick Broils, and assume the contested Sovereignty to themselves; and their Manner of doing it was this.

Dion. Hal. ib. *Liv. B.* 1. *c.* 17. and *Plutarch.*

THE two hundred Senators divided themselves into Tens. These Tens drew Lots which should govern first, and the Ten to whose Lot it fell, enjoy'd the Sovereignty for five Days; but in such a manner that one Person only of the Ten, had the *Regalia* at a Time. [3] To these another Ten succeeded, every one of whom took his Turn of sitting upon the Throne, wearing the Crown, and being attended by the *Lictors*. It was a Form of Republick which *Rome* even then made Trial of; but it was of very short Continuance: This Sort of *Interregnum*, for so it was called, lasted but a little more than a Year. The publick Murmurs shortned its Duration. Complaints were made of an intolerable Slavery under alternative Kings. As the Masters multiplied, the Weight of the Yoke increased. As the Interests and Views of so great a Number of Sovereigns were different, the one undid what the other had done; and a continual Change of Monarchs introduced Instability and Disturbances in *Rome*. Besides, the People apprehended, that the Senate, tho' constant in nothing else, would yet be so in maintaining that Kind of Government, which they had possessed themselves of, and would destroy the Monarchy. And their Complaints were growing into Sedition, when a proper Expedient was thought on, whereby to bring both Parties to agree in the Choice of a King.

Aurel. Victor.

THE *Albans* who first founded *Rome*, and the *Sabines* who came into it after it was founded, each obstinately insisted on having a King of their own Nation: And a middle Way was therefore chosen. The former were prevailed on to be contented with nominating the Sovereign they liked; and the latter, to leave the Right of electing to the former, provided they chose a *Sabine*. By this Means all was made easy. The antient Inhabitants of *Rome* were in Possession of the Right of chooosing their Master; and the *Sabines* had the Satisfaction of seeing one of their Countrymen on the Throne. The Choice of the Sovereign was left to the People, but in Subordination to the Senate, who declared, that the *Curiæ* should hold their Power of electing from the Senators, who reserved to themselves the Right of approving or rejecting their Choice of a Successor to *Romulus*.

Plutarch.

Livy, ibid.

§. II. THERE was then in the native Country of the *Sabines*, a Man of a distinguished Birth and Virtue, who led a retired Life: He was wholly taken up with the Worship of the Gods, and the Study of an austere Philosophy, and had no Thoughts of Empire, but over his own Passions. His Name was *Numa* [4] *Pompilius*. He was the fourth Son of *Pompo*, an illustrious *Sabine*, who had married the Daughter of King *Tatius*, but had not followed the Fortunes of his Father-in-Law to *Rome*. The Princess his Wife was also of her Husband's Mind; she continued at *Cures* with him, and was satisfied with the Tranquillity of a private Life. When Death had, after a thirty Years Marriage, taken *Tatia* from her Husband, *Numa* gave himself up entirely to the Study of Wisdom. He left the City, and confined himself wholly to the Country; where he wandered from Solitude to Solitude, in Search only of those Woods and Fountains, which Religion had made sa-

Plutarch.

3 The Historians give us different Accounts of the Government of *Rome*, during this first *Interregnum*. *Plutarch* reduces the Number of the Senators who divided the Regal Power between them, to an hundred and fifty: And he will have it that each reigned only twelve Hours; that is to say, one from Midnight to Noon, and another from Noon to Midnight, every twenty four Hours, ἐξ μὲν ὤρας τῆς νυκτὸς, ἐξ δὲ τῆς ἡμερᾶς. Whereas *Livy*, for his Part, pretends that the Number of the Senators who reigned was but an hundred; and agrees, that they being divided into Tens, each Ten had the whole Authority for five Days; but nevertheless in such a manner as that one only had the *Regalia*. And *Dion. Hal.* tells us that these Senators were in Number two hundred; in which he seems to come nearer the Truth than the other two. It is well known, that *Romulus* created an hundred Senators, and that *Titus Tatius* added another hundred to them. But as to the other Particulars, *Plutarch*'s Account is the most exact, and the most circumstantial. Supposing, with *Livy*, that each ten Senators reigned in its Turn for five Days, it is natural enough to infer, that each Senator reigned but twelve Hours.

4 *Dion. Hal.* gives *Numa*'s Father the Name of *Pompilius Pompo*; *A. Victor* calls him *Pompo*; *Valerius Maximus*, *Pompilius Pompus*.

cred,

cred. And from thence, doubtleſs, came the Fable, which was very early received among the *Sabines:* That *Numa* had the Loſs of the Pleaſures of the City, and the Company of his Relations, abundantly made up to him in the Country, by the Converſation and Embraces of the Nymph *Egeria* [5]. Thus much is indeed certain, that *Numa*, when he was upon the Throne, actually took Advantage of this general Perſuaſion, in order thereby to give Credit to his Laws, and bring about a Reformation in *Rome*. But his chief Employment in his Solitude ſeems, moſt probably, to have been only a Search after Truth, and the Knowledge of the true God: And it will hereafter appear, that he did, by the Strength of his Reaſon, diſcover his Exiſtence, notwithſtanding the Darkneſs of Paganiſm, with which he was ſurrounded.

Year of *ROME* XXXVIII, XXXIX.

THE *Roman* People pitch'd upon *Numa Pompilius* to be their King, though abſent from *Rome:* And his Name, when brought to the Senate, was received with general Applauſe. His Reputation had been ſpread all over *Italy*, and in him were found all thoſe Qualities which were neceſſary to maintain, improve, and correct, the Regulations made by *Romulus*. He was of a mature Age. Having been born the very Day on which the Foundations of *Rome* were laid, he was then about [6] forty. He had alſo been Arbitrator of all the Differences in *Cures*, before he choſe to retire into the Country: Such Credit did his Equity, and a perfect Knowledge of the Laws give him, among the *Sabines*. The Senator therefore, who then officiated as King, during the *Interregnum*, declared the Election of *Numa Pompilius*, in a general Aſſembly of the *Curiæ*; and that with the unanimous Conſent of both Senate and People. The only Apprehenſion that remained, was, that a rigid Philoſopher, who had taſted the ſweet Calm of a rural Life, would refuſe to expoſe himſelf to the various Tempeſts of a difficult Government. Two Senators were ſent to fetch *Numa* from the Neighbourhood of *Cures*; whoſe Names were *Julius Proculus* and *Valerius Voleſus*, the one of *Alban*, the other of *Sabine* Extraction. The Citizens had indeed long been inclined to raiſe one of theſe two to the Throne, and in Suſpence which to chooſe: But nevertheleſs, as Love of the publick Good had then the Aſcendant in *Roman* Breaſts over Ambition and Jealouſy; the two Senators ſet out together, to go and make an honeſt and ſincere Offer of it to the *Sabine* Philoſopher.

Year of *ROME*, XL.

5 *Numa*'s Inclination to Solitude, and his Cuſtom of retiring into the ſecret Places of the Foreſt of *Aricia*, gave Riſe to ſeveral popular Opinions. Some perſuaded themſelves, that the Nymph *Egeria* her ſelf dictated the Laws he eſtabliſhed, as well civil, as religious. Whilſt others, leſs favourably to *Numa*'s Reputation, have believed, that under this affected Love for Woods and Caves, was concealed another, which was more real and leſs chaſt. Hence the Reports that were ſpread of this King's Aſſignations and Privacies with this pretended Nymph. *Juvenal* was prepoſſeſſed with theſe Opinions, and expreſſes himſelf agreeably to them, where ſpeaking of the Wood which was known to the *Romans* by the Name of *Lucus Egeriæ*, he ſays,

Hic ubi nocturnæ Numa conſtituebat amicæ. Sat. 3.

This Wood is ſaid to have been conſecrated to the Muſes, as well as the Fountain which watered it, and which was under the Care of the *Veſtals*. They drew there the Water they wanted for Sacrifices and Luſtrations. And in Proceſs of Time, this Wood, which was near the Gate *Capena*, came to be within the Limits of *Rome*. The Loſs of the old Wood was ſupplied by another which was without the City, and bore the Name of *Lucus Egeriæ*, and *Lucus Camænarum*, as the former had done. But St. *Auſtin*, *de Civ. Dei. l.* 7. building upon a Paſſage taken out of *Varro*'s Book of *Antiquities*, as his Authority, gives an allegorical Interpretation to theſe frequent Meetings between *Numa* and *Egeria*. He ſays, that this King being verſed in *Hydromancy*, ſaw ſeveral Dæmons in the Water, whom he conſulted, and from whom he received the Laws he propoſed to his People: And that becauſe *Numa* cauſed Water to be brought him for his magical Operations, *eo quod aquam egeſſerit*, this gave Occaſion to the Fiction that he had married the Nymph *Egeria*, who took her Name from the *Latin* Word *Egerere*. *Dion. Hal.* indeed tells us that *Numa* boaſted of being inſtructed in the Art of Governing by one of the nine Muſes: But at the ſame time relates ſuch a fabulous Story on this Occaſion, as he himſelf judges to be below the Gravity of Hiſtory.

6 *Rome*, according to *Varro*'s Calculation, was founded on the ſecond Day of *April*, in the third Year of the ſixth Olympiad. *Romulus* died the ſeventh of *July*, in the firſt Year of the ſixteenth Olympiad. The Difference between theſe two, is thirty eight Years and about three whole Months. Now *Numa* was born the ſame Day that *Rome* was founded; and conſequently was in his thirty ninth Year when his Predeceſſor died. So that if to thirty eight Years, and near three whole Months, we add one whole Year, which the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians allow to the *Interregnum*, it will be true, that *Numa* was about forty when he aſcended the Throne. Which being ſuppoſed, we muſt, in order to find out this forty Years of the Foundation of *Rome*, and of *Numa*'s Age, ſay with Father *Petaw*, either that *Romulus* reigned above thirty eight Years, or that the firſt Year of his Reign was not till the third Year of the Foundation of *Rome*; that is, till two Years after the *Romans* began to lay the Foundations of this City. For the forty Years which Hiſtorians give *Numa*, cannot be made out, but upon *Varro*'s Scheme, which we have followed.

Year of *ROME* XL.

BUT the Deputies found more Reſiſtance in *Numa Pompilius* than they had expected. His Averſion to the Government of a City, which had ſprung up in the midſt of Wars, was not inferior to his Love of a retired Life. And he therefore in the Preſence of his Father, and *Marcius* his Relation, gave the *Roman* Envoys the following Anſwer: *'Tis a great Happineſs to be entirely independent on the Aſſiſtance of other Men in the Manner of Life which one has choſen, and it is a Folly to relinquiſh one's old Ways of living to learn new; and to prefer an uncertain Satisfaction to an aſſured Tranquillity. The Deaths of* Tatius *and* Romulus *make me fear every thing from a Senate which is divided into Factions, and not free from the Suſpicion of having aſſaſſinated their King. And who was that King upon whom the Murder is ſuſpected to have been committed, but* Romulus *himſelf, who had the Reputation of being deſcended from the Gods? Whereas my Deſcent is merely human; and if I have gained any Reputation, it is for ſuch Qualities as are in no wiſe proper to make me ſhine upon a Throne, a Love of Peace, Retirement, Study, and divine Worſhip. But as* Rome *is envied by her Neighbours, and threatned with foreign Wars, for which* Romulus, *perhaps, gave no Provocation, ſhe has Need of an active and warlike Prince to govern her. What Benefit could you receive, in theſe Circumſtances, from a pacifick King, who would be wholly employ'd in eſtabliſhing deſpiſed Juſtice and Equity, and the neglected Worſhip of the Gods? Would you find any thing in him to ſatisfy the vaſt Views of your Ambition, or that inſatiate Deſire of Conqueſt, which* Rome *has been full of from her very Infancy?*

Plutarch Life of *Numa.*

THIS Anſwer ſtruck the Deputies with Surprize: And they joined Intreaties to Arguments, in order to perſuade the Philoſopher not to diſdain the Crown. *What will become of* Rome, ſaid they to him, *if you by your Refuſal throw her back into the Diſorders of the* Interregnum? *Will the* Romans *ever agree again in the Choice of a Monarch, as they have all joined their Suffrages in electing you? Will you ſuffer a Colony to be ruined by its Diſſenſions, which was founded in the Union of the two moſt flouriſhing Nations in* Italy?

NUMA's Father, and his Relation *Marcius*, eſpouſed the Intereſts of *Rome*; and each ſeparately adviſed him, not to deſpiſe a Preſent which was ſent to him from Heaven. *It is indeed,* ſaid they to him, *worthy of you not to ſuffer your Eyes to be dazzled with the Riches and Splendor of a Throne: But ought you therefore to pay no Regard to the Appointment of the Gods, who have choſen you to fill it? Have they indued your Heart with ſo great a Love of Equity, only to lie uſeleſs in a Deſart? The Throne is an eminent Place, from whence Virtue ſhews itſelf to Advantage, and exerciſes a Power which captivates and ſubdues the Hearts of Men.* Tatius, *tho' a Foreigner, was highly eſteemed by the* Romans, *and the Memory of* Romulus *was ſo pretious to them, that after his Death they voted him divine Honours. And who knows but* Rome, *influenced by the Royal Example, will abate of her Pride and Fury, and the Love of Arms will be ſucceeded by a Reſpect for Religion? How glorious is it to become the Reformer of a People whom Nature formed for Virtue! You will no ſooner have the Reins of Government in your Hands, but you will convert that martial Impetuoſity of the* Romans, *into a Love of Peace.*

Plutarch.

THIS Diſcourſe ſtaggered the Philoſopher; and the People of *Cures* brought him to an abſolute Determination. They preſſed him on all Sides, not to envy the *Sabines* the Glory of giving a King to the *Roman* Colony: At length Zeal for the publick Good prevailed over his private Inclinations: And after having rendered Heaven propitious to him by Sacrifices, he ſet out for *Rome*.

THE Senate and People went out to meet their new King, with all the Joy that Prepoſſeſſion can give in favour of thoſe who are generally eſteemed. *Spurius Vettius*, who was King for the Day, commanded the Tribes and *Curiæ* to aſſemble a ſecond time, in order to elect him when preſent, whom they had already choſen in his Abſence: and then the Senate confirmed the ſecond Choice of the People. But when all things were ready for cloathing him in the Royal Robes, he inſiſted that the Gods ſhould firſt be conſulted by *Augury*: and he was therefore

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 121.

Plutarch.

therefore attended to the top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, to obſerve the flying of the Birds; and the Ceremony was performed with the utmoſt Regularity. The King was ſeated upon a Stone, with his Face to the South, and his Head covered with a Veil [7]: The *Prince of the Augurs* ſtood behind him, and ſtretching his Right Hand over *Numa*'s Head, turned himſelf to the Eaſt, and prayed for him; then, looking round on all ſides to diſcover ſome favourable Omen, he ſaw ſome Birds, which were preſumed to be auſpicious; and this was ſufficient. The King came down from the Mountain, with the Acclamations of the People, who were charmed with the Modeſty of the Governor whom they had choſen

Year of *ROME* XL.

§. III. But the Reader is not to expect here the Events of a Reign made famous by Arms, and ſignalized by Battels. The *Romans* acknowledge that *Numa Pompilius* did not aggrandize their State by Conqueſts. It was his particular Glory to eſtabliſh a good Polity in it: And he begun the Reformation of *Rome* with himſelf. His Predeceſſor had always cauſed himſelf to be attended with three hundred Guards, under the Name of *Celeres:* but *Pompilius* laid them aſide. *It would ill become me,* ſaid he, *to reign over a People I diſtruſt; and as ill to diſtruſt a People, who force me to reign.* His firſt Care was to ſtrike at the Foundation of the public Diſorders; which he found to be the Love of Arms. *Rome,* at its Birth, conſiſted only of bold and enterprizing Men, or of Profligates, who were accuſtomed to Robberies and Murders: *Romulus* had indeed made a good Uſe of this martial Genius, by turning it againſt foreign Enemies; but after all, he let it have its free Courſe: whereas *Numa Pompilius* did all he could to weaken it. And as he thought Religion, which ſometimes proceeds from Fear, but more frequently produces it, would beſt moderate the too lively Sallies of a fiery and intrepid People; he therefore made it his main Buſineſs to new model the publick Worſhip of the *Romans.*

Year of *ROME* XLI—LXXXII. Numa.

It is very probable, that this wiſe Prince had, by the Light of his Reaſon, and perhaps the reading of the antient Philoſophers, arrived at the Knowledge of the true God [8]. Beſides what prophane Hiſtorians tell us of it, he gave Proofs of it by his Conduct, and the Regulations he eſtabliſhed in *Rome.* He forbad the making any Repreſentations of the Deity for the future, under the Figures of Men or Beaſts: He ſaid, *It was injurious to make uſe of corruptible Things to repreſent an inviſible Being, of which we ought to have no Repreſentation, but in our Minds.* Some have thought that he was *Pythagoras*'s Diſciple [9], and learned this pure Philoſophy from him: but the Time in which he lived, *Plutarch.*

7 *Livy* adds, that the *Augur* covered his own Head alſo with a Veil. The *Augurs* did indeed actually uſe Veils, when they made their Obſervations, out of a Perſuaſion, that they could not uſe too much Recollection and Attention in the Exerciſe of their Office.

8 I ſhall here quote only *Plutarch.* This judicious Author makes a Conceſſion which is very contrary to the Pagan Religion. He ſays, that the wiſeſt King of the *Romans* acknowledged *One firſt Being, who is imperceptible, impaſſible, inviſible, incorruptible, and purely intelligible:* ὄντα γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἀϊδιον καὶ ἀπαθῆ, ἀόρατον δὲ καὶ ἀκήρατον καὶ νοητὸν ὑπελαμβάνει εἶναι τὸ πρῶτον. And the ſame Author adds, that the Divinity was never repreſented by any Image in *Rome* before *Numa*'s Time; and that for a hundred and ſixty Years, no Statues were made there, which were honoured as Gods. Whence one might conclude, that the *Palladium* was not then looked on as a Divinity, but as a mere *Taliſman.* We have ſpoken of it in the Notes upon the ſecond Book of the *Æneid. Numa*'s Prohibition likewiſe, who, according to the ſame Author, forbad the erecting any Images of the Gods in Temples, deſerves our Regard. Indeed, *Jupiter, Juno, Neptune,* &c. were known in *Italy* before *Numa*'s Time, and *Quiris* had been firſt worſhipped by the *Sabines,* and afterwards by the *Romans*; but it's probable they had then no Statues. The Art of Sculpture was doubtleſs unknown in that barbarous and unpoliſhed Age. Beſides, *Plutarch* adds, that *Numa* thought it unworthy of the Deity, to repreſent him by Figures of Men or Beaſts.

9 Several at *Rome* were perſuaded upon the Credit of an antient but falſe Tradition, that *Numa* had been *Pythagoras*'s Diſciple. But all ſenſible Hiſtorians reject this Opinion. *Livy* finds fault with it. *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* oppoſe it. The Subſtance of their Reaſons is as follows. Firſt, *Pythagoras* did not live till long after *Numa.* According to *Dion. Hal.* this Philoſopher did not come into *Italy,* till above an hundred Years after this Prince's Time, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Firſt,* and in the fifty-firſt Olympiad: whereas *Numa* was elected King in the third Year of the ſixteenth Olympiad. So that between the Reign of *Numa,* and *Pythagoras*'s Arrival in *Italy,* there were thirty-four Olympiads, or a hundred thirty-ſix Years. *Livy* ſays, *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy,* in the Time of *Servius Tullius:* Now from the firſt Year of *Numa*'s Reign, to *Servius Tullius,* are reckoned a hundred thirty-ſeven Years. *Aulus Gellius* contends, that this Philoſopher had not appeared in *Italy,* before the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud.* He landed there about the ſixtieth Olympiad, according to *Diog. Laertius,* or the ſixty-ſecond, according to *Clem. Alexandrinus.* And laſtly, *Tully Tuſcul.* 4. aſſures us, that *Pythagoras* taught in *Italy* at the Time when *Brutus* aboliſhed

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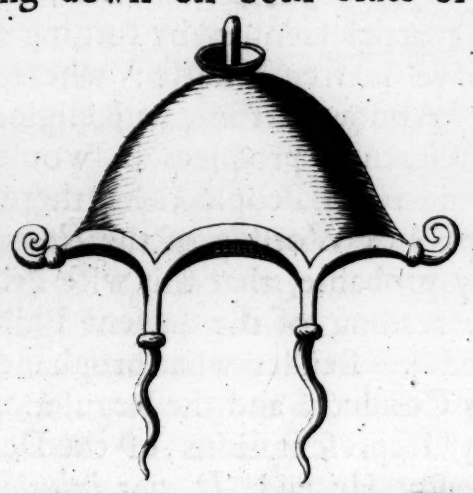
lived, will by no means admit of it. It is more probable that he had his Knowledge from the antient Books of the *Sabines*. We have already obſerved, that they were originally *Lacedemonians*, and had brought with them into *Italy* the Manners and Doctrine of the Philoſophers of *Greece*, from whence *Pythagoras* afterwards came.

BUT *Numa*, whatever Convictions he might have had of the Exiſtence of the true God, yet did not cauſe him to be worſhipped in *Rome:* nor did he even aboliſh all the antient Superſtitions. On the contrary, judging that the Number of the Feſtivals, and the Variety of the Heroes, conſecrated by Religion, would be ſuch an Amuſement for the People, as would ſoften their Manners, and be inſtead of their military Occupations; he politickly adopted both the old *Alban* Ceremonies, which *Romulus* had brought with him, and thoſe which the *Sabines*, who came with *Titus Tatius*, had afterwards introduced into *Rome*. Nor was this all, he regulated thoſe Ceremonies [10], made them decent and orderly, and divided all the Miniſters of Religion into eight Claſſes.

THE firſt were called *Curiones* [11], becauſe they were the particular Prieſts [12] of each *Curia:* and as therefore there were thirty *Curiæ* in *Rome*, ſo were there thirty *Curiones*.

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 124.

THE ſecond Claſs were the *Flamines* [13], who took their Names from their Caps. They wore a ſort of picked Bonnets, on the tops of which were Linen or Woollen Tufts of ſcarlet, which hung down on both Sides of the Head. In



Monarchy in *Rome*. Secondly, *Pythagoras* kept his School at *Croton*, a City which was not begun to be built till the fourth Year of *Numa*'s Reign. Thirdly, It is not utterly improbable indeed, but *Pythagoras* of *Samos* might have come into *Italy:* It is granted, that no other *Pythagoras* was known as a Man of great Reputation, but him of *Samos*; and that his Doctrine was not unlike that of *Numa*. But muſt we from thence conclude, that the Man who was not ſo much as his Co-temporary, was his Diſciple? What gave occaſion to invent many Fables concerning *Numa*, was, according to one *Clodius* in *Plutarch*, this; that the Acts of his Reign were burnt by the *Gauls* at the taking of *Rome*, and thoſe Acts of it that remained in *Clodius*'s Time, had been framed afterwards, in favour of ſome Men, who had falſely grafted themſelves upon the moſt antient Families in *Rome*. And according to this then, we muſt ſuppoſe that the Hiſtorians, who are our Guides at preſent, wrote from falſe Memoirs. But who can know this? Again, *Plutarch* relates, upon the Teſtimony of ſome Authors, that another *Pythagoras* of *Sparta* won the Prize at the Races in the Olympick Games, about the ſixteenth *Olympiad*; that he travelled into *Italy*, and that he, by his wiſe Counſels, made himſelf uſeful to *Numa*. But this *Pythagoras* either never exiſted, or at leaſt never paſſed for a Philoſopher.

10 If we believe *Dion. Hal. Numa* took care to digeſt and place in order the Laws and Ceremonies of Religion, in a Book, which he divided into eight Parts.

11 Theſe *Curiones* were inſtituted by *Romulus*. Each *Curia* choſe its own *Curio*. The Chief of the *Curiones* bore the Title of *Maximus Curio*. He was choſen by all the *Curiæ* together. The *Curiones* were charged with the Care of the Sacrifices, much in the ſame manner as the principal Magiſtrates, were in antient *Greece*; where they ſacrificed in the *Prytaneum*, which is the Name the *Greeks* gave to the ſacred Place, in which the People aſſembled. The Sacrifices which were offered to the Gods in the Temples of the *Curiæ*, were called *Curionia*. Hence the *Latin* Expreſſion *Æs Curionium*, which ſignifies, the Sums of Money, granted out of the publick Treaſury, for defraying the Expences of theſe Sacrifices.

12 *Numa* inſtituted no bloody Sacrifices. He offered no Bulls or Sheep. He only cauſed Loaves and Meat to be preſented to the Gods, and Libations to be made to their Honour, of Wine and Milk. At leaſt *Plutarch* declares this. And becauſe *Pythagoras* had likewiſe brought the ſame Ceremonies from *Greece*; therefore *Numa* was thought to have learned them from him. The Law this King made about Sacrifices, is this: *Deis fruge & mola ſalſa ſupplicanto.* He ſuffered Wine to be uſed in Libations, but it was to be ſuch Wine as had been drawn from Grapes, gathered from a Vine which had been pruned: *Diis ex imputata vite ne libato.* This was to encourage his People to prune their Vines, and cut them every Year. In Proceſs of Time even the *Veſtals* came to offer Victims.

13 *Plutarch* ſays, theſe Prieſts were firſt called *Pileamines*, from the *Greek* Word πῖλος, or the *Latin* one *Pileus*, which ſignifies a ſort of Hat which was peculiar to them. *Varro* derives the Word *Flamen*, *a filo quo caput cinctum erat*, from a Bonnet made of Wool or Flax, which the *Flamines* wore in hot Weather: but, according to others, the Word came from a Linen

In *Romulus*'s Time [14], there was a *Flamen* called *Dialis* [15], becauſe he preſided over the Worſhip of *Jupiter*; and another called *Martialis* [16], becauſe conſecrated to the Worſhip of *Mars*. To theſe *Numa* added a third, in Honour of *Romulus*, who had been deified, under the Name of *Quirinus*.

THE third Claſs conſiſted of thoſe, who had been called *Celeres* in *Romulus*'s Time, and had been his [17] Guards. *Numa* changed this military Body into a Company

Fillet which they uſed to bind round their Heads. Hence, ſay they, comes the Word *Filamen*, and by Contraction *Flamen*. And ſome other Etymologiſts do likewiſe derive the Word from certain Strings, which, ſay they, the *Flamines* wore about their Heads, and were called by the Antients *Flamæ*, or from the *Latin Flammeum*, becauſe this Part of the *Flamen*'s Head-dreſs was of ſcarlet. It was almoſt in the Form of a Cone; and was for this Reaſon called *Apex*. This Bonnet was faſtened under the Chin with Claſps, or two Strings, as may be obſerved in the Figure we give of it, from Medals. But *Servius* pretends, that upon the top of the *Apex*, there was a Tuft of Wool, which ended in a Point; and that the Bonnet was called *Apex* from thence. As to the Dignity of the *Flamines*, they were choſen by the People: after which, they received an Inauguration, or rather a ſort of Conſecration, at the Hands of the *Pontifex Maximus*, to whom they were abſolutely ſubject. Their Miniſtry was confined to one particular God, whoſe Name they took. All other Prieſtly Offices were incompatible with the Title of *Flamen*; a Dignity which they held for Life, unleſs they were, for very great Reaſons, depoſed. In this Caſe, they were degraded, which the *Romans* called *Flaminio abire*. It was a Crime for the *Flamines* to appear in publick uncovered, or to offer Sacrifice bare-headed. *Val. Maximus* ſpeaks of one *Sulpitius*, who was deprived of the Office of *Flamen*, for having let his Bonnet fall off whilſt he was ſacrificing. The Body of the *Flamines* did not form a Society or particular College, as the *Augurs* and *Pontifices* did: but they were ſummoned, and took their Seats as Judges, whenever an Affair was to be determined, the Cognizance of which belonged to the College of the *Pontifices*. *Tully*, *pro domo ſua*, addreſſes himſelf to his Judges, thus: *Diſcite orationem Pontifices & vos Flamines.* In civil Life, the *Flamines* were tied up to ſeveral trifling Practices, which the Extravagance of Paganiſm had made ſacred. Their Wives, who were called *Flaminicæ*, partook of the Prieſthood of their Husbands, and ſhared with them the Care of the Sacrifices: as we learn from *A. Gellius*, and ſome of *Gruter*'s *antient Inſcriptions:* and a *Flaminica* could not be divorced on any Account whatſoever. Death alone could ſeparate a *Flamen* from his Wife; and upon her Death he loſt his ſacerdotal Dignity. Both had under their Care ſome young Girls and Boys, to aſſiſt in the Sacrifices. Theſe Sorts of *Acolythes*, whoſe Fathers and Mothers muſt be living, were called *Flaminii* and *Flaminiæ*. The Number of the *Flamines* was at firſt but three; afterwards they encreaſed to twelve, and to fifteen.

14 *Livy* will have it, that the three *Flamines* were created by *Numa*. But *Plutarch* on the contrary aſſures us, that *Romulus* had already inſtituted the *Flamen Dialis*, and the *Flamen Martialis*. And it's certain, that the Founder of *Rome* paid a particular Worſhip to *Jupiter*, and the God *Mars*, whom he gloried as his Father: which therefore inclines us to favour *Plutarch*'s Opinion.

15 The *Flamen Dialis* was the moſt diſtinguiſhed of any, both by the Pre-eminence of his Rank, and the God he ſerved. The Engagements he entered into, as Prieſt of *Jupiter*, were inconſiſtent with his bearing civil Offices, which he could neither ſollicit, nor accept. But to make him amends, he had the Privilege of being guarded by a *Lictor*, and wearing a magnificent Robe: to which were added the Honours of the *Curule Chair*. He was generally deſcended from a *Patrician* Family, as well as the *Flamen Martialis*, and the *Flamen Quirinalis:* and therefore theſe were called *Flamines Majores*, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Flamines Minores*, who were deſcended from *Plebeians*. The *Flamen Dialis* was ſubject to very troubleſome Laws, the Particulars of which we have in *A. Gellius*. Among other things, he was forbidden to ride on Horſe-back or caſt his Eyes upon an Army drawn up in Battalia. It was unlawful for him to ſwear, and therefore his taking the Oaths appointed by the Laws, was diſpenſed with. His Word alone was a ſufficient Teſtimony, according to that Form of Words uſed by the *Prætor*, which had the Force of a perpetual Edict: *Sacerdotem Veſtalem, & Flaminem Dialem, in omni mea juriſdictione jurare non cogam.* He could not attend Funeral Solemnities, but with the utmoſt Precautions. To be abſent but one Night from *Rome*, to touch a dead Body, and a thouſand other Actions, which are in themſelves indifferent, were thought to be ſo many conſiderable Faults in the *Flamen Dialis*. But in order to lighten this heavy Yoke, great Marks of Diſtinction were annexed to his Office. He wore a hollow or pierced Ring on his Finger; and he was placed uppermoſt at Feaſts, unleſs *the King of the Sacrifices* was preſent, to whom he was obliged to give place. He had the Privilege of wearing the *Prætexta*, and ſitting in the *Curule Chair* in the Senate: and only a Freeman could cut his Hair. In ſome Caſes, the Reſpect ſhewn him was carried even to Superſtition. Witneſs this Law: *Unguium Dialis, & capilli Segmina, ſubter Arborem felicem, terra integunto.* He appointed the Time of the Vintages, which he declared by ſacrificing a young Sheep. His Bonnet was, by way of Honour, diſtinguiſhed from that of the other *Flamines*. We find it repreſented in the antient Monuments and Medals, under the Name of *Albogalerus:* and *Feſtus* ſays it was made of the Skin of a *white* Victim. Some modern Authors have falſely advanced, that no *Flamen Dialis* ever partook of the Honours of the Magiſtracy. To convince themſelves of the contrary, they need only read *Tacitus Annal.* 3. and *Livy B.* 45. The former gives us the Inſtances of *Servius Maluginenſis*, and *Merula*, who both obtained the Conſulſhip, tho' they were then both *Flamines Diales:* and ſays, in the ſame Place, *Sæpe Pontifices Dialia ſacra feciſſe, ſi Flamen valetudine, aut munere publico, impediretur.* And *Livy* ſpeaks of a *Flamen Dialis*, who exerciſed the Office of *Prætor*.

16 The *Flamen Martialis* was the ſecond in Rank, among the *Flamines*. It was not lawful for him to go out of *Italy*, at leaſt in the firſt Ages of *Rome*. We learn from *Livy* and *Val. Maximus*, that *Aulus Poſthumus*, Conſul and *Flamen Martialis*, could not get leave of *Cæcilius Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, to command the *Roman* Army in *Africa*. The *Flamen Quirinalis* was alſo ſubject to the ſame Law. *Livy*, *B.* 37. gives us an Inſtance of it in the Perſon of *Q. Fabius Pictor*.

17 *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that *Numa* made no Alteration in the Cuſtoms *Romulus* had eſtabliſhed. And

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Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 125.

Company of Sacrificers, and consecrated those to Religion, whom his Predecessor had destined to War.

THE fourth Class consisted of those who were called *Augurs* [18]: but their Functions extended farther than the Name seems to imply. They did not foretel future Events by the flying or singing of Birds only: all sorts of Divination were within their Province. They interpreted Dreams; they drew Presages from several *Phænomena* both in the Heavens, and on the Earth, such as Monsters, Earthquakes, *&c.* and their Ministry was equally made use of by the Publick, and by private Persons.

Dion. Hal. ibid.

THE *Vestals* made the fifth Class: tho' it is certain their Institution was older than *Numa*. Not to go farther back, *Rhea Sylvia* was a *Vestal:* and indeed, the Worship of *Vesta* was as old as *Æneas*'s Arrival in *Italy* [19]. The *Trojans* had brought it with them out of *Phrygia:* but *Romulus* in his Reign had a little neglected it, in *Rome*. For it was confined only to the *Cœnacula* [02] of the *Curiæ*, in which the People publickly feasted on the Flesh of the Victims, which had been offered in Sacrifice. *Numa Pompilius* was the first who erected [21] a particular Temple to this Goddess, under the *Name* of *Vesta Communis*. He built it between Mount *Tarpeius* and Mount *Palatine:* and therein caused a Fire to be kept always burning [22], with the utmost Care and Vigilance; this Fire being considered

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And it is therefore probable, that he kept up the three Companies of *Celeres*; not indeed for military Offices, as before, but as inferior Ministers who were to take care of the Sacrifices, under the Direction and Government of the *Tribunes*, who commanded this Militia, during the Reign of *Romulus*.

18 We have spoken of the *Augurs*, and explained their different Functions in another Place. The only Observation therefore necessary to be made here, is, that *Numa* did not institute any *Aruspices:* Nor ought we to be surprized at it: He did not introduce the offering up of Victims, or bloody Sacrifices, in the Worship of the Gods. They therefore who foretold future things, by the Inspection of the Entrails of slain Victims, had no Employment in his Reign.

19 To what has been already said of *Vesta*, let us here add, that it's credible the Antients understood by *Vesta*, the whole World, or the Universe to which they attributed a Soul, and which they looked upon as the only Divinity, sometimes under the Name of τὸ πᾶν, and sometimes under that of μόνας, that is to say, of *Unity*. This was the mystical Signification of *Vesta*, though the Vulgar worshipped her as the Goddess of the Earth and of Fire. And with a View to represent the Universe, under the Name of *Vesta*, *Numa Pompilius* built a round Temple in Honour of this Goddess: under which Form, the Temples of this Goddess are still represented in Medals. In the midst of the Temple *Numa* placed the Altar of the sacred Fire, which was ever burning, out of a Persuasion, that the proper Region of Fire was the Centre of the World. In all probability, this King did not think the Earth immovable, but fancied it was always rolling round the Fire; that is, the Sun, which he thought placed in the Centre of the Universe. And *Plato* embraced this Opinion towards the End of his Life; as did *Pythagoras*, and his Disciples. So that, if we believe *Plutarch*, who relates all these Facts, and makes *Numa* to have lived before *Pythagoras*, we must acknowledge, that the System which has since been adopted by *Copernicus*, was known in *Italy* so early as in the Days of *Numa Pompilius*.

20. We learn from *Dion. Hal.* that *Romulus* neither built any Temple, nor consecrated any Virgins to *Vesta*. He contented himself with erecting a Chapel, and placed a sacred Hearth in each of the thirty *Curiæ*, where they paid their Worship to *Vesta*, in common, as the *Greeks* in their *Prytaneum*.

21 *Dion. Hal.* says here, that *Numa* was the first who built a Temple to *Vesta*, and consecrated a certain Number of Virgins to her. But he says in another Place, that *Tatius* had erected a Temple to the same Goddess. And in order therefore to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, we must either say, that the Historian only means, that *Numa* built the first Temple, in which the sacred Fire was appointed to be kept, under the Care and Direction of *Vestals*; or else that the Temple erected by *Tatius*, was only a little Chapel, which did not deserve the Name of a Temple.

22 The keeping up of a sacred Fire had always been a Part of Religion, in different Nations. *The Fire shall ever be burning upon the Altar*, saith the Lord, *it shall never go out*, Lev. vi. 13. Such a Fire was preserved in the Temples of *Ceres* at *Mantinea*, of *Apollo* at *Delphos* and *Athens*, and in that of *Diana* at *Ecbatana* among the *Persians*. *Setinus* committed the Care of the sacred Fire in the Temple of *Minerva*, and of the Statue of *Pallas*, to a Society of young Women. The *Magi* were charged with keeping a Fire always burning on Altars erected in the middle of those little Temples which *Strabo* calls πυραθεῖα. A Lamp was always burning in the Temple of *Jupiter Ammon*. And, if we may believe *Diod. Sicul.* this

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onſidered by the *Romans*, as equally ſacred in itſelf, and in its Extinction fatal to their Republick. The Care of ſupplying and preſerving it, was committed by the King to four *Veſtals* [23], whoſe Names were *Gegania*, *Verenia*, *Canuleia*,

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and *Tarpeia*. So that *Numa*, tho' a *Sabine*, had yet more Regard for theſe Remains of the *Trojan* Religion, than *Romulus*, who was deſcended from *Æneas*. Nevertheleſs, *Romulus* is ſaid to have had his Reaſons for not inſtituting this College of Virgins in *Rome*, which had been eſtabliſhed [24] in *Alba* before his Time. At firſt, his Colony wanted Women; and afterwards, he was afraid leſt the Faults of the *Veſtals* ſhould call to Remembrance *Rhea Sylvia*, his Mother. But *Numa* thought it his Duty to eſtabliſh them [25]; and he

this Cuſtom came from the *Egyptians* to the *Greeks*, and from them to the *Romans*. The latter made it the principal Part of their Religion. They ſo far made the Safety and Fate of *Rome* to depend on the Preſervation of the ſacred Fire, that they thought the Extinction of it foreboded the moſt terrible Misfortunes. So that *Veſta* was looked upon by the *Romans*, as one of the tutelary Deities of their Empire, agreeably to theſe Lines in *Virgil*;

Dii Patrii indigetes, & Romule Veſtaque Mater;
Quæ Tuſcum Tiberim & Romana palatia ſervas!

And we find the Footſteps of this Superſtition in ſeveral Medals. Sometimes *Veſta* is repreſented on them, under the Symbol of a quick Fire burning on an Altar. At other times ſhe is repreſented ſitting, to denote the Stability of the Earth, holding the *Palladium* in one Hand, and a lighted Torch, or Sceptre, or a ſort of Pike, in the other: and ſometimes ſhe is ſeen ſtanding with the *Sympullum* in her Hand, and in the Poſture of a *Veſtal* making Libations on a Fire, as in the Medal above. *Tully*, *B.* 3. *de Nat. Deorum*, ſpeaks alſo of an Image erected to *Veſta*, in the ſame Place where *Q. Scævola* the *Pontifex Maximus* had been maſſacred: and ſome other Medals have this Inſcription: VESTA P. R. QUIRITIUM—VESTÆ MATRI; either becauſe the earth is the common Mother, or becauſe *Veſta* was conſidered by the *Romans* as the Mother and Protectreſs of *Rome*. In this Senſe *Mars* is called *Pater*—— *Gradivuſque Pater*.

23 In the Medal of *Julia*, the Emperor *Severus*'s ſecond Wife, we ſee a Temple of *Veſta*, and four *Veſtals*, watching in the ſacred Fire.

24 *Livy*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* agree, that there were *Veſtals* in *Alba* before there were any in *Rome*. *Alba oriundum Sacerdotium*, ſays *Livy*. And tho' we ſhall hereafter ſee *Alba* deſtroyed in the Time of King *Tullus Hoſtilius*; yet the Worſhip of *Veſta* will not be entirely aboliſhed there. It ſubſiſted amidſt the Ruins of that City. Only the *Veſta* which was continued to be honoured at *Alba*, was called *Veſta Minor*; as if ſhe had given place to the *Veſta* of *Rome*: And in this Senſe we are to underſtand this Verſe of *Juvenal*,

Ignem Trojanum & Veſtam colit Alba Minorem.

25 Authors tell us nothing of the Forms obſerved in the Choice, and Conſecration of the *Veſtals*: only *A. Gellius* tells us, that the *Pontifex Maximus* was commanded by the *Papian* Law to chuſe out among the People twenty young Women, whoſe Fathers were Freemen and of good Reputation, and make them draw Lots. She, on whom the Lot fell, became ſubject to the Power of the *Pontifex Maximus*, who took her away from her Parents: and then he made her free from their Authority, and confined her to the Temple of *Veſta*. But afterwards, the *Veſtals* were received by the Conſent of, and barely upon being preſented by, the Father and Mother. *A. Gellius* has preſerved the following Form of Words, which the *Pontifex Maximus* uſed at the Reception of the *Veſtals*. *Sacerdotem Veſtalem, quæ ſacra faciat, quæ Jovis ſiet, Sacerdotem Veſtalem facere pro populo Romano Quiritium, ut ei quæ optuma lege fuit, ita te Amata capio.* The Name *Amata* was made uſe of, in the Form, according to the ſame Author, becauſe ſhe who had been the firſt that was taken from her Family, bore this Name. The new *Veſtal*, after the Ceremony of her Reception was over, cut off her Hair; which was afterwards hung up upon a Tree, which both the *Greeks* and *Latins* call *Lotos*. From that time, ſhe became her own Miſtreſs, and was no longer under the Tuition of her Parents. I have ſaid, they were choſen from among the People, becauſe it was not always neceſſary that they ſhould be of *Patrician* Families. We ſometimes find even the Daughters of thoſe who had been made free, among them. *Numa* gave them an Endowment out of

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he gave them Rules and Privileges. All Sort of Commerce with Men was not indeed forbidden them; they were permitted to receive Viſits from them by Day [26], but by Night none but Perſons of their own Sex were ſuffered to come into their Apartments. They were obliged to ſtrict Continence for thirty Years; the ten firſt of which were employed in learning the Ceremonies of Religion [27], the next ten in the Performance of them, and the ten laſt in teaching them to the younger *Veſtals*. After this, they were permitted to lay aſide their Ornaments, quit their Office as Prieſteſſes, and marry [28]. But as theſe late Marriages were obſerved not to be very happy, few of them left their old Profeſſion, even after the Time of their Miniſtry was expired. And they found themſelves well compenſated for the Reſtraints of their Condition, by the Honours that were annexed to it. They never appeared in publick, but attended by the *Lictors*, as the Kings were [29]. If they accidentally met a Criminal going to Execution, he was immediately pardoned [30]. It was a capital [31] Crime to the publick Money, that being free from the Cares of Life, they might be the more at leiſure to apply themſelves to ſacred Offices: And it will appear in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that they heaped up great Riches, by the many Endowments and Legacies which were given them. And then, they no longer appeared in *Rome*, without a magnificent Train of Attendants. If the *Conſuls* or *Prætors* met them, they were obliged either to turn another Way, or to lower their *Axes* and *Faſces* to them. They had the Precedence wherever they came. The Senate, in reſpect to the Holineſs of their Office, commanded that Seats of Diſtinction ſhould be provided for them at the Sports of the *Circus*, the *Shews*, and even in the *Amphitheatre* of the Gladiators. Nay, the *Veſtals* afterwards enjoyed the Honours of the *Capitol*, that is, they had a Right of being carried to the Temple of *Jupiter* in a Chariot; which was an Honour done only to them, and the Empreſſes, or Emperors Daughters: and they were alſo buried within the City; which was a Privilege granted to none but the greateſt Perſonages in the Republick and Empire. Their principal Duty was to keep up the ſacred Fire, and to offer up continually their Prayers and Vows for the Proſperity of the *Romans*. They were the Guardians of thoſe ſacred and myſterious things, which were kept with great Care in the inner Part of the Temple of *Veſta*, as the moſt valuable Pledges of the Duration of the *Roman* Empire. A Sight of theſe ſecret Monuments was denied to all the World.

——Nullique aſpecta virorum
Pallas, in abſtruſo pignus memorabile templo.
Lucan.

But theſe Myſteries were really nothing elſe but the *Palladium*, or the Images of the *Samothracian* Deities, which *Æneas* brought to *Italy* from *Troy*. Beſides which, *Pliny* ſpeaks likewiſe of another Divinity which was worſhiped by the *Veſtals*, as the Protectreſs of Children, and of Generals of Armies: And ſome think, there were two myſterious Veſſels like Tuns kept in the Sanctuary of the Temple of *Veſta*, one of which was empty and open, the other ſhut and full.

26 *Dion. Hal.* expreſly tells us, that Men were not only forbidden to enter into the Habitation of the *Veſtals*, but alſo into the Temple of *Veſta* it ſelf, in the Night-time. This Verſe therefore of *Ovid*, which he has not confined enough, is to be underſtood only of the Night,

Sacra vir intrabo non adeunda viro.

It's certain ſome Men were admitted into the Temple of *Veſta* by Day. Both *Nero* and *Piſo* were, according to *Tacitus*. And *Dion. Hal.* ſays expreſly, that *the Temple of* Veſta *was open to every Body in the Day-time*, eſpecially on *Veſta*'s Feſtival. It was then opened in an extraordinary manner, ſo that the *Romans* could go in to the very Place where the Sacred Things were kept; which nevertheleſs the *Veſtals* did not ſuffer to be ſeen, but under Veils.

27 The *Veſtals* were choſen from ſix to ten Years of Age; beyond that Age none was admitted among them. Their Number at firſt was but four. Afterwards *Tarquin the Elder* added two more to them: Which Number was never increaſed, whatever St. *Ambroſe* may ſay to the contrary, who reckons ſeven. We ſee but ſix *Veſtals* on the Medals of *Fauſtina* and *Lucilia*. *Plutarch*, who lived in *Trajan*'s Time, reckons but ſix. One of them was ſuperior to the reſt, and called *Veſtalis Maxima*, probably becauſe ſhe was the oldeſt.

28 The *Roman* Laws permitted the *Veſtals* to marry after thirty Years Service. *Prudentius* laughs at a *Veſtal* who married very old:

Nubit anus veterana ſacro defuncta labore.

But if the Text of *Dion. Hal.* be not corrupted, the Law was not ſo ſevere againſt *Veſtals* in *Alba*. They were only obliged to Continence for five Years, πενταετοῦς, ſays this Author, ſpeaking of *Rhea Sylvia*. But *J. Lipſius* thinks, with Reaſon, that it ought to be read, πενηκονταετοῦς; that is, that they were obliged to continue in the Service of *Veſta* for fifty Years. Thus *Livy*, ſpeaking of the ſame *Rhea Sylvia*, ſays ſhe obliged her ſelf to a perpetual Virginity, *Perpetua Virginitate ſpem partus ei ademptam*. We here give the Reader the Figure of a *Veſtal* of ſixty four Years old, from an antique Marble.

29 It is *Plutarch* who gives the *Veſtals* Lictors ſo early as *Numa*: But he may be miſtaken. *Dio. B.* 47. refers the Cuſtom of cauſing the *Veſtals* to be attended by *Lictors*, to the Time of the Triumvirate; and tells us the Occaſion of it. A *Veſtal*, ſays he, as ſhe was coming home by Night, was raviſhed: And then the *Triumviri* thought it proper to order a *Lictor* always to attend them.

30 *Plutarch* adds, that the *Veſtal* was obliged to ſwear that ſhe came thither by Accident, and not deſignedly; tho' the *Veſtals* were not forced to ſwear before the Judges on any other Occaſion. This Privilege of pardoning Criminals was afterwards granted them, by the Edict of a *Prætor*, which, according to *A. Gellius*, had the Force of a Law: And their bare Words were taken in Law-ſuits, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann. B.* 2.

31 We have tranſlated the general Word φορεῖον, which *Plutarch* uſes in this Place, by *litter*. And indeed, St. *Ambroſe*, in his Book againſt *Symmachus*, mentions the *Veſtals* as having Litters; *Pompa lecticæ miniſtrorum circumfuſa comitatu*. But *Prudentius* gives them another Sort of Carriage, which he calls *Pilentum*; and *Tacitus* pretends they rode in a Chariot, which he calls *Carpentum*: And

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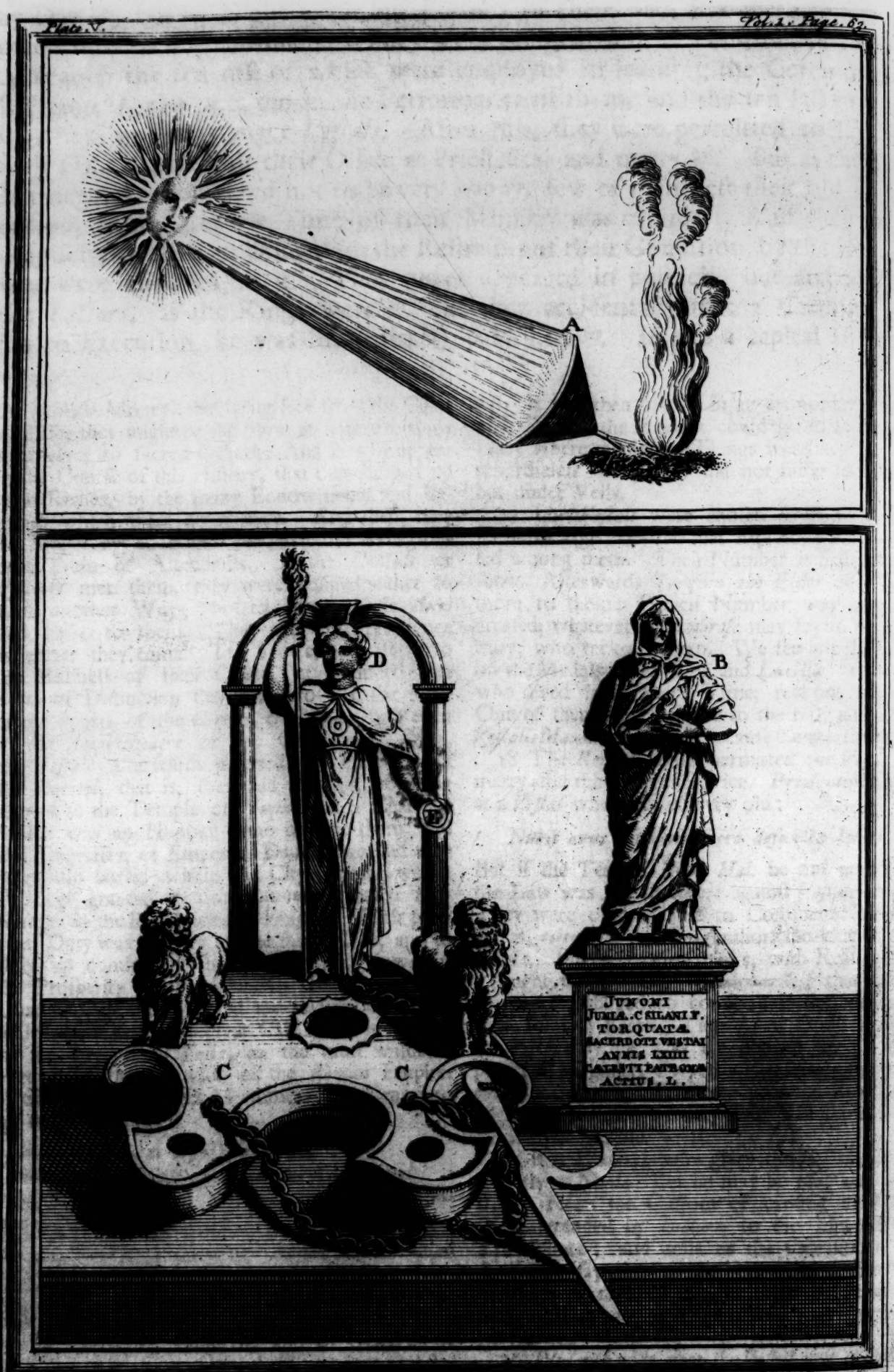

A. *A brazen Vase made to collect the rays of y Sun, in order to renew the Sacred Fire.* B. Vestal, *64 years of Age.* C.C. *A Lamp consecrated to* Vesta. D. *An Image of* Vesta *representing Fire by y Burning Torch she has in her hand; and representing the Earth, by the two Lions at her Feet, and the Tower with which she is crowned.* E. *A* Patera, *or vessel made to catch the Blood of y Victims offered up in Sacrifice.*

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to enter into the Litters in which they were riding. At what Age ſoever they were admitted *Veſtals*, they were immediately Miſtreſſes of their own Fortunes [32], without either Truſtee or Guardian. And laſtly, they had a Right of making their Wills, even in their Fathers Life-time.

But then, as the Honours done them were great, ſo their Faults were not ſuffered to go unpuniſhed [33]. The leaſt Levity in them, the ſmalleſt Neglects in their Office, were tryed by the *Pontifices*, and at their Command puniſhed with Severity. That Puniſhment eſpecially, which was inflicted on them for proſtituting their Honour, had ſomething in it inexpreſſibly terrible [34]. The whole City was in a Conſternation at it, and the Sight was indeed very mournful. The Offender was carried in a Litter, ſwathed ſo tight as to be deprived of the Uſe of her Voice, and wrapped up in Cloths croſs the *Forum*, and thence thro' the *Colline Gate*, to the Place where ſhe was to be buried alive [35]. Her Friends and Relations walked before her in Tears, in the ſame Order as in a Funeral Proceſſion, till they came near to a little Vault, in which ſhe was to end her Days. Care had been taken to ſet up a little Bed in the Vault, and leave a Lamp burning in it, with a little Proviſion: And the *Pontifex* read ſome [36] Prayers over her, with a low Voice; but without the Luſtrations and other expiatory Ceremonies which were uſed for the Dead. This done, they let her down into the Vault [37], and bricking up the Entrance, covered it with Earth.

To ſuffer the ſacred Fire to go out, was alſo an unpardonable Piece of Negligence in the *Veſtals* [38]. The whole City was alarmed at it, and thought it foreboded their approaching Ruin. Freſh Fire was brought into the Temple [39] of *Veſta*, after many Purifications; and the *Pontifices* examined into the Cauſes

Dion. Hal. B. 2. p. 128.

and all theſe Carriages bore ſome Reſemblance to our Coaches. It ſometimes happening that young looſe Fellows leaped into the *Roman* Ladies Coaches to inſult them; a Law was therefore made, that it ſhould be capital to be guilty of offering ſuch an Indignity to the *Veſtals*.

32 If they were but ſix Years old, ſays *Sozom. B.* 9. of his *Eccleſ. Hiſt.* they had a Right to make their Wills. The Law freed them from all Paternal Juriſdiction. According to *Dio*, *B.* 55. they enjoyed, from the Moment they were conſecrated, all the Privileges of thoſe Mothers of Families, who had born their Husbands three Children.

33 According to *Livy*, *B.* 4. and *Seneca*, *B.* 6. of *his Controverſies*, to give themſelves looſe Airs, to diſcourſe with Men in a tender Manner, to affect too great a Conformity to the World in their Dreſs, or to make Poems or Verſes, were great Faults in *Veſtals*. *Seneca* ſays, a *Veſtal* was accuſed for having made this Verſe,

Fœlices Nuptæ! moriar, niſi nubere dulce eſt.

The *Pontifices* only were their Judges: Nevertheleſs, in capital Caſes they left the ſecular Judge to pronounce the Sentence. But this was only in the latter Ages.

34 As ſoon as Sentence of Death was pronounced againſt the Criminal, the *Pontifex Maximus* degraded her from her Prieſthood: And her Slaves were examined by Torture, in order to get more Light into the Crime for which ſhe was condemned. On the Day of Execution, the *Pontifex Maximus*, followed by the other *Pontifices*, went to the Temple of *Veſta*, and there ſtripped her of her Ornaments, to clothe her in a mourning Habit.

35 *Feſtus* and *Livy* tell us, that the Place where the *Veſtals* were buried, was from thence called *Campus Sceleratus*.

36 According to *Plutarch*, *Quæſt. Rom.* the Prieſts came every Year to the Place appointed for the Puniſhment of the *Veſtals*, and there offered Sacrifices, which was probably to appeaſe the Gods, who were provoked by the Crimes of thoſe who had been condemned.

37 It is very uncertain, whether this Puniſhment of burying the *Veſtals* alive, was appointed ſo early as *Numa*. It is more probable, it did not take Place till the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*. Nevertheleſs, the moſt antient Law we have againſt the inceſtuous *Veſtals*, is related by *Feſtus*, in theſe Terms: *Probrum Virginis Veſtalis ut capite puniretur, vir qui eam inceſtuaviſſet, verberibus necaretur:* And this Law ſeems to have been made by *Numa*. The guilty *Veſtal* was, as *Cato* reports, faſtened to the Porch of the Temple of *Liberty*, and there burnt to Aſhes. But it does not appear by the Law it ſelf, how ſhe was to be put to Death. *Cidrenus* even ſays that in *Numa*'s Time they were only ſtoned. *Tarquin the Elder*, who added two *Veſtals* to the College, invented the Puniſhment of burying the guilty *Veſtals* alive; but he continued to puniſh her Accomplice in the Inceſt, in the ſame manner as *Numa* had appointed: Which, according to *Zonaras*, was, to faſten him by the Neck to a forked Stake, in the middle of the *Forum*, and beat him to Death.

38 A Law, which we have in *Tully*'s 2*d B. de Legib.* obliged the *Veſtals* to keep a perpetual Fire: *Virgines Veſtales in urbe cuſtodiunto ignem foci publici ſempiternum. Feſtus* adds, that when a *Veſtal* ſuffered it to go out ſhe was puniſhed by the Hands of the *Pontifex*, who, out of Modeſty, ſtruck her thro' a Veil. Her Puniſhment was whipping, and ſhe was treated as a Slave. The ſix *Veſtals* took their Turns of watching and taking Care of the ſacred Fire, by Night.

39 This new Fire might be kindled two Ways. 1*ſt. Feſtus* ſays, by rubbing two Pieces of Wood one againſt another. 2*dly. Plutarch* adds, that the *Veſtals* did not light the ſacred Fire again with common Fire: They firſt made uſe of ſuch a brazen Veſſel, as is here repreſented after *Juſtus Lipſius*, and afterwards of a burning Glaſs, which collecting the moſt pure Rays of the Sun, upon ſome combuſtible Matter, put it in a Flame. *Ovid* and *Macrobius* ſay, that the ſacred Fire was renewed every Year on the firſt of *March*.

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Numa.

of this wicked Neglect, that it might be punished with Severity. By this Mixture of Honours and Punishments, did *Numa Pompilius* at once settle Order and Regularity among the *Vestals*, and procure them Veneration and Respect in *Rome*.

The sixth Class of Priests established by *Numa* [40] was the *Salii*. Their Origin must be carried up as high as *Evander*, who brought a Company of Musicians from *Arcadia* into *Italy*; the chief of whom was named *Salius*. Their Office at first was only to sing at the Sacrifices: But it was afterwards changed to dancing to the Sound of the Flute, in Honour of the *Genii*, on whose Favour Success in War depended. *Numa Pompilius* took hold of an Opportunity that offered, to re-establish this Company, and make it sacred, by changing it into a religious Order. In the eighth Year of his Reign a Pestilence ravaged *Italy*, and spread it self to *Rome*. Then Fear made the People yet more superstitious, and *Numa* left no Artifice untried, whereby he might improve these favourable Junctures to the Furtherance of his Views with respect to Religion. He caused a Meadow near *Rome*, and a Spring that rose in it, to be consecrated to the *Muses*. At this Spring he ordered the *Vestals* to draw all the Water with which they sprinkled their Sanctuary [41]; and it was believed in the City, that the King came hither to converse with the *Muses*, and the Nymph *Egeria*: Whereas in reality, all the Conversation which he had with them, was allegorical. For he went thither to read; there he composed Books of Morality, Politicks, and Magick, the greatest Part of which he ordered to be buried with him. And it was in these rural Retreats, that he invented a Stratagem whereby to gain still more Authority among his People. He made them believe that a Shield of an extraordinary Make [42] fell down from Heaven into his Apartment, and that the Nymph *Egeria* had told him, that the Prosperity of *Rome* depended upon its Preservation. For Fear then that so pretious a *Depositum* should be stolen, and that it might be the more difficult to know it, he ordered a skilful Workman, named *Mamurius* [43], to make eleven more exactly like it. Which twelve Shields were hung up in the Temple of *Mars*, and twelve young *Romans* taken out of good Families in *Rome*, were appointed to be the Guardians of them. The Name of *Salii*, which was given them, was antient, and agreeable to their ministerial Offices; for the Descent of the miraculous Shield, to which the stopping of the contagious Distemper was

Dion. Hal.

40 What I say here, of these *Salii*, that they had their Rise from *Evander*, who brought them into *Italy*, is a Conjecture well grounded. *Virgil* makes some of these *Salii* to have been with *Evander*, and their Business then was only Musick, and not Dancing: *Tum Salii ad cantum*, says he. And it is well known he does not always speak as a Poet, especially concerning the Antiquities of his own Nation. He often took his Account of them from historical Traditions. Nay, which is more, *Dion. Hal.* says, that *Evander* brought one *Salius* with him out of *Arcadia*. Which gives me room to believe, that the Word *Salire*, had its Origin from *Salius*, the Head of these Singers, who afterwards danced to their Songs. It's true, *Plutarch* contends, that the *Salii* took their Name from the Verb *Salire*; but he says it without Proof. If we would have Recourse to a more distant Origin of these Dances, in which they kept Time on brass Pans, we might say, with *Dion. Hal.* that they came from *Crete*, and were borrowed from the *Curetes*, who were also called *Corybantes*. They might, notwithstanding this, have been brought from *Crete* to *Arcadia*, from whence *Evander* carried them with him into *Italy*.

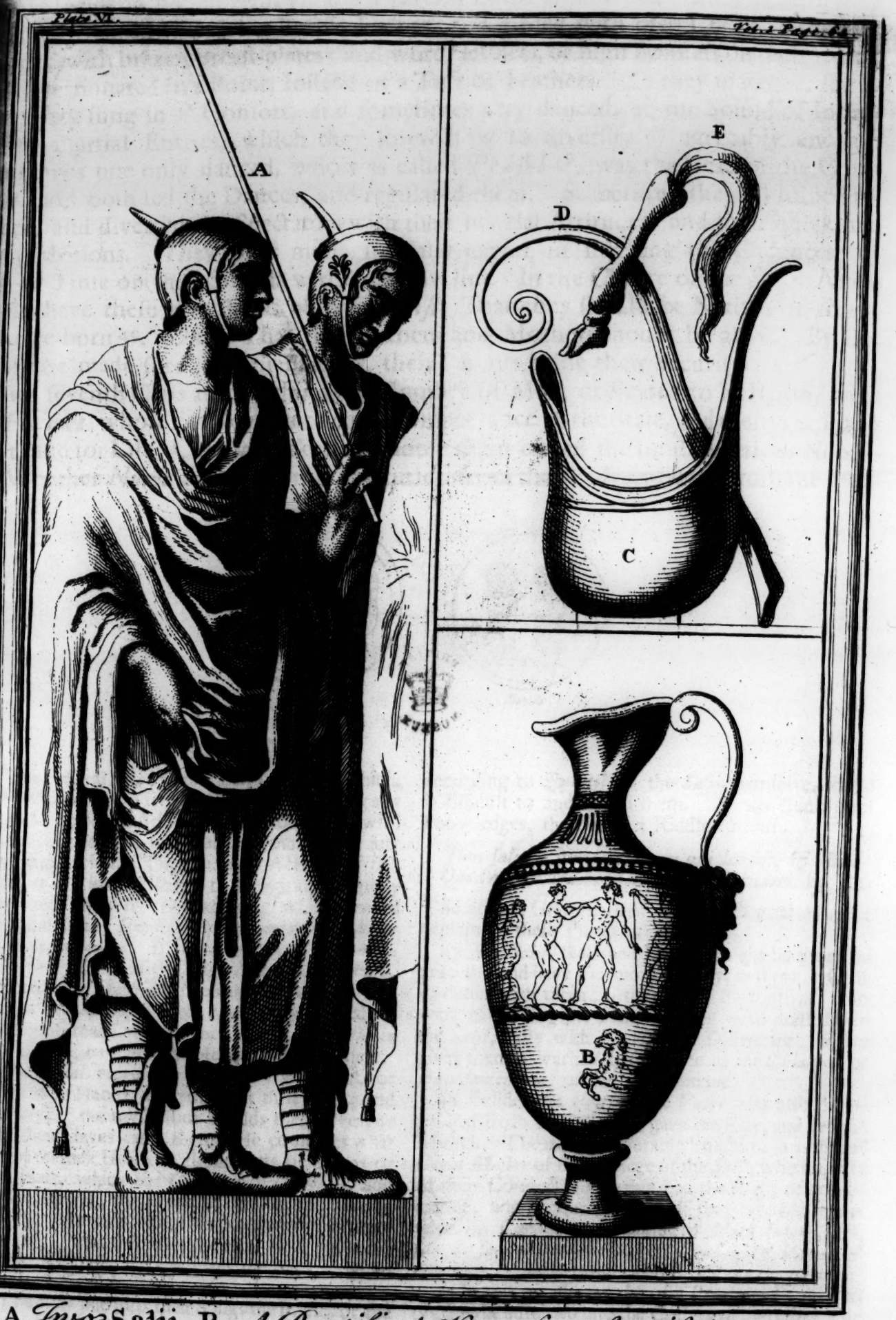
41 The Maintenance of the sacred Fire was not the only Business of the *Vestals*; the Care of *the Fountain of the Muses*, which was in the Meadow where *Numa* met the Nymph *Egeria*, was also committed to them. *Symmachus*, *B.* 1. *Let.* 14. says, that the *Vestals* had the Care of the Worship of the Muses, and of the Fountain dedicated to them: *Etiam Camenarum religio, & sacri fontis adnectitur.* So that the *Vestals* presided over the Worship of the three principal Elements, of which the Globe we inhabit is compounded, *viz.* Earth, Water and Fire.

42 These Shields were called *Ancilia*: The Origin of which Word is much disputed. *Juba* the Historian derives it from the Word ἀγκυλὸς, which signifies crooked. These Shields were indeed sloped in a Curve Line, and had neither the oval nor the square Figure of common Shields. Some likewise conjecture that their Name may come from the Word ἄγκων, which signifies *the Elbow*, because they were worn on the Arm, and covered the Elbow. *Plutarch* guesses at several other *Greek* Etymologies: But why must we have Recourse to the *Greek*, to account for a Word that is purely *Latin*? If I may be allowed to guess in my Turn, why might not I say, that *Ancilia* comes from *a cœlo*, because the Shield was thought to fall down from Heaven?

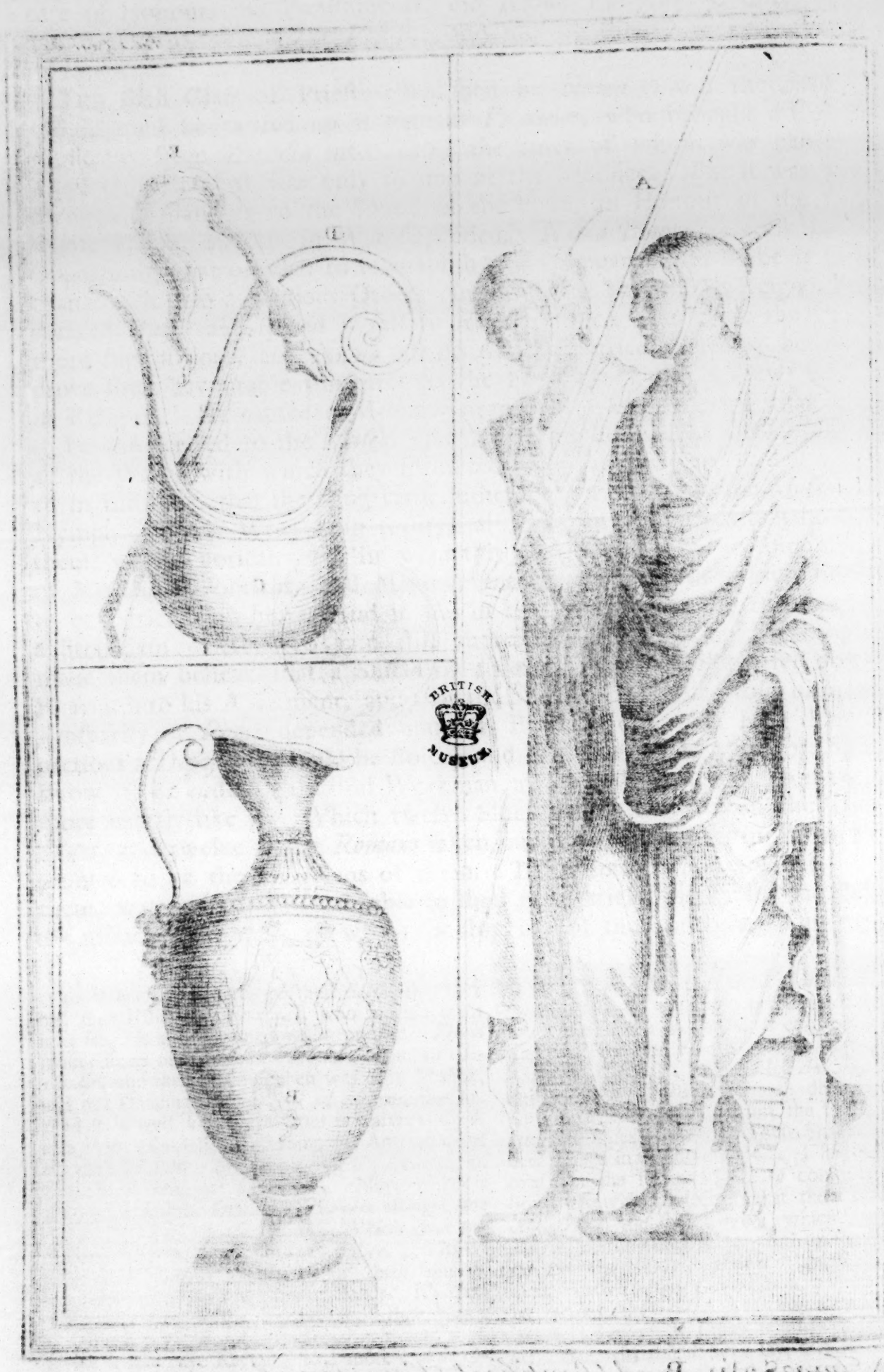
43 This *Mamurius* made his Name immortal at *Rome*. The only Reward he desired for his Work, was to have his Name inserted for the future in the Songs that were annually composed in Honour of the Festival of the sacred Shields. This *Ovid* tells us in his *Fasti*, in these Words;

Inde sacerdotes operi promissa vetusto
Præmia persolvunt, Mamuriumque vocant.

The same Poet gives us an Account of the Fall of the sacred Shield, which is somewhat different from that above.



A. *Two* Salii. B. *A Pontifical Vase for Sacrifices.* C. *A Simpulum for catching ye Blood of ye victims.* D. *The* Augural *Staff.* E. *The Sprinkler for Sprinkling ye* Lustral *water.*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ſcribed, was annually celebrated on the firſt of *March* 44, by publick *Dancings*. The twelve *Salii* then marched out of the Temple in good Order, each carrying one of the ſacred Shields on his left Arm 45, and a Javelin in his right Hand. They were dreſſed in Habits ſtriped with large Purple Stripes, and girded with broad Belts, or rather, adorned with brazen Breaſt-plates; and wore Helmets, or high Bonnets on their Heads, which terminated in a Point, inſtead of a Tuft of Feathers. As they marched, ſometimes they ſung in 46 Conſort, and ſometimes they danced, to the Sound of Inſtruments, martial Entries, which they knew how to diverſify 47 agreeably enough. Sometimes one only danced, who was called *Præſul* 48, was the Head of the Company, and both led the Dances, and regulated them. Sometimes they all joined together, and diverted the Spectators with their martial Attitudes, and their quick and lively Motions. They were moſt eſpecially expert in marking the Cadences, by beating Time on their Shields with their Javelins. In the Choice of the *Salii*, *Numa* would have theſe two Rules obſerved: *1ſt.* That they ſhould be Natives of *Rome*, and free-born 49. *2dly.* That their Fathers and Mothers ſhould be alive. By this Means he made ſure of their Fidelity, their Parents being their Security. *Aurel. Victor.*

THE ſeventh Claſs among this great Number of Men, dedicated to Religion, were the *Feciales*; whoſe Employment being of Importance to the State, and their Authority great, and for Life, Care was taken to chooſe them out of the moſt illuſtrious Nobility. Whether *Numa* borrowed this Inſtitution from the 50 *Ardeates*, or from the 51 *E-*

Silver.

Braſs.

44 The Feſtival laſted ſeveral Days. During which, the firſt *Romans* were ſcrupulous of undertaking any ſerious and important Affair. It was not then lawful for them to marry, or undertake a Journey, or any military Expedition. They thought Actions of this Nature, at a Time dedicated to Religion, ſo many profane and unlawful Diſtractions, which would have a fatal Iſſue; *Quod antiquitus infauſtum haberetur*, ſays *Suetonius*. In the latter Ages, the *Romans* ſhook off the Yoke of this Superſtition, and became leſs ſcrupulous. The *Salii* ended all theſe Days of Ceremony with Repaſts, at which nothing was ſpared. It is in this Senſe that *Tully* uſes the Words, *Saliarem in modum cœnare*, to ſignify a ſplendid Entertainment.

45 *Dion. Hal.* repreſents the *Salii*, with a Lance or Wand in their Hands, a Scymiter at their Sides, and either carrying the myſterious Shields themſelves, or making their Slaves carry them. He compares what they wore on their Heads to thoſe Sorts of Tiaras or pointed Hats, which the *Greeks* call *Curbaſia*, and the *Latins*, *Apices*; the Shape of which you have in this Medal. He adds, that their Robes were faſtened up by Claſps, that they might dance with the more Freedom and Eaſe. *Livy* gives the *Salii* only an embroidered Tunick.

46 The *Salii* put into their Songs the Praiſes of the illuſtrious *Romans*, and of thoſe to whom they had a mind to do Honour. They ſung Hymns in Praiſe of the Pagan Divinities, and among others of *Mars*, *Minerva*, *Janus*, and *Jupiter Lucetius*; that is to ſay, the Author of Light. Nor were any of the other Divinities forgotten in theſe Sorts of Songs, except *Venus*, whoſe Name it was not lawful for the *Salii* to mention. As they celebrated the ſeveral Pagan Gods in their Turns, the Verſes they ſung on theſe Feſtivals were called *Janualii*, *Junonii*, *Minervii*, &c. from the Name of the Divinity which was the ſubject of their Songs. Several of theſe Hymns were compoſed by *Numa*; and were preſerved to *Tully*'s Time. But the Language of them was ſo obſcure, that according to *Quintilian*, the *Salii* themſelves found it difficult to underſtand them. *Horace* frankly acknowledges, they were a Riddle to him:

Jam ſaliare Numæ carmen qui laudat, & illud
Quod mecum ignorat, ſolus vult ſcire videri. Ep. B. 2.

The antient Grammarians were much puzzled about explaining theſe Pieces of Verſes.

47 The *Salii*, that their Dances might be the more graceful, and have the more Variety, had young Girls to dance with them all the time of the Feſtival; who were called *Virgines Saliæ*. They were dreſſed like the *Salii*, only with ſome little Difference. *Feſtus* gives them a warlike Habit, ſuch as the *Chlamys*, or *Paludamentum*, of the old *Romans*.

48 Beſides the *Præſul*, the *Vates* was alſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt. He gave the Key, and led the Muſick. The moſt honourable Function was that of *Great Maſter* of the College of the *Salii*, who inſpected their Conduct. He only had the Right of conſecrating, and degrading them, if they behaved themſelves ill. *Capitolinus*, ſpeaking of *Mark Antony*, ſays, *fuit in ſacerdotio Saliorum & Præſul, & Vates, & Magiſter, & multos inauguravit, atque exauguravit.*

49 It was neceſſary to be of a *Patrician* Family, in order to be admitted into the College of the *Salii*. The exact Age of thoſe who were admitted, is not known. It's true, *Marcus Aurelius* was received at eight Years old; but it's probable this was an extraordinary Privilege granted to him only, and no Rule for others.

50 The *Ardeates* inhabited the antient City of *Ardea*, the Capital of the *Rutuli*, which was thought one of the firſt Colonies of *Latium*. There is to this Day a little half-ruined Village, three Miles from the Sea, and ſixteen from *Rome*, which bears the Name of *Ardea*.

51 The *Equi*, or *Eques*, inhabited a little Country in *South-Italy*, which was bounded to the North by the *Sabines* and *Marſi*; to the Eaſt, by the *Hernici*; and to the Weſt, and a little Southward, by *Latium*.

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qui in *Italy*, who had a well-conſtituted Government, is uncertain. But it is at leaſt probable, that he was not ſo much the Founder as the Reſtorer of them at *Rome*; and a War, with which this pacifick King was threatened by the *Fidenates*, was what occaſioned his thinking of this Eſtabliſhment. Notwithſtanding the Revolt of *Fidena*, and the Robberies committed by its Inhabitants, on the *Roman* Lands, *Numa* thought himſelf concerned to attempt an Accommodation by Treaty, before he had Recourſe to Arms. The better therefore to aſcertain the Equity of the War he was going to undertake, and the Juſtice of all ſuch as *Rome* ſhould for the future engage in; he eſtabliſhed a Council, and conſecrated it by Religion: thereby to give Weight to all his Enterprizes. So that the *Feciales* were in ſome meaſure the Arbiters of War and Peace [52]: Their firſt Buſineſs was to hinder the *Romans* from committing any Hoſtilities on the Lands of the Nations bordering upon *Rome*, till all Means of an amicable Accommodation had been firſt tried, and all Hopes of ſucceeding thereby failed. Their next Office was, to go to the Aggreſſors, to demand Satisfaction for the Injuries *Rome* had received from them; to give them Satisfaction in all their juſt Pretenſions; to examine into the Cauſes of the Infractions of Treaties; to preſerve them inviolate on their Part; to deliver up ſuch as had broken them, into the Hands of the Offended; to maintain the Law of Nations, with reſpect to the Perſons of Ambaſſadors; to make void Treaties of Peace, if not regularly made; to puniſh the Officers of the Army, for their Want of Equity, and Fidelity in their Promiſes; and laſtly, to proclaim War againſt untractable Nations, after they had firſt denounced the Curſes of the Gods againſt them. And nothing could be more ſolemn than the Ceremonies uſed by the *Feciales*, in their Deputations. When one of them had been choſen by the College, under the Name of *Pater Patratus* [53], they gave him a magnificent Habit, and made him carry a ſort of Sceptre, or *Caduceus*, in his Hand, to diſtinguiſh him from his Collegues. In this manner he went out of the City: And when he arrived at the Enemy's Frontiers, he called *Jupiter* and the other Gods to witneſs, that he came only to demand Juſtice, in Behalf of the *Roman* People. Then he advanced into the Country of the Aggreſſors, and took a ſecond Oath, that he would ſay nothing at the Place where he was deputed to go, but what was true, and demand nothing but what was equitable. He told the firſt Stranger he met, that he had taken theſe Oaths, and then went on towards the City, where he was to proclaim War. As he entered it, he repeated the ſame Oaths at the Gate, in Preſence of the Officer who was upon Guard, or at leaſt of ſome of the Inhabitants. From thence he went on to the Place of publick Concourſe, and there declared the Reaſons of his coming. This done, he demanded a Conference with the Magiſtrates: And if they ſubmitted to Reaſon, and delivered up to him the Perſons who had been guilty of the Inſult offered to *Rome*, he carried them away with him, and departed in Friendſhip with the threatned City. If they demanded Time to deliberate, he gave them ten Days; and, when they were expired, ten more; and ſo on to thirty. But if they refuſed him the Juſtice he demanded, in thirty Days, he called the Gods of Heaven and Hell to witneſs againſt them; and forthwith declared, that he was going to make his Report at *Rome*, where it would be conſidered of at Leiſure. Upon his Return to the Senate, he declared, that he had performed all the Duties of his Office, and that nothing hindered *Rome* from declaring War [54]; and then was the Time for the Senate to come to a Reſolution. But before theſe Formalities, which were looked on as ſacred, had been

52 We find a Law in *Tully*, which ſhews the Functions of the *Roman Feciales* in very few Words: *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum, Oratores Feciales Judices duo ſunto, bellaque diſceptanto.* But tho' *Tully* reduces the *Feciales* to two in Number, it is certain their College conſiſted of twenty Perſons. Perhaps this Law ſpeaks only of the two *Feciales*, who were deputed to go together, and declare War, or conclude a Peace, or ſettle the Terms of a Truce. But the *Feciales* had not this Authority long. Their Power was reduced to nothing under the Emperors. In the firſt Ages, the College of the *Feciales* choſe its own Members: afterwards, the People aſſumed to themſelves the Right of electing them.

53 No Perſons were ever deputed to treat of Peace or War, but ſuch, whoſe Fathers were living, and who were themſelves the Fathers of ſeveral Children. And from hence comes the Name of *Patres Patrati*, i. e. *Fathers in reality*, [or perhaps, *Fathers who had Fathers*] according to *Plutarch*; who adds, that this Law was a Political Invention of *Numa*. This King thought, that a Man who had a Father and Children alive, would be the more inclined to be faithful to his Country, and promote its Intereſts.

54 If the Senate determined to declare War, the *Fecialis* returned to the Enemy's Country; and, in the Preſence of three Witneſſes, who were arrived at the Age of *Puberty*, declared the Cauſe of the War. After which he committed the firſt Act of Hoſtility, by throwing a bloody Javelin: and at the ſame time uttered this Form of Words, which *A. Gellius* has preſerved: The *Hermondulian People, and thoſe of this Country, have offered Violence to the* Roman *People, who for that Reaſon declare War againſt them.* The Name *Hermondulian* is of no determinate Signification, and was then univerſally applied to all Nations.

been performed, it was neither lawful for King, nor Senate, military Tribunes, nor ſubaltern Officers, to attempt any thing againſt the Enemy. In this manner did *Numa*, perhaps a little at the Expence of his own Authority, put a Check to the too great Warmth which the *Romans* had hitherto ſhewn, in following rather the Suggeſtions of their Ambition, than the Rules of Equity, in declaring War. It's probable, the *Fidenates* preſerved themſelves by this means from the Reſentment of the *Romans* [55]; and had a Reſpect for the Piety of King *Numa*.

THE eighth, and moſt venerable of all the different Bodies conſecrated to Religion, was the *Pontifices* [56]. The Origin of their Name is pretty uncertain, but their Functions gave them great Authority in *Rome*. They were at once both the Heads, the Judges, and the Avengers of Religion [57]. All Deciſions concerning ſacred Ceremonies were within their Province. It belonged to them to eſtabliſh Laws concerning the Decency of Divine Worſhip; to cauſe the antient Cuſtoms to be obſerved; and to prevent the Introduction of foreign Deities, and ſuperſtitious Rites. It was their Buſineſs to determine Controverſies concerning Matters of Religion, as to the Time and Order of Sacrifices, as well publick as private, and concerning the Truth as well as Signification of Prodigies. The *Pontifices* appointed the Funds, for the great Number of Victims which they ſacrificed, for the Expences of the Solemnities, and the Decorations of the Temples. They appointed the Feſtivals, nominated the Temples in which they were to be celebrated, and the Kinds of Oblations that were to be made in them. They determined what Works ſhould be permitted, and what forbidden, on the Feſtival-Days, both in City and Country. They kept an exact Regiſter of the inferior Prieſts, and, generally ſpeaking, of all the ſubordinate Miniſters who were employed about the Sacrifices. From their Tribunal were given the Anſwers to all Doubts concerning Divine Worſhip, and the Judgments againſt ſacrilegious Perſons, and all that broke their Laws. It belonged to them to regulate Funeral-Pomps, and to fix the Time of Mourning; which, generally ſpeaking, was ten Months [58]: And a Widow could not marry again till after that time. The *Pontifices* had likewiſe a Preſident over them, with the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*. Some ſay, the King reſerved this eminent Function to himſelf: and others, that he choſe to entruſt it with *Numa Marcius* his Relation. And afterwards the *Pontifices* became poſſeſſed of a Power of filling up the vacant Places in their College [59], independently of both King and

Plut. Livy, & Dio.

55 *Dion. Hal.* from whom I have taken this Piece of Hiſtory, does not ſay expreſly, that the *Fidenates* eſcaped the War: he only ſtrongly inſinuates it in general Terms. According to him, *Numa Pompilius* made no War.

56 Moſt of thoſe who have written on the *Roman* Antiquities, derive the Name of the *Pontifices*, from the *Pontes*, or *Bridges*, the Repair of which were committed to their Care. And indeed the two Words *pontem facere*, which make that of *Pontifex*, ſeem to imply it. Beſides, Bridges were then thought ſacred. The moſt ſolemn Sacrifices were performed upon them. The Bridge called *Sublicius*, (becauſe of Wood, and built upon Piles) was eſteemed particularly ſacred. It was ſaid to have been built, purſuant to the Directions of an Oracle, which forbad the Uſe of Iron in the building it, and commanded that the Parts of it ſhould be joined together with wooden Pins. But *Plutarch* finds fault with this Etymology of the Word *Pontifex*. He ſays, this Word was in uſe at *Rome* before there were any Bridges there. This wooden Bridge it ſelf, which was the firſt that was built at *Rome*, and called *Sublicius*, was of no late date, as to be the Work of King *Ancus Marcius*, *Numa*'s Grandſon: whereas the Word *Pontifex* was in uſe ſo early as in *Numa*'s Time. *Plutarch* therefore gives another Derivation of the Word *Pontifex*; he derives it from the Word *Potnis*, which, in old *Latin*, ſignified *powerful*, or *abſolute Maſter*: Doubtleſs, either becauſe the *Pontifices* were themſelves very *powerful* in *Rome*, or becauſe they were the Miniſters of the *powerful* Gods. Some Authors, *Quintus Scævola* in particular, derive this Name from the two Words, *potis* and *facere*, underſtanding by the Word *facere*, *to ſacrifice Victims*. Others again derive it from hence, that the *Pontifices* had *Power* to do what they pleaſed, and their Authority, in Matters of Religion, was boundleſs. To which *Lucan* ſeems to allude, when he addreſſes himſelf to the *Pontifices*, thus:

Pontifices ſacri quibus eſt permiſſa poteſtas.

57 From *Numa*'s Time, down to the middle of the fifth Century after the Foundation of *Rome*, there were but four *Pontifices*. Afterwards, at the Requeſt of the People, who were deſirous of ſharing the Honours of the Prieſthood with the *Patricians*, four others of *Plebeian* Families were added to them. To theſe *Sylla* added ſeven more; ſo that their Number came up to fifteen. *Tully*, *pro domo ſua*, reckons ſixteen; and gives the three laſt the Title of *Pontifices minores:* which diminutive Term *minores* was uſed, according to ſome, only to diſtinguiſh the *Plebeian Pontifices* from the *Patrician*, who, ſay they, were called *majores*. But all things being well conſidered, it's certain, that as well the *Patrician*, as the *Plebeian Pontifices*, were all called *Pontifices minores*, except the ſupreme *Pontifex*, who bore the Title of *Pontifex Maximus*. To prevent multiplying of Plates, we have thought proper to join the Symbols of the *Pontificate* and *Augurate* together, as they are repreſented on Medals, and antient Monuments.

58 For this *Ovid* and *Plutarch* are our Vouchers. They ſay, that the general Time of Mourning, eſpecially for Women who had loſt their Husbands, was ten Months. The Reaſon of which was, that *Romulus*'s Year conſiſted of but ten Months. If a Woman married before the Time of her Mourning was expired, the *Prætor* declared her infamous, unleſs ſhe had had leave from him.

59 It will appear in the latter Ages of the Republick, that the People claimed the Right of chuſing the

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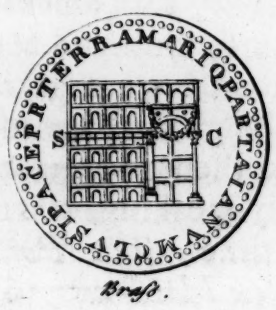
and People. Whence it is eaſy to gueſs with what Earneſtneſs the Honours of the Pontificate were ſought[60]; ſince it freed Men from all Taxes[61], entirely exempted them from Puniſhment, and made them utterly independent on any other Tribunal.

NOR was a Prince, thus diligent and careful in ſettling Order and Subordination among the ſeveral Degrees of the Prieſthood, leſs ſo in erecting Temples: And he decreed particular Honours to that of[62] *Janus*, out of politick Views. He thereby intended to put a Check to the too lively Temper of the *Romans*, who often precipitately engaged themſelves in Wars, on very ſlight Occaſions. A Temple dedicated to *Janus*, the Symbol of Prudence, which looks backwards and forwards, and conſiders both the Cauſes and Conſequences of Things, appeared to *Numa* a ſufficient Barrier, to ſtop the over-haſty Hoſtilities of his People. The Foundations of it were already laid in a Part of the City called *Argiletum*[63]; and *Numa* commanded, that its Gates ſhould be ſhut in time of Peace, and opened only when War was going to be declared, and then with great Ceremony. By which Means he gave his People time to recollect themſelves, before they gave way to their Paſſions.

Livy.

[64] THE Altar that *Numa* cauſed to be erected to *Fidelity*, (under the Name of *Bona Fides*) was alſo another Monument of his Wiſdom. He did not think Treaties could be inviolable, unleſs ſanctified by the Religion of an Oath. He therefore made *Fidelity* a Goddeſs, and decreed her Sacrifices at the publick Expence[65], tho' her Worſhip was equally unknown both to the *Greeks* and *Barbarians*. So that



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the inferior *Pontifices*: for as to the *Pontifex Maximus*, he ſeems to us to have been always choſen by the People, aſſembled in their *Comitia*. At leaſt, we find Inſtances of this kind in *Livy*, eſpecially in *B.*25. at the very time when the inferior *Pontifices* were choſen by the Pontifical College. The *Pontifex Maximus* was alſo generally taken out of the other *Pontifices*. The Emperors aſſumed this Dignity from *Octavian*'s time; and the Chriſtian Emperors continued to bear this Title, down to the Time of *Gratian*.

60 The *Pontifices*, eſpecially the *Pontifex Maximus*, partook of the Honours and Privileges of the Magiſtracy. They ſacrificed wearing the *Prætexta*, and with the *Apex*, or *Galerus*, on their Heads.

61 In *Tully*'s time, the *Pontifices* were not abſolutely out of the reach of the Power of the People. Of this we have a Proof, in his Oration, *pro domo ſua*, where he anſwers *Clodius* in theſe Words: *Pontifex non adfuit! Non te pudet, cum apud Pontifices res agatur. Pontificem dicere collegium Pontificum non adfuiſſe, præſertim cum Tribunus plebis vel denuntiare potueris, vel cogere.*

62 *Livy* leaves it uncertain, whether *Numa* built the Temple of *Janus*, or no. *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch* ſay nothing of it. What *Varro* tells us, as quoted by St. *Auſtin*, is moſt probable. He ſays, that *Romulus* cauſed the firſt Temple of *Janus*, *Rome* ever ſaw, to be erected, after the Treaty was made between him, and *Titus Tatius*; and that he gave this God two Faces, to ſhew, that at *Rome* two Kings reigned at the ſame time, and two Nations were united, and become one. All *Numa* did, was to make the People reverence the Temple of *Janus*, which was already built. He commanded it to be kept ſhut in time of Peace, and open in time of War. And one of *Nero*'s Medals ſhews, that this Cuſtom always continued. And we likewiſe ſee a *Janus bifrons*, or *with two Faces*, on one of *Antoninus*'s Medals.

63 This Place lay between the great *Circus*, and the Hill *Aventinus*. It was formerly a Wood, which took its Name from an *Argian*, whom *Evander* cauſed to be condemned to death, becauſe he would have murdered him. *Evander* built a Tomb for him there, to ſhew his own Regard and Love for Hoſpitality, tho' the *Argian* had broken thro' all the Laws of it. This Quarter was afterwards inhabited by Bookſellers; as we learn from *Martial*, who addreſſes himſelf thus to his Book:

Argiletanas mavis habitare tabernas.

64 *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* are for me in this, againſt *Tully*; who pretends, *B.* 2. *de Nat. Deor.* that *Calatinus* dedicated the Altar of *Fidelity*. Perhaps he only repaired it. Or perhaps a new one was erected on the *Capitol*, as *Tully* ſeems to ſay in his third *Book of Offices*. As for *Numa*, he, according to *Livy*, built his near *the Fountain of the Muſes*, in the Valley whither he ſaid he went to converſe with the Nymph *Egeria*.

65 *Livy* adds, that *Numa* appointed two *Flamines* to preſide over the Sacrifices which ſhould be offered in this Temple. He commanded theſe two Prieſts to come to it at certain Times, in a Chariot, with an arched Top, and drawn by two Horſes. He made it a Law for them to offer Sacrifice with their right Hand wrapped up in a Cloth. He ſignified by this myſterious Ceremony, that the right Hand is the Symbol or Mark of Faithfulneſs; and that we can never keep our Word too religiouſly, when we have once given it. It is probable theſe were not the *Flamines* already ſpoken of, who were engaged in the Service of one particular Divinity, and no other. And that therefore *Livy* here means the Prieſts of the *Curiæ*, whom *Feſtus* calls *Flamines Curiales*. As theſe were, by their Office, to offer Sacrifice in the Name of the People, it was more proper for them, than for any others, to have the Care of preſerving the publick Faith. The *Latin* Hiſtorian aſſures us likewiſe, that *Numa* appointed for particular Sacrifices, certain Quarters of *Rome*, which

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hat Oaths by the Name of this Goddeſs became common in *Rome*; and from nce aroſe a mutual Confidence and Security in Commerce, and in all Conven- ons, Promiſes and Contracts whatſoever. In all buying and ſelling, and other ontracts made without Witneſſes, the univerſal Recourſe was to the Altar of *Fi- lity*. The People were afraid of being perjured at it; and the Magiſtrates often ttled perplexed Conteſts, by Oaths which they called *ex fide:* So much Regard d they for this new Deity.

AND the ſame Spirit of Equity made *Numa* introduce other Gods alſo, under e Name [66] of *Termini*. In *Romulus*'s Time, neither the Lands of each parti- lar *Roman*, nor the *Roman* Territory in general, with reſpect to the neigh- uring Nations, had any ſettled Limits. The Strong made Encroachments on e Weak without Scruple, and a Recourſe to the Judges was too weak a Bar- er againſt Uſurpations. But Religion ſupplied this Defect. *Numa Pompilius* ommanded that every one ſhould ſet Bounds to his Eſtate: And then tones dedicated to *Jupiter Terminalis* became venerable throughout the whole ountry. To dare to remove or carry away theſe Boundaries, was Sacrilege. he Prophaner of them was from that Moment devoted to the *Manes* [67], and roſcribed; and it was lawful for any one to kill him. It was even thought a ort of Expiation, to rid the Earth of him. And in order to make theſe Limits yet more inviolable, a Feſtival was eſtabliſhed in Honour of the *Dii Termini*, cal- ed *Terminalia* [68]. The private Proprietors of Lands aſſembled every Year on the onfines of their Eſtates, and there made their Offerings; not indeed of bloody ictims, for none ſuch were offered up in *Numa*'s Time, but of Milk, and the *Plutarch.* irſt Gatherings of their Fruits and Harveſt: And the ſame Honours were paid to e publick *Limits* of the *Roman* State, under the ſame Name of *Dii Termini*. y this means *Numa* rectified the Diſorders that had proceeded from *Romulus*'s Am- ition. This warlike King was afraid, leſt by fixing Bounds to his Dominions, he hould have put ſuch Reſtraints and Shackles upon himſelf, as he ſhould not be ble fairly to ſhake off. Whereas *Numa* thought it his Duty to confine himſelf ithin his *Limits*, which he reſpected himſelf, and cauſed to be reſpected by his eighbours. Thus did he make Religion, nay Superſtition it ſelf, ſerviceable to e Purpoſes of Equity; and only introduce new Kinds of Worſhip for the ſake f the publick Good.

§. IV. THIS Reformation of Religion was followed by an Improvement of the aws. In *Numa*'s Reign many of the *Romans* wanted Buſineſs. *Romulus* had employed them in continual Wars: His Succeſſor was embarraſſed with a Soldiery hom the Exerciſe of Arms had accuſtomed to plunder, and who were now be- ome idle. He therefore diſperſed them abroad in the Countries which his Pre- *Dion. Hal.* eceſſor had conquered, and left uncultivated; diſtributing the Lands among them, *B. 2. p. 135.* nd making them their Property. By this means the Soldiers ſtill continued to ccuſtom themſelves to Labour as before; and their Exerciſes in Time of Peace ere no leſs laborious than in War. *Numa* therefore thought it adviſable to form hem into Villages, at certain Diſtances, and to appoint a Head over each, to viſit hem: To whom he gave the ſame Power over them, which the Officers in the rmy had over their Soldiers. It was the Buſineſs of theſe Superintendants, to

hich the *Pontifices* called *Argei*; in all Appear- nce from the Name of *Hercules*'s Companions ho came with him from *Argos* into *Latium*. And *arro* reckons up no leſs than twenty ſeven Quar- rs in the City of *Rome*, in which Chapels had een built, that were called *Argei*.

66 The *Dii Termini* were invented by *Numa*. hey were, in his Time, nothing more than ſquare tones, or Poſts, to which a religious Worſhip was aid. Afterwards, they were adorned with Statues epreſenting human Figures, were crowned with lowers, and rubbed with Perfumes. *Ovid* ſpeaks f them thus:

Nam veneror, ſeu ſtipes habet deſertus in agris,
Seu vetus, in trivio, florida ſerta lapis.

67 *Feſtus* gives us *Numa*'s Law, which makes it capital Crime to diſhonour the *Dii Termini*; that , to remove the Land-marks, or Plough beyond them. *Numa Pompilius ſtatuit eum*, ſays he, *qui Terminum exareſſet, & ipſum & boves ſacros eſſe.*

68 The Feſtival of the God *Terminus*, was fix- ed to the End of *February*, becauſe as the Year then began with the firſt Day of *March*, the End of *Fe- bruary* was the *Terminus*, or *End* of the Year. This Feſtival was celebrated in the Country. *Plutarch* ſays, no Animal was ſacrificed to the *Termini* in *Numa*'s Time: Which is not at all ſurprizing, be- cauſe no bloody Victim was offered up to any God in his Reign. After him, Lambs and Pigs were ſa- crificed to the *Dii Termini*; according to *Ovid*,

Spargitur & cæſo communis Terminus agno
Nec queritur lactens cum ſibi porca datur.

The two Owners of two Fields, divided by a com- mon *Terminus*, crowned the *Terminus* with a com- mon Crown.

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take Care of the Manner in which they cultivated their Lands, and having a watchful Eye over theſe Husbandmen, to encourage them when diligent, and puniſh them when ſlothful. Each of theſe was to make a Report to the King of the Progreſs of Agriculture in his Diſtrict; and according to that he regulated their Puniſhments, or Rewards. He often advanced the induſtrious Husbandmen to the firſt Dignities in the State; and by their OEconomy in the Management of their Farms, judged of their Capacity for publick Affairs: Hence thoſe *Dictators* who were taken from the Plough, to ſit at the Helm of Government, in the moſt difficult Times. Thus were the *Romans* taught to make a juſt Profit of their Labour, and rather take lawful Uſury from the Earth, than aggrandize themſelves by Conqueſts, at the Expence of their Lives, and often at the Expence of Juſtice.

But the Maſter-piece of *Numa*'s Policy, was his Diſtribution of the Citizens of *Rome* into diſtinct Bodies of Tradeſmen. The City had hitherto been divided into two Factions, occaſioned by the Union of the *Sabines* with the firſt *Romans:* And nothing could be more dangerous than ſuch a Diviſion of it, as it were, into two Bodies of different Nations. Hence aroſe the Diſſentions of the *Interregnum*, and an inexhauſtible Source of Diſcord. *Numa Pompilius* therefore, remedied the Inconveniences of the old Government, by a new Diviſion; and aboliſhed the very Names of *Tatians* and *Romuliſts*. All the Artiſts and Tradeſmen, of what Nation ſoever they were, entered into theſe diſtinct Bodies, every one according to his Profeſſion. The Muſicians had the firſt Rank; which was, doubtleſs, becauſe they were made uſe of in the Offices of Religion, and contributed to the Pomp of the Sacrifices. The Goldſmiths, Carpenters, Curriers, *&c.* formed particular Companies. The meaneſt Trades were ranked in different Claſſes, to whom *Numa* gave Statutes, and granted Privileges: And all had a Right of making By-Laws among themſelves, provided they did not turn to the Diſadvantage of the Publick. Each of theſe Communities was permitted to hold Lands, to have a common Treaſury, and to commit the Management and Care of it to a common Head, or Syndick; and in ſhort, to become a Sort of little Republick. They had their own Feſtivals, and particular Sacrifices. By this means, the *Sabines* and *Romans*, when intermixed in the ſame Societies, became one People; and forgat their antient Partialities, in order to employ their whole Care and Concern for the Intereſt of that common Body of which each was a Part.

§. V. Another Thing to which *Numa* applied himſelf, was to explain or reform the Laws of *Romulus*. Thus as the Founder of *Rome* had given Fathers an unlimited Power over their Children; his Succeſſor ſet Bounds [69] to it. He thought it unjuſt that a married Son ſhould ſtill continue a Slave to his Father; and that the Father ſhould have a Power of diſpoſing of his Life, or ſelling him, as he pleaſed. The Woman that married him, ſaid *Numa*, thought her ſelf united to a Free-man; whilſt in reality he was no more than a Slave, and dependent on the Humours of his Father. The Severity of the Law was therefore moderated, and it was limited in Point of Time; *viz.* that the Son ſhould be in the Power of his Father only before Marriage.

It appearing likewiſe that the *Romans*, before *Numa Pompilius*'s Time, carried their Mourning Dreſſes, [70] and their Funeral Pomps to Exceſs: This Prince therefore confined them within their proper Bounds. He forbad the burying or burning any Bodies, within the Walls of *Rome*. He would not ſuffer Sepulchres to be erected in publick Places. He condemned magnificent Funeral Piles, and the Uſe of coſtly Beds [71], and too rich Perfumes, at Funerals. He forbad the waſhing the

Cicero, in lib. Leg.

69 *Lipſius* expreſſes *Numa*'s Law in theſe Terms: *Si filius-familias uxorem duxit, patri vendundi ejus ne ultra jus eſto.*

70 The Mourning Habits of the *Romans* were black. They might, during the Time of Mourning, lay them aſide, on ſome Occaſions; as, when they ſacrificed to *Ceres*, or upon the News of ſome happy and glorious Event to the Republick, or when a Family was honoured with any of the ſuperior Magiſtracies, or on the Days of a Triumph, and extraordinary Feſtivals.

71 The dead were antiently carried on Funeral-Beds, which were adorned with Flowers and Crowns. And when Luxury prevailed, the *Romans* took a Pride in multiplying theſe Beds, adorning them in a coſtly manner, and expoſing the Images of the Anceſtors of the dead upon them, to make the Proceſſion the more ſtately and magnificent. We ſhall have frequent Occaſion to mention theſe Funeral Pomps, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

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Bones of the dead with Wine 72, and made the Train of Mourners that attended them to leave off their Lamentations. He would ſuffer none of the dead to be adorned with Crowns 73, but ſuch as in their Life-time had deſerved them. He forbad the Women the mad Cuſtom of tearing their Faces 74, after the Death of their Children or Husbands: He limited the Time of a decent Mourning to ten 75 Months. And laſtly, he commanded, 76 that ſuch Perſons as were ſtruck dead with Lightning ſhould be buried immediately 77, and without any Pomp.

AND as the ſecond King of *Rome* had made Religion his main Buſineſs, he enacted ſome Laws concerning it, which ſubſiſted in *Rome*, in Part at leaſt, ever after. *Let none appear*, ſays his Law, *in the Preſence of the Gods, but with a pure Heart, and ſincere Piety. Let none then make a vain Shew and Oſtentation of their Riches, but fear leſt they ſhould thereby bring on themſelves the Vengeance of Heaven. Let no one have particular Gods of his own, or bring new ones into his Houſe, or receive ſtrange ones, unleſs allowed by Edict. Let every one preſerve in his own Houſe the Oratories eſtabliſhed by his Fathers, and pay his domeſtick Gods the Worſhip that has always been paid them. Let all honour the antient* Gods of Heaven, *and the Heroes whoſe Exploits have carried them thither, ſuch as* Bacchus, Hercules, Caſtor, Pollux *and* Quirinus. *Let Altars be erected to the Virtues which carry us up to Heaven; but never to Vices.* He took Care to fix the Feſtival-days, and to make a Liſt of them, according to the Calendar; and laſtly, he determined what Sort of Preſents ſhould be offered to the Gods.

NEVERTHELESS, the Reformation of the Civil Laws took up a great Part of *Numa*'s Care and Application. In order to maintain the *Roman* Ladies in the Modeſty they profeſſed, he forewarned them againſt the Breaches of it by his Laws. He made Inceſt a Crime againſt Religion 78, the Cognizance and Puniſhment of which was reſerved to the *Pontifices*. He forbad Proſtitutes to enter into the Temple of *Juno*. He preſerved married Women in the Privileges *Romulus* had given them, but kept them to the Love of Modeſty. He ſeparated them from all publick Affairs; inſomuch, that a Woman having appear'd in a Court of Juſtice, and pleaded her own Cauſe, it was looked on as one of thoſe Prodigies which foreboded Danger to the State, and whoſe ill Omen ought to be averted 79 by Expiations. It's true, he permitted Husbands to lend out their Wives, after they had had Children by them. It was a Sort of temporary Divorce, in Favour of thoſe whoſe

Silver.

72 *Numa* aboliſhed the Cuſtom of extinguiſhing the Fire of the Funeral Pile, in which a dead Body had been burnt, and of waſhing the Bones, with Wine. The Law run thus: *Vino rogum ne reſpergito.*

73 The Law was this: *Coronas niſi virtute partas, non imponito.*

74 This mad Cuſtom had prevailed a long time in *Italy*. *Numa* baniſhed it by this Law: *Mulieres genas ne carpunto.* For ſo it ought to be read; and not, *radunto.*

75 We have nothing to add to what has been already ſaid, of mourning no longer than ten Months, but the Law it ſelf. Which was as follows: *Ultra decimum menſem luctum ne protrahito.*

76 *Sextus Pompeius* gives us this Law of *Numa*'s in theſe Terms: *Si hominem fulmen occiſit, ne ſupra genua tollito.* The Lawgiver forbids any Perſon to take up upon his Knees, a Man killed with Lightning, in order to bury him. And another Law forbids the performing any Obſequies for him: *Ei juſta fieri nulla oporteto.*

77 Perſons ſtruck with Lightning were under a ſort of Reprobation. Their Clothes could be no longer uſed, and the Place which was ſtruck with it, was to be walled in. The *Augurs* appointed this Place for the Burial of all ſuch as were Thunder-ſtruck. In After-times the *Romans* erected an Altar in Honour to *Jupiter Fulgurator*, or the *Thunder-ſtriking Jupiter. Deo Fulguratori aram & locum hunc religioſum ex Aruſpicum Sententia, Quin. Pub. Front. poſuit*, are the Words of an antient Inſcription. On one of *Adrian*'s Medals there is a *Thundering Jupiter*, with this Inſcription, *Jovi Tonanti.*

78 The Law was this; *Inceſtum Pontifices ſupplicio ſupremo ſanciunto.*

79 Expiations were made by offering up the Victims called *Piaculares Hoſtiæ*, to appeaſe the Wrath of the Gods. Water, and Branches of Laurel and Olive, were likewiſe uſed in them, for Aſperſions: And ſometimes Sulphur was burnt in them. This was the manner of purifying any thing that was polluted.

Wives

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Wives were barren; but the firſt Husbands ſtill continued to have their former Power over them, and could call them home, and ſend them back again, or lend them to others, as they pleaſed. However, the Conduct of the *Roman* Ladies in domeſtick Life was ſo blameleſs, that there was not, for a great while together, any one Inſtance of a real Divorce. Their Daughters were married very young. The Intention of the Lawgiver was to accuſtom them early to their Husband's Yoke, before Age had made them feel their Paſſions, or they were capable of rambling Inclinations. The Women who died big with Child, could neither be burned or buried, till they had been cut open to ſave their Children [80]: And to diſobey this Law, was to be guilty of Homicide. Wilful Murders, as well as Crimes of State, were puniſhed in the ſame manner as Parricide [81]. Theſe Sorts of Crimes were firſt tried [82] by the *Duumviri*; but there lay an Appeal from their Sentence. The Puniſhment inflicted on ſuch as were found guilty of them, was to be hanged on a Tree, after having been baſtinado'd either in the City, or without the Walls.

§. VI. THUS every thing being regulated in *Rome*, except the Calendar, the King undertook the Reformation of that too: And if he did not bring it to its utmoſt Perfection, he at leaſt purged it of its groſſeſt Faults.

THE Year appears to have conſiſted, before *Numa Pompilius*, of but 304 Days; which is neither agreeable to the Solar nor Lunar Year. The King therefore did his utmoſt to make the Year agree with the Courſes both of the Sun and Moon at the ſame time: And took this Method in order to it. He knew the Lunar Year conſiſted of 354 Days, and he made his to conſiſt of 355: Which additional Day was given to it out of Superſtition; *Numa* being perſuaded that the Gods were pleaſed with odd Numbers [83]. And upon the ſame Principle, when he had added the Months of *January* and *February* to the old Year, which conſiſted of only ten Months, he appointed that the Days of each Month, inſtead of being undetermined in Point of Number, as formerly, ſhould now conſiſt either of 29 Days, or 31. *February* only conſiſted of 28; and it was therefore looked on as a fatal Month, and conſecrated to the infernal Gods, who were thought to be pleaſed with even Numbers. *Numa* appointed likewiſe, that the Year, which before begun with the Month of *March*, ſhould henceforwards begin with that of *January*. And after he had in ſome meaſure regulated his Year by the Courſe of the Moon, he took what Care he could to make it agree with that of the Sun. He was not ignorant that the Courſe of the Sun took up about eleven Days more than that of the Moon: And therefore he appointed that every two Years an intercalary Month of 22 Days ſhould be added to the reſt; which Month the *Romans* called *Mercidinus* [84]. And as he was ſatisfied that the

Plutarch.

80 The Law was as follows: *Mulierem, ſi prægnans mortua fuerit, niſi exciſo partu, ne humato. Qui ſecus faxit, quaſi ſpem animantis peremerit, ita eſto, &c.* We are indebted to *Juſtus Lipſius* for collecting the greateſt Part of theſe Laws.

81 *Sextus Pompeius* has preſerved this Law in theſe Terms: *Si quis hominem liberom dolo ſciens morti duit, parricida eſto.* And it enjoins, that ſome Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted even on involuntary Homicides; for it adds, *Si quis imprudens, tum in concione, pro capite occiſi & natis ejus, arietem offerto.*

82 This Law, and ſome others likewiſe, were probably made as early as in *Romulus*'s time; tho' they are generally placed among thoſe of *Numa*. It was this; *Duumviri judicent. Si a Duumviris provocarit, provocatione certato. Si vincent caput obnubito, infelici arbore reſte ſuſpendito, verberato vel intra pomærium, vel extra pomærium.* This Puniſhment was inflicted on State-Criminals, againſt whom the following Law was made: *Si quis adverſus rempublicam faciendo, Regis Magiſtratuſve Populive Majeſtatem hoſtili animo lædat, perduellis eſto.* Theſe *Duumviri* were two Magiſtrates, to whom belonged the Cognizance of capital Crimes.

83 This whimſical Notion was built on the moſt chimerical Foundation. The Pagans looked on an even Number, as the Symbol of Diviſion, becauſe it could be divided into two equal Parts: whereas an odd Number was, for the contrary Reaſon, the Symbol of Concord. This Prejudice gave Birth to a thouſand ſuperſtitious Practices, ſome of which are continued even among thoſe whom Reaſon, enlightened by Religion, ought to have undeceived. This Superſtition came originally from the *Egyptians*.

84 *Plutarch*, in the Life of *Julius Cæſar*, calls this Month *Mercedonius*. And *Feſtus* tells us of certain Days, which he calls *Mercedonios Dies*, becauſe they were the Time appointed for the Payment of Workmen and Domeſticks. The Intercalary Month began the Day after the *Terminalia*. And as *Numa*'s Year, which conſiſted of 355 Days, muſt neceſſarily end a Day later than the *Greek* Year, which conſiſted of but 354 Days: that therefore the Beginnings of both might, after a certain Time, meet in the ſame Point, *Numa*, according to ſome Authors, ordered that the Intercalations in eight Years ſhould conſiſt only of 82 Days, inſtead of 90, according to the *Greeks*. So that the firſt Intercalation conſiſted of 22 Days, the ſecond of 23, the third of 22, and the laſt of 15. By this means, the *Romans* recovered the eight Days the *Greeks* had gotten of them, in eight Years. A little

the ſolar Year conſiſted of three hundred ſixty-five Days and ſix Hours, and that theſe ſix Hours made a whole Day, in four Years; he therefore commanded that the Month *Mercedinus* ſhould every four Years, at the beginning of the fifth, conſiſt of twenty-three Days. Thus did this learned Prince remedy the Diſorders of the Calendar, as far as he could, and put it into a Condition of more eaſily admitting of new Corrections. Year of *ROME* XLI—LXXXII.

§. VII. AND now between forty-two and forty-three Years being already paſt, ſince *Numa* had filled the *Roman* Throne, Peace and Agriculture had ſettled Tranquillity and Plenty in *Rome*. No Declaration of War had obliged the *Romans* to open the Gates of *Janus*'s Temple, ſince it had been built; which was in the firſt Year of *Numa*'s Reign. This pacifick King became the Arbiter of all the Differences among his Neighbours: and his Virtues ſeemed to have communicated themſelves to all the Nations round about *Rome*. They became in love with Juſtice, and made it a Law to themſelves, not to diſturb that Tranquillity, which this equitable, and moderate Prince had procured his Subjects. Upon the Credit of publick Faith, mutually given, all *Italy* taſted the Sweets of Hoſpitality, and a reciprocal Commerce: And *Numa* ſeemed to be the main Spring of the Happineſs of all theſe Countries. Year of *ROME* LXXXII.

As to the *Romans* themſelves, Peace had ſo ſoftened their warlike Temper, that it might be literally ſaid of them, that their Weapons of War were changed into Inſtruments of Husbandry. No inteſtine Seditions, no ambitious Deſires of the Throne, nor Attempts upon it, nor ſo much as any Murmurs againſt the Perſon, or Adminiſtration of the King, appeared among them. And *Numa*'s Happineſs would have been compleat, had he had a Son to ſucceed him. Though ſome Authors have given him four, which they ſay were afterwards the Stocks of four illuſtrious *Roman* Families; yet it is moſt probable that he had only one Daughter, named *Pompilia*. She is ſaid to have been born to him of a ſecond Wife, named *Lucretia*, whom he married after he was upon the Throne. The young *Pompilia* married *Martius* her Relation, by whom ſhe had *Ancus Martius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*. And it's probable *Rome* would even then have given the Grandchild his Grandfather's Sceptre, if he had been at Age to hold it. But he was only five Years old, at the Death of *Numa*; who fell into a bodily Decay, which wore him out, without leſſening the Vigour of his Mind, between the eighty-ſecond and eighty-third Years of his Age, and after he had reigned about forty-three Years [85]. The *Romans* lamented him as ſincerely, as if every Man had loſt his own Father: and the Concourſe of Strangers to *Rome*, to celebrate his Obſequies, was exceeding great. They brought Perfumes and Crowns out of their own Countries, to be uſed at his Funeral. *Numa* had forbidden them to burn his Body; they therefore put it into a Stone-Coffin, and buried it in a Stone-Tomb; and, by his own Order, buried the greateſt Part of the Books he had written, in the ſame Sepulchre with him. In conſequence of the Law he had made [86], that none ſhould be buried within the City, he himſelf choſe a Burial-place beyond the *Tyber*, at the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*: and thither he was carried on the Shoulders of his Senators, *Plutarch.* *Gnæus Gellius.*

tle Aſtronomy is ſufficient to ſhew, that *Numa*'s Year could not agree with the Courſes of the Sun and Moon. The exact Period of each Revolution of the Sun and Moon was not then known. There would have been a Difference of ſeveral Days, between 19 Solar Years, which make 6939 Days, 18 Hours, and 235 Moons, which make 6939 Days, 16 Hours, 32 Minutes, and upwards: Tho' according to the exacteſt Calculations, that Difference ſhould be no more than one Hour and almoſt an half. We muſt not here conceal a Paſſage in *Tully*, *B.* 2. *De Leg.* which may admit of ſome Difficulty. We have obſerved, that *Numa* changed the Order of the Months eſtabliſhed by *Romulus*, ſo that *January* and *February* became the two firſt Months in the Year: This *Tully* ſeems to contradict, when he ſays, *Februario autem Menſe qui tunc extremus anni menſis erat, mortuis parentari voluerunt.* But, beſides that *Plutarch* is our Voucher for what we have borrowed from him, it may be obſerved, that immediately after the Correction, *January* and *February* were the two laſt Months, till *Numa* thought fit to place them in the beginning of the new Year. Beſides, the antient Authors have not told us of any Perſon but *Numa*, who ordered this Tranſpoſition. *Livy* writes, that *Numa* firſt inſtituted the Days the *Romans* called *Faſti* and *Nefaſti*. *Macrobius*, *B.* 1. diſtinguiſhes three ſorts of Days, which he calls *Feſti*, *Profeſti*, and *Interciſi*. The firſt were conſecrated to the Worſhip of the Gods; the ſecond ſet apart for publick and private Buſineſs; the laſt were divided between both. But of this by the by: we ſhall ſpeak more particularly of this Diſtinction of Days among the *Romans*, in another Place.

85 *Dion. Hal. Livy*, and *Plutarch* agree, in making *Numa* reign forty-three Years: whoſe Opinion ought to over-balance that of *Eutropius*, *Euſebius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, who allow him to have reigned but forty-one Years.

86 This was one of *Numa*'s funerary Laws, which runs thus, *Hominem mortuum in Urbe ne ſepelito, neve urito; in locove publico ſepulchrum fieri ne quid juris eſto.*

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and followed with the Cries and Lamentations of all his People. Such is the Lot of good Princes; who being Lovers of Peace and the publick Good, carry the Hearts of all their Subjects along with them. *Romulus* had been placed among the immortal Gods; but *Numa* choſe rather to make Gods, while he was alive, than to increaſe the Number of them after his Death. Nevertheleſs, it may be ſaid, that he acted againſt his own Sentiments in the Religion he eſtabliſhed at *Rome*. He had diſcovered the only true God, and yet cauſed ſeveral to be worſhipped. And for this Reaſon, the Books he had written, and ordered to be buried with him, when found again after his Death, were burned, by a Decree of the Senate. He therein explained his Reaſons for the Novelties he had introduced into the *Roman* Worſhip. We are indebted to *Varro* for this Account, and it is too conſiderable to be paſſed over in Silence.

Varro, apud S. Auguſt. lib. 7. de Civit. Dei, cap. 24.

ONE Terentius, ſays he, *had a Piece of Ground near the* Janiculus: *and a Huſbandman of his, one Day accidentally running his Plough over* Numa's *Tomb, turned up ſome of that Legiſlator's Books; wherein he gave his Reaſons for eſtabliſhing the Religion of the* Romans *upon the Foot on which he left it. The Husbandman carried theſe Books to the* Prætor *of* Rome, *and the* Prætor *to the Senate; who, when they had read his frivolous Reaſons for his religious Eſtabliſhments, agreed, that the Books ſhould be deſtroyed according to* Numa's *Intentions: and it was accordingly decreed, that the* Prætor *ſhould throw them into the Fire.* St. *Auſtin* thinks there were ſome Footſteps of Magick in theſe Books; of which *Numa* had in his Life-time been ſuſpected. And may it not be likewiſe ſuppoſed, that they contained *Numa*'s Motives to tolerate a Plurality of Gods in *Rome*, tho' convinced in himſelf, that One only ought to be worſhipped? Without doubt, the ſame political Conſiderations which engaged him to maintain Idolatry, might likewiſe engage the Senators to deſtroy thoſe Monuments, which might have conduced to the Suppreſſion of it. At leaſt, an antient Author aſſures us, that *Numa*'s Motives for forming the *Roman* Religion, were found, by the Books that were dug up, to be very trivial ones.

Aurel. Vict.

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§. VIII. THE Death of *Numa* threw *Rome* back into the ſame Condition, in which it had been upon the Loſs of *Romulus*. The Senate poſſeſſed themſelves of the Royal Authority, during the *Inter-regnum*, and ſet up the ſame ſort of Government, they had formerly inſtituted during the neceſſary Interval, between the Death of the firſt King, and the Choice of his Succeſſor. The only Difference was, that the ſecond *Inter-regnum* was not ſo long as the firſt; becauſe the *Romans* were not now obliged to go out of *Rome* for a Sovereign, agreeable to all Parties. *Numa Pompilius* had purged *Rome* of the Factions that infected her. The People, to whom was given the Power of electing a new King, aſſembled by the Conſent and Authority of the Senate, who reſerved to themſelves the Power of confirming the Choice that ſhould be made: And it does not appear, that they were in any Suſpenſe between different Competitors, or that they caſt their Eyes on any other but *Tullus Hoſtilius*. They found ſufficient Qualities in him, to render him worthy of the Crown. His Family was originally of *Medulia*, a City of *Latium*, (founded formerly by the *Albans*) which had ſubmitted to the *Roman* Government, and was become a *Roman* Colony.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 136.

HOSTUS, Grandfather of him whom the *Romans* choſe to be their third King, had come to *Rome* about four Years after its Foundation, and had brought thither the great Poſſeſſions he had at *Medulia*. Here he had married the Daughter of that famous [87] *Herſilia*, who, tho' a *Sabine*, had ſignalized her Attachment

87 *Macrobius* (*Saturnal. B.* 1.) differs a little from *Dion. Hal.* in the Account he gives us of the Deſcent of *Tullus Hoſtilius*. *Macrobius*'s Words are theſe: *Vetuſtatis peritiſſimi referunt, in raptu Sabinarum mulierum nomine Herſiliam, dum filiæ adhæreret, ſimul raptam. Quam cum Romulus Hoſtocuidam, ex agro Latino, qui in azylum ejus confugerat, virtute conſpicuo, uxorem dediſſet, natum ex ea puerum, antequam ulla Sabinarum partum ederet, eumque, quod primus eſſet in hoſtico procreatus, Hoſtum Hoſtilium fuiſſe vocitatum, & eumdem a Romulo bullâ aureâ, & prætextæ inſignibus honoratum. Is enim cum raptas ad conſolandum vocaſſet, ſpopondiſſe fertur, ſe ejus infanti, quæ prima civem Romanum eſſet enixa, illuſtre munus daturum.* From theſe Words, we infer ſeveral things, which are not mentioned in the Hiſtorians we have. 1*ſt*, Their Ambiguity leaves us uncertain, whether *Herſilia* herſelf, or her Daughter, married *Hoſtus*, and was Grandmother to King *Tullus Hoſtilius*. 2*dly*, This Paſſage ſhews, that *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the Father of *Tullus*, was the firſt Child that was born in *Rome* of a *Sabine* Woman, after the famous Rape, by which the City was peopled. 3*dly*, We are here told the Origin of the Jewel called *Bulla*, and the Robe *Prætexta*, which was a Mark of Diſtinction for the Children of the *Patricians*.

to *Rome*, and reconciled the *Sabines*, to whom ſhe owed her Birth, to the *Romans*, whoſe Government ſhe loved. And *Hoſtus* had recommended himſelf under *Romulus*, by his Exploits in the Wars with the *Sabines* and the *Fidenates*. He was the firſt who entered the Breach at the taking of *Fidena*, and received a mural Crown [88] of *Romulus* as his Reward. But in the ſecond Battel with the *Sabines*, he fell; and his Death put the *Romans* into a Conſternation, and cauſed their Flight. Nevertheleſs, ſo much had he ſignalized his Courage, that the Memory of it was preſerved by an Inſcription on a Pillar, erected on the Field of Battel. As for *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the Son of the brave *Hoſtus*, and Father of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, we don't find that he had any other Merit, than that of tranſmitting to his Poſterity the Rank and Prerogatives which his Father had acquired for him. But *Tullus Hoſtilius* himſelf, who gained the Suffrages of *Rome*, appeared to have all thoſe Qualifications for the Throne, which could be deſired in a Succeſſor to *Numa*.

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Plin. B. 16. *ch.* 14.

Aurel. Vict. Dion. Hal. ibid.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

THE Ambition and martial Ardour of the *Romans* had only lain dormant in a pacifick Reign. A King, who they thought muſt love War, was therefore agreeable to the Taſte of a People, who had been kept unactive, againſt their Inclination. Both the Remembrance of his Grandfather *Hoſtilius*, who was one of the Heroes of the riſing City, and his own Merit, ſpoke in his Favour. The People were ſenſible, that *Tullus* only wanted Opportunities to ſhew his Valour; and therefore they, when aſſembled by Order of the Senate, choſe him for their King. The Senators and *Augurs* confirmed the Election, and *Tullus* aſcended the Throne.

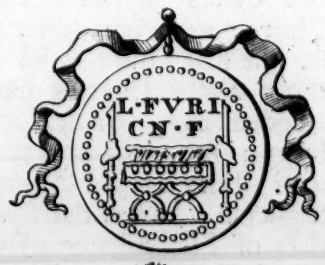
What ſome Hiſtorians ſay of *Tullus*'s Education, has ſcarce any Appearance of Truth. They pretend, that he was brought up in Woods, in a ruſtick manner, and there kept Sheep as a common Shepherd. But if we judge of this Story, by the Manners which then prevailed, it is not at all credible, that *Hoſtus Hoſtilius*, the firſt and wealthieſt of the *Roman Patricians*, ſhould ſo far debaſe the Nobility of his Son, as to reduce him to the Offices of a Slave.

Val. Max. B. 3. *ch.* 4.

WHEN he came to the Throne, as he had Riches enough in his own Patrimony, he neglected the antient Demeſnes of the two Kings his Predeceſſors, and diſtributed certain Portions of Land, (which *Romulus* had conquered, and which *Numa* had reſerved the Property of, for the Uſes of Religion) among the moſt indigent of the People. Though that wiſe King had ſent a great Number of idle Perſons out of the City into the Country to cultivate it; there yet remained Multitudes of Hirelings, who were obliged to work for other People: and theſe had no Houſes to dwell in. *Tullus* therefore applied his own Revenues to the Expences of Religion, and the Maintenance of his Houſhold; and divided the Lands appropriated to the Crown among all thoſe, who had none of their own. By which Marks of Diſintereſtedneſs, he ſignalized the Beginnings of his Reign, and gained the Affections of the People, who from that Time were attached to his Intereſts.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. *p.* 137.

IT is pretended indeed, that this was the firſt Prince, who introduced any ſort of Magnificence among the Kings of *Rome*: and that he firſt uſed thoſe *Curule Chairs* [89], which ſerved afterwards in the Time of the Republick, to diſtinguiſh



Silver.

88 This was the Reward appointed by the General, for him who firſt ſcaled the Walls of a beſieged City. In wealthy Times, the *mural Crown* was made of pure Gold: but that with which *Hoſtus Hoſtilius* was honoured by *Romulus*, was not ſo. *Pliny* ſpeaks thus of it; 16. 4. *Romulus frondea coronavit Hoſtum Hoſtilium, quod Fidenam primus irrupiſſet.*

89 Theſe Chairs were firſt brought into Uſe, either by *Numa*, or *Tullus Hoſtilius*, or *Tarquin the Elder*; but by which of the three, the *Latin* Authors are not agreed. *Livy* aſſures us, that *Numa* granted the Honour of the *Curule Chair* to the *Pontifex Maximus*. *Macrobius* thinks *Tullus Hoſtilius* firſt uſed it. *Florus* contends, that they were brought to

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guiſh the chief Magiſtrates. To which it is added, that he diſtinguiſhed 90 himſelf from the *Patricians* by an embroidered Habit, and appointed Foot-Guards to go before him, with Axes and Faſces in their Hands. But I am of opinion, that he only revived theſe Attendants on Majeſty, which *Romulus* had introduced before him, and *Numa Pompilius* had, out of Modeſty, ſuppreſſed.

TULLUS found in himſelf a greater Inclination to follow the Steps of *Romulus*, than thoſe of *Numa*. He was of a lively Diſpoſition, and enterpriſing Genius. Nevertheleſs, the Laws eſtabliſhed by his Predeceſſor laid ſome Reſtraint upon his Valour. He dared not yet break through the Barriers, which the rigid Equity of *Pompilius* had erected againſt the military Enterprizes of the *Romans*. He therefore waited till a favourable Opportunity ſhould offer to open the Temple of *Janus*, and give him a Pretence for beginning a War. And *Alba* firſt gave him the following juſt Cauſe to turn againſt her his natural Fire and Impetuoſity, which wanted an Opportunity to exert itſelf.

§. IX. *CÆLIUS*, or, as others call him, *Cætius*, or, according to *Livy*, *Cluilius* 91, was at the Head of Affairs in *Alba*; and the Jealouſy he had long harboured againſt *Rome*, was too ſtrong to be abated by the Moderation of the pacifick *Numa*. He continually reproached himſelf with his Slothfulneſs, in not oppoſing the increaſing Grandeur of a Colony, which the Conqueſts of *Romulus*, and the univerſal Love, which *Numa* had acquired, had made ſuperior to all the Cities in *Italy*. He had more ſavage Boldneſs than Prudence: but the *Albans*, his Subjects, being not ſo inveterate againſt the *Roman* Colony, as himſelf; he did not attempt to draw them into a War by Means of Perſuaſion; but provoked the *Romans* by unauthorized Acts of Hoſtility. He promiſed Impunity to an indigent Populace, whom he armed againſt *Rome*, and ſent out to ſpoil the *Roman* Lands. *Cælius* foreſaw that a young King would ill brook the Incurſions of his Neighbours into his Country, and would repel Force by Force. Beſides, he promiſed himſelf, that his *Albans* would, without enquiring nicely, who were the firſt Authors of the Rupture, be very ready to revenge with their Arms the Inſults which the *Romans* would in their turn offer them. And his Project ſucceeded. Some hired *Albans* ſpoiled the *Roman* Lands, and the injured *Romans* made Repriſals, and ravaged the Country of the *Albans*. Several Skirmiſhes happened between the two Bands of Robbers, and the Blood ſpilt in them ſharpened their mutual Hatred. *Cælius* thought this a favourable Opportunity to exaſperate his People againſt the *Romans*: and therefore, in a publick Aſſembly, he excited both their Rage and their Revenge. He exaggerated the Loſſes *Alba* had ſuffered by the *Romans*: He made both the Wounded, and the Relations of ſuch as had loſt their Lives or Liberties in Battel, appear, and make their Complaints: And he concluded from the Whole, that it was neceſſary to ſend Deputies to *Rome*, to demand Satisfaction, and to declare War, if it were refuſed. This laſt

to *Rome* from *Hetruria* by *Tarquin the Elder*. However, all three agree, that this ſort of Throne was borrowed from the *Hetrurians*, as well as the other Marks of Diſtinction, which were annexed to the Royal Dignity by the Kings of *Rome*. The *Curule Chair* was, in Form, very like the little Chairs without Backs, which we call *Folding Chairs*: as appears from the Medals. It's probable, the firſt Kings had the *Curule Chairs* made without thoſe Ornaments which Luxury afterwards added to them. They were not adorned with Ivory; for whence ſhould the *Romans* then have had it? They had then no ſettled Commerce with Foreigners.

90 This Robe was adorned with Variety of Figures in Gold, which gave it the Name of *Toga picta*, to diſtinguiſh it from the *Prætexta*, and the common *Toga*. In the firſt Ages of *Rome*, they who enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph, wore a plain purple Robe, if we believe *Feſtus*. In After-times, the Generals, to heighten the Pomp of their Triumphs, appeared in a Robe embroidered with Gold, or a golden Tiſſue: which, according to ſome Authors, eſpecially *Pliny*, was borrowed from the *Hetrurians* by *Tullus Hoſtilius*. But *Macrobius*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Florus*, contend, that *Tarquin the Elder* firſt appeared in this ſtately Habit, which was from that time one of the principal Ornaments worn by the Kings of *Rome*. Unleſs, in the Caſe of Triumphs, no *Roman* Citizen was ſuffered to wear this Robe. But *Paulus Æmilius*, and *Pompey*, were, by an extraordinary Privilege, excepted. In latter Ages, after the Republick had become a Monarchy, the *Conſuls* wore this embroidered Robe on certain Days of Ceremony.

91 M. *le Clerc*, in his Notes upon *Livy*, ſays it is ſtrange that *Romulus* did not ſucceed his Grandfather *Numitor* in the Throne of *Alba*, to which he was the ſole Heir. He ſays, he is ſurpriſed at the Silence of the Hiſtorians, on ſo important an Article. But he needed only to have opened *Plutarch*, and he would there have found, that after the Death of *Numitor*, *Romulus* choſe to live in *Rome*, which he had founded, and contented himſelf with naming a *Dictator* for the *Albans*, with ſome ſort of Dependence upon himſelf. When *Romulus* himſelf was dead without Children, the *Albans*, who ſaw the Poſterity of their antient Kings utterly extinct, had a Right of chuſing their own Sovereigns, independently of *Rome*: and of theſe *Cætius* was one.

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Proceeding of *Cælius* was agreeable to the Laws of Confederacy, which *Romulus* had ſettled between the *Romans* and *Albans*. They had agreed never to declare War with one another, till the Reparation of the Damages ſuſtained on either Side, had firſt been demanded in a friendly manner. But *Cælius*'s Aim was to prevent an Embaſſy from *Tullus*, by ſending one to him; and thereby to throw all the blame upon him, if he refuſed the Reparations demanded. Accordingly, he haſtened the Departure of his Deputies, who actually arrived at *Rome*, before *Tullus* had thought of ſending away his. The young King was not aware of *Cælius*'s Artifice, till after the Arrival of the *Alban* Ambaſſadors at *Rome:* But then he became artful in his Turn. He made Uſe of ſeveral Pretences to defer giving them Audience; and, that they might be agreeably amuſed at *Rome*, took Care to provide them an hoſpitable and engaging Reception, in Houſes where they were ſo charmed with their Entertainment, that they neither cared to ſtir abroad, nor had any Uneaſineſs about theſe Delays. In the mean time the *Roman* Ambaſſadors ſet out for *Alba*, with Orders to preſs the immediate Concluſion of the Affair, without Delay. One of the *Feciales* was at the Head of the Deputation; and the Ambaſſadors ſetting out from *Rome* before Sun-riſing, came to *Alba* the ſame Morning. They met *Cælius* in the midſt of the *Forum*, and demanded Satisfaction of him for the Injuries *Rome* had received from the *Albans*. To which Demand the *Alban* King did not vouchſafe to give an Anſwer; but ſaid, *I have already prevented the* Romans, *by an Embaſſy; I have executed the Treaties, and I declare War with you.* The *Fecialis* only asked him, Whether that King, of the two, who firſt refuſed to hear the other's Complaints, was to be thought guilty of the firſt Breach of the Treaties? and upon *Cælius*'s replying, *Without doubt*; called the Gods, who were Guardians of the Treaties between the two Nations, to witneſs, That the *Romans* had been firſt refuſed their Demands, and that they might therefore declare War, without any Offence to Religion: After which Proteſtations he inſtantly ſet out for *Rome*.

He no ſooner arrived there, than *Tullus* received the *Alban* Deputies in an engaging manner, at an Entertainment, to which he had invited them; and then enquired into the Deſign of their Embaſſy. They civilly made long Excuſes for the diſagreeable Commiſſion with which they were charged; and declared that they had accepted it contrary to their Inclinations, and were very ſorry to find themſelves obliged to demand Satisfaction of him, and to declare War, in caſe of a Refuſal. To which *Tullus* replied, *Go, tell your King, I leave it to the Gods to puniſh him who firſt breaks the Treaties. May they cauſe all the horrible Effects of a bloody War to fall upon his Head!* Thus did *Numa*'s Succeſſor reduce that Sincerity and Fidelity which his Predeceſſor had laboured to eſtabliſh in *Rome*, to bare Appearances. *Liv. B.* 1. *c.* 22.

The *Roman Fecialis* had given *Cælius* but thirty Days Space, before the War was to begin: And theſe were employed on both Sides, in making Preparations, and getting Succours from their Allies. At length, both Armies took the Field; *Cælius* pitched his Camp forty *Stadia** from *Rome*, and fortified it with a good Ditch, which continued long after, and always bore *Cælius*'s Name; that is, was called *Foſſa Cluilia*. *Dion. Hal. B.* 3. *p.* 139. * Five Miles, according to *Livy*.

As for *Tullus*, he poſted his *Romans* on an advantageous Ground, nearer his Capital. Both Parties ſeemed either mutually to reſpect or to fear each other. And perhaps the antient Union which had always been between the two Nations, might make the War in which they were going to engage, to be conſidered rather as a civil War than a foreign one: It was *Trojan* Blood againſt *Trojan* Blood. But however that was, the impetuous Ardour which made both Armies in Love with fighting, was cooled on a ſudden, when they came in Sight of each other. Neither Party thought of any thing but intrenching themſelves. Neither the *Albans* marched out of their Camp to attack the *Romans*, nor did the *Roman* Cavalry come to any Skirmiſhes with the *Alban*; and at length *Cælius*'s Delay to enter upon Action raiſed Murmurs among his People. They looked on him as the Author of the War; and his preſent Inactivity made his firſt Motions ineffectual. The Shame therefore of their Reproaches made him reſolve at laſt to offer the *Romans* Battle, and to attack them in their Entrenchments, if they re- *Liv. B.* 1. *c.* 23. *Dion. Hal.* ib.

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fuſed to accept it: But the following Night put an End both to his Enterprize, and his Life.

HE was found in the Morning lying dead in his Tent, in the midſt of the Camp, and with his Guards about him. This ſudden Accident furniſhed Matter for many Speculations; and the rather, becauſe no Marks of a violent Death were found on his Body. It did not appear, either that the Sword, a Rope, or Poiſon, had put an End to his Days. So ſignal a Puniſhment was therefore imputed to the Anger of the Gods. *Cælius*, ſaid they, *had begun an unjuſt and unneceſſary War. He had armed the Mother againſt the Daughter. Whereas the Metropolis* [92] *ought to uſe a Colony that came out of her own Boſom, with Tenderneſs. The Gods have therefore revenged it.* They who were for a War with the *Romans*, ſuſpected thoſe of the contrary Party; and imputed the Death of the King to a ſubtle Poiſon which the Friends of *Rome* had found Means to convey into his Veins. But others pretended, that *Cælius* ſhortned his Life with his own Hands; and that Deſpair of Succeſs made him prefer preſent Death to an inglorious Life. Whilſt the Opinions of Men of better Senſe were leſs refined, and more juſt; they thought it was a common Accident that brought *Cælius* to his End.

† Others call him *Suffetius*.

Livy, ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 140.

§. X. THE Place of *Alban* General was immediately conferred on *Metius* † *Fuffetius*, by the Army, which ſaluted him Dictator: That is, in my Opinion, he was at firſt entruſted with the Government of *Alba*, only during the preſent War. His Hatred to the *Roman* Name, was what raiſed him to this firſt Station, rather than his Experience in Arms, or his Skill in the Management of Affairs. He had been one of the Promoters of the Difference between the two Nations But as ſoon as he became the Head of the *Albans*, he entered into his Predeceſſor's Views: The Danger of a Battle terrified him; he therefore deferred it from Day to Day. Which Backwardneſs proceeded partly from the Diviſion of his Army, thoſe of the better Sort being againſt the War with the *Romans*; and partly from his Fear of the neighbouring Cities. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, whom *Romulus* had formerly brought under the *Roman* Yoke, were indeed very watchful of the Moment when the Battle ſhould be begun between the two contending Nations; and founded Hopes of recovering their Liberty, on the Slaughter which might happen on both Sides. Their Cities were great and populous. Tho' *Romulus* had carried Part of their Inhabitants to *Rome*, and had diſtributed ſome of their Lands among his *Romans*, they were nevertheleſs now grown rich and populous again, under the pacifick Reign of *Numa*. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes* therefore conſpired ſecretly with the neighbouring Nations, and drew Troops together into their Cities, to be ready on Occaſion. The Plot was fully formed, and their Deſign was to watch the Time of the Engagement, and to fall unexpectedly upon both Conquerors and Conquered, and force them to a freſh Battle with them. Nor was the Execution of this Enterprize difficult; for *Fidena* was but two or three Hours March from the two Camps. Beſides, Spies were placed upon the Mountains, who were to give the *Fidenates* Notice of the beginning of the Action, by Signals; and they were determined to make Havock of both Armies without Diſtinction, when furiouſly engaged in Battle. But *Fuffetius*'s Delays gave time for the Diſcovery of the Intrigues of theſe ſecret Enemies. Whether out of the Hopes of a Reward, or out of Ill-will to the principal Authors of the Deſign, or out of Fear of the uſual Conſequences of an ill-concerted Enterprize; whatever the Motive was, *Fuffetius* had Notice of the Deſign of the *Fidenates* by Letter, an Expreſs being ſent to him on purpoſe to inform him of it. His Uneaſineſs at it ſtill encreaſed his Delays; and he now thought of nothing but finding an Opportunity of coming to a Conference with the King of the *Romans*, and changing the Preparations of War into a ſincere Reconciliation. To which the *Romans* were not averſe: For their Friends in *Fidena* had informed them likewiſe of the Conſpiracy of their Governours againſt *Rome*.

IN the mean time, *Fuffetius* marched out of his Entrenchments; and *Tullus* refuſed not to go and meet an Enemy, who took the firſt Step towards breaking

92 The Word *Metropolis*, in *Greek*, ſignifies a Mother-City, which has given Birth to other Cities. In this Senſe *Dion. Hal.* gives the Name of *Metropolis* to the City of *Alba*, of which *Rome* was but a Colony.

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the antient Treaties. But he was ſurprized to find, that inſtead of deſiring to give Battle, the *Alban* Dictator demanded an Interview. The Place of the Conference was in the middle Space between the two Camps, and at the Head of the two Armies. Both Parties brought only ſuch Perſons to it, as were Men of Wiſdom and Gravity, and not capable of clogging the Propoſals of Peace. After reciprocal Salutations, and mutual Proteſtations of as perfect a Friendſhip, as if it had never been interrupted, *Fuffetius* ſpoke thus:

CÆLIUS, *whom you have looked on as the firſt Author of the War, and You, Sir, on your Part, have mutually charged each other with Depredations, and Refuſals of Satisfaction. But let us honeſtly confeſs, was not the Ambition of both Nations, the firſt Cauſe of our Diſſentions? And if then I endeavour to put an End to them, don't imagine, that I am forced to it, either by the Fear of your Arms, or the ill State of our Affairs. Hitherto no Misfortunes have weakened us—— No; but I, as ſoon as the Death of* Cælius *had put me at the Head of our Armies, conſidered how frivolous the Complaints were that had diſunited us. I conceived, that ſlight Diſcontents ought not to divide Nations, which Blood, Affinity, and the Faith of Treaties had united. And judging of your Sentiments by my own, I deferred Hoſtilities, and kept my Troops within their Entrenchments. I likewiſe flattered my ſelf, that you might perhaps take the firſt Steps towards a neceſſary Accommodation, and the Colony abate a little of her Pride, in order to make Advances towards her Metropolis. But now, the Snares laid by common Enemies, of which you are not ignorant, make me lay aſide all Formalities. The Heads of the* Fidenates *and* Veientes *have equally conſpired the Ruin of both our States, and are now watching to take Advantage of the Weakneſs to which a Battle will neceſſarily reduce the two Armies. Beſides, the* Fidenates *and* Veientes, *are a Part of the* Hetrurian *Body, and you know how formidable that is both by Sea and Land. Let us therefore find out ſome Method of Accommodation, which may put an honourable End to our Quarrels, without weakning too much our two Cities, who have quarrelled only about the Loſs of a few Cattle.* *Fuffetius* then produced the Letters he had received from *Fidena*, and called Witneſſes, who atteſted the Conſpiracy of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*. *Tullus* acknowledged, that he had kept himſelf within his Camp, without undertaking any thing, on that very Account; conſented to end the Quarrel without fighting; and laſtly, agreed, that it would be neceſſary, after a Reconciliation was made, to join the *Roman* and *Alban* Forces together, and turn them unanimouſly againſt the common Enemy: Nay, he even excuſed himſelf for having ſuffered the *Albans* to make the firſt Advances towards a Peace. *We were not*, ſaid he, *the Aggreſſors, and it therefore would not have been regular in us to have prevented you. But I join with you in the ſame Views of Reconciliation; and I readily forget the Injuries we have received from the* Albans. Cælius *has been ſufficiently puniſhed for them; and the Gods have revenged our Quarrel. But in order to make that Union perpetual, which otherwiſe cannot fail of being broken, through a Love of Dominion, let us ſee which of our two Cities ought for the future to give Law to the other. The preſent Buſineſs is not to palliate our mutual Hatred, or defer its Effects, but to root it out. The true Cauſes of it have been our Proſperity, and your Jealouſy. Indeed, I hope, this Proſperity will for the future be common to both; and that when we become one People, we ſhall have the ſame Mind, and the ſame Heart. But how ſhall this be brought about? By Promiſes, by mutual Writings, or by Oaths? Theſe are but weak Reſtraints upon human Paſſions. The one only Expedient that remains, is, that all the* Albans, *or at leaſt the moſt conſiderable Families of them, remove to* Rome. *And this is not in it ſelf diſhonourable. The* Sabines *and ſome of the* Hetrurians *have thought it no Diſhonour to become Citizens of the new Colony. But if notwithſtanding this, your Love for the Houſes and Houſhold-Gods of your Fathers, will not ſuffer you to leave your own City; yet why may we not eſtabliſh a common Council for both Cities, which ſhall govern the two Nations when become one, under the Direction of that Sovereign, of the two, who ſhall be able to contribute moſt to the publick Good?*

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 142, 143.

FUFFETIUS liſtned to the *Roman*'s Propoſals, and demanded Time to deliberate upon them. He took aſide and conſulted thoſe whom he had brought with him; and all concluded, that it was by no means proper to abandon their Country,

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try, and desert a City founded by their Forefathers, whose Posterity had now inhabited and adorned it for near five Centuries. But the re-uniting the two People into one, under the same Government, still leaving both *Alba* and *Rome* to subsist, they thought a reasonable Proposal. The only remaining Difficulty was, which of the two Cities should have Dominion over the other. *Fuffetius* therefore, returning to the Conference, spoke thus in Favour of *Alba*. *It is not natural, that the Metropolis should be subject to a Colony, which owed its Original to her. When Fathers obey their Children, then will the* Albans *be subject to the* Romans. *But as long as the Laws of Nature, and the Rights of Nations shall subsist, so long shall* Alba *have a Superiority over* Rome. *Nor is this all. We yet preserve the Purity of our Descent. No Mixture of foreign Nations with us, has corrupted the* Latin *and* Trojan *Blood, which were mixed soon after* Æneas's *Landing.* Alba *has in her no confused Mixture of* Hetrurians, Sabines, *and Fugitives, who have introduced their own Customs into her, and who divide her Senate into different Factions. The same Blood, and the same Spirit, run thro' the whole Body. Besides, a long Space of Time since the Foundation of our City, has embellished it, and made it commodious; whereas* Rome, *on the contrary, wants the Labours of many Years to bring it to the Perfection of a Capital.*

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 146.

WHEN *Fuffetius* had ended his Discourse, *Tullus* made this Reply: *If a Metropolis ought always to retain a Superiority over the Colonies it has sent out, in vain would* Lacedæmon *have pretended to any Dominion over the* Dores, *from whom she was descended. But to use a nearer Example, and bring the Matter home: You sprang from* Lavinium, *as we from you: Ought we both therefore to be subject to that City? You say we have corrupted the Nobility of our Origin, by a Mixture of Strangers and Fugitives: But for this we have* Athens *for a Precedent. And is that any Stain to the Glory of a City, which has gained the Superiority in* Greece? *We don't annex the Honours of the Magistracy and the Government, to bare Merit of Blood, which often degenerates, but to personal Virtue. And as for the Multitude of these Strangers and Fugitives whom you despise, it is to them, we are indebted for putting the Counsels of the Wise in Execution. It is by them that we have made our selves great. It is by them that we have become formidable to our Neighbours. Valour in Battle, and Number of Troops, are what have enabled us to extend our Dominion far. Our Strength has arisen from those very Unions you find Fault with. In short, the Difference between you and us is this;* Alba, *from being great, is in Length of Time fallen to Decay; and* Rome, *little in her Origin, has by continual Additions from the Beginning, been made great. And as to the Factions you reproach us with, they don't at all affect the Vitals of the State. They proceed from a laudable Emulation, who shall become most useful to his Country. There is no room here for Ostentation: The Fact speaks. How could a rising City have arrived at so high a Pitch of Glory and Power, in the Space of eighty three Years, if Wisdom had not presided in her Councils, and Bravery been conspicuous in her Battles? Nevertheless* Rome, *notwithstanding her just Pretences, is willing to submit her Fate to the Gods, and leave it to them to determine, whether she shall give Laws to* Alba, *or* Alba *to her.* Greece, *as well as some barbarous Nations, had formerly a Custom of ending their Contests with the Blood of a small Number of chosen Citizens. Let us take the same Method for Peace. Let a single Combat between* Fuffetius *and me, determine the Fortune of the two Nations. We ought to expose our selves to any Danger, for the publick Good, since we are the Persons whom the Publick have both enriched and raised to be the Defenders of their Glory.*

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 148.

FUFFETIUS was not brave; or perhaps was afraid of entring the Lists with *Tullus:* And he therefore brought several prudential Reasons, to prove that it would be better to choose three Champions out of each Camp, whose Swords should determine the Contests of the two Cities, than to hazard the Lives of the Generals. Which Proposal was accepted, and the two Chiefs retired into their Entrenchments.

§. XI. As soon as the Design, and the Conditions of the Union of *Alba* and *Rome* were known in the two Armies, there was on both Sides a strong Emulation who should be chosen, to assert the Glory of his City with his Blood. They who were distinguished by their Nobility, contended for the Preference before those who had signalized

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ſignalized themſelves by their Dexterity, or Strength, in fighting. And while the Choice of the Champions was yet in Suſpence, *Fuffetius* caſt his Eyes upon three *Albans*, who were equally remarkable for both. *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* 93 is the Hiſtorian, who, if we may believe ſome learned Men, makes their Birth to have had ſomething wonderful in it. He is ſaid to give this Account of it: *Sequinius*, an illuſtrious Citizen of *Alba*, had two Daughters; one he married to *Curiatius*, a Citizen of *Alba*; and the other to *Horatius*, an illuſtrious Citizen of *Rome*. Theſe two Women, being both with child at the ſame time, were brought to Bed both on the ſame Day, each of three Male Children. But may it not nevertheleſs be believed, that the three Brothers, on each Side, came into the World at three different Births? However, this at leaſt is certain, that the three *Curiatii* at *Alba*, and three *Horatii* at *Rome*, were the Children of two Siſters. They were in the Flower of their Age, and did Honour to their reſpective Cities, by their handſome Appearance and Courage. The *Alban* General caſt his Eyes therefore on the three *Curiatii*, and communicated his Thought to the King of *Rome*, exhorting him to pitch upon the three *Horatii*. By this means, ſaid he, we ſhall put an end to the Contentions of our Men of Valour, who diſpute the Honour of the Choice. Fate will appear to have brought three Champions on a Side into the World, on purpoſe to determine the Fate of their Countries with their Swords. *Tullus* did not apprehend that the Heroes propoſed would make any Objection, but thoſe of Blood and Friendſhip, which had always ſtrictly united the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*: and as to this *Fuffetius* encouraged him. *I have*, ſaid he, *already propoſed the Combat to the* Curiatii; *in whom the Love of Glory, and their Country, has gained the Aſcendant over the moſt tender Friendſhips. They are therefore an Example to the* Horatii, *not to ſcruple the breaking thoſe Bonds, by which Nature and Education have ſo ſtrictly united them.*

NEVERTHELESS, as the *Romans* appear even then to have had more Humanity than their Neighbours; *Tullus* found at firſt ſome Reluctance in the *Horatii*, at taking Arms againſt their Relations. And as he would lay no Reſtraint upon them, he declared he would leave them entirely at their Liberty, either to refuſe the Offer their Country made them, or to lend their Hands, to eternize her Glory. The three young Heroes anſwered, that their Love of their Country was well known; but they had a Father too, and could not diſpoſe of their own Lives, without his Conſent, from whom they had received them. Old *Horatius* was full of that *Roman* Virtue, which had indeed ſomething rough in it, but had not ſtifled all Senſe of Humanity in him. Not but he had ſeveral Reaſons to fear a Combat, wherein much of the Blood of his Family would be ſpilt: and as an additional Matter of Concern, one of his Daughters was betrothed to one of the *Curiatii*. But notwithſtanding all this, the Love of his Country got the better of his Reluctance. He left his Children to their own Choice: and when he underſtood, that they, following the Example of the *Curiatii*, preferred a glorious Death, or important Victory, to an inglorious Life; he, lifting up his Eyes to Heaven, and embracing his Sons, cried out, *I am a happy Father*; and then commanded them to declare his Conſent to the King.

TEN Days were ſpent thus, in theſe Negotiations: and a Suſpenſion of Arms had kept both *Romans* and *Albans* from Action. But now the Combat of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* being proclaimed in both Camps, all *Rome* and *Alba* came out to be Witneſſes of it. *Fuffetius* led the *Curiatii*, and *Tullus* the *Horatii*. As they paſſed, the People ſtrewed the Way with Flowers, and put Crowns of Flowers on their Heads. They were looked upon by all as Victims, which had voluntarily devoted themſelves to their Country.

93 *Dion. Hal.* is repreſented as ſaying, that the Mothers of the *Horatii* at *Rome*, and the *Curiatii* at *Alba*, who were Siſters, were delivered of three Sons each, on the ſame Day, and at the ſame Birth. But I am inclined to believe this Hiſtorian thought otherwiſe. Would it not be more natural to ſay, that the Mothers of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii*, had each three Children one after another, and at different Births; ſince, according to *Dion. Hal.* himſelf, when they came to the Battel, the eldeſt of the *Curiatii* choſe out the eldeſt of the *Horatii* for his Adverſary; and ſo likewiſe of the others, according to their Age? He therefore plainly ſuppoſes they were not all of the ſame Age. If we follow this Opinion, we ſhall avoid one Contradiction; but then, as will hereafter appear, this will lead us into another. The beſt Way therefore is to underſtand this Difference of their Ages, of the Order in which the Laws placed Twins.

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A great Plain, containing about three or four *Stadia*, and lying between the Entrenchments of the *Romans* and *Albans*, had been choſen for the Place of Engagement. The two Kings therefore advanced to the middle of it, conducted by their *Feciales*. *Tullus* had not yet named a *Pater Patratus*, that is, a ſort of Plenipotentiary for the Ceremonies of the Treaty, according to *Numa*'s Regulations: but *Fuffetius*, on his Part, brought both his Plenipotentiaries and his Sacrificers with him.

THE Form of this Treaty, which ſeems to have been the firſt *Rome* ever made, eſcaped the Injuries of Time, till *Livy*'s Days: He gives us the following Account of it; and it ſerved as a Pattern for the greateſt Part of the Treaties which were ever after made by the *Romans*.

FIRST, one of the College of the *Feciales*, named *Marcus Valerius*, demanded of King *Tullus*, *Whether he gave him Orders to conclude a Peace with the* Pater Patratus *of the* Albans? The King anſwered, *He did. Give me then*, replied the *Fecialis*, *the Sign of my Commiſſion:* which Sign was to be Vervein plucked up out of the Earth by the Roots. *Yes*, anſwered the King, *bring me ſome that is pure, and has not been applied to profane Uſes.* At theſe Words, the *Fecialis* went to gather ſome Vervein on a little Hill, brought it, and went on thus: *Do you then appoint me to be* Fecialis *and Plenipotentiary of* Rome *to the* Albans, *and engage to protect my Equipage and Retinue? Yes*, replied the King, *unleſs it be to the Prejudice of my Intereſts, and thoſe of the* Roman *People:* And then *Valerius* the *Fecialis* appointed *Spurius Fuſius* to be *Pater* [94] *Patratus* of the Treaty, by crowning him with the Vervein. His Office, as ſuch, was to pronounce aloud the Words of the Oath, in the Name of the *Roman* King and People, and to repeat the whole Form of the Treaty.

AFTER this Ceremonial, which paſſed only among the *Romans*, the new *Pater Patratus* read the Articles of the Convention in the Preſence of the *Albans*; and then expreſſed himſelf thus: [95] *Be thou, great* Jupiter, *regardful of the Conditions of our Treaties; and do thou,* Pater Patratus *of the* Albans, *attend to them. Thou haſt doubtleſs underſtood them clearly from one End to the other, without Equivocation or Deceit, as they are here ſet down on the Wax, and as I have juſt now read them. The* Roman *People engage themſelves never to be the firſt Breakers of them. If they ſhould violate them by publick Authority, and by Fraud, may* Jupiter *at that Inſtant ſtrike them, as I ſhall now ſtrike this Victim! May thy Puniſhment, great* Jupiter! *be as ſevere, as thy Power is formidable.* At which Words, he ſtruck the Sow [96], that was to be offered up in Sacrifice, in Confirmation of the Treaty, a great Blow on the Head with a Flint. The *Albans* alſo took their Oaths, and offered their Sacrifices: after which, nothing was thought of but the Succeſs of the Combat between the ſix Champions.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 154.

§. XII. THE *Horatii* and *Curiatii* employed the Attention of both Camps. They were all ſix armed like Men determined to kill or be killed: They advanced with a ſlow Pace each towards his Rival; but before they ſtained the Ground with their Blood, they watered it with their Tears.

AT the Inſtant, when the People expected to ſee them engage, they quitted their Arms, which they committed to the Care of their Eſquires, and ran to embrace one another. Though Rivals, yet they treated one another with all the Marks of the moſt tender Friendſhip: And theſe ſincere Embraces raiſed a Murmuring in the two Camps. At the Sight of the Combatants Tears, none could reſtrain their own. Was it neceſſary, ſaid the People on both Sides, that our

94 We have already ſpoken of the Senſe the *Roman* Hiſtorians affix to the Terms *Pater Patratus*. *Plutarch* differs from them, when he ſays, the Head of the Deputation was called *Pater Patratus*, *a patrando jurejurando*, from the Oaths he was obliged to take to atteſt the Juſtice of his Demands. So that a Man's being *Pater Patratus*, did not always imply his having Children and a Father alive; for then, according to the *Grammarians*, he ought to have been called *Pater Patrimus*. *Feſtus* thinks the *Pater Patratus* was ſo called, becauſe, by virtue of his Commiſſion, he acted as a (*Pater Patriæ*) Father of his Country.

95 The following Form of Words, which *Feſtus* has preſerved, does not exactly agree in Senſe with that above. *Silicem tenebant juraturi per Jovem, hæc verba dicentes; ſi ſciens fallo, tum me, Dispiter, ſalva urbe arceque, bonis ejiciat, ut ego hunc lapidem.*

96 It was cuſtomary among the antient Pagans, to ratify and confirm the Faith of Treaties, by offering up a Sow to *Jupiter*. As we read in *Virgil*,

Poſito certamine Reges
Stabant & cæſa jungebant fœdera porcâ.

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Generals ſhould engage ſo near and ſo affectionate Relations, to take away one another's Lives? If there were a Neceſſity for one of the two Cities to be ſuperior to the other; yet why might not this Glory be purchaſed without the Expence of ſo much Blood, out of one Family?

NEVERTHELESS the Tenderneſs and Embraces of the young Heroes did not abate their Courage.

EACH of them returned to his Arms, and choſe his Adverſary. The eldeſt of the *Horatii* fought the eldeſt of the *Curiatii*, and the other two choſe their Adverſaries in the ſame manner, according to their Age. The Noiſe of their Arms was already heard at a great diſtance: and the People from both Camps could ſee their Swords glitter, tho' they could not diſtinguiſh on whom the Strokes fell; for the Diſtance between the Spectators and Combatants was great.

BOTH Parties were alike uneaſy: they equally hoped to gain the Superiority, and feared to loſe it. One while they perceived that their Champions made their Adverſaries give way, and preſently after that they retreated themſelves: and the Air rung with a confuſed Mixture of Shouts and Acclamations from both Camps, as either of them appeared to have the Advantage: Whilſt the Combatants quickened their Courage, by conſidering the Importance of the Intereſts they were ſupporting. They looked upon themſelves as the Men who were to give Dominion or bring Slavery to their Country. Their Skill and their Armour made the Combat laſt long, before Fortune declared herſelf in favour of either Nation; till at length the eldeſt of the *Alban* Brothers preſſed his Antagoniſt [97] with ſuch Fury, that he both gave, and received ſeveral Wounds: and the eldeſt of the *Horatii*, whom he wounded in the Groin with his Sword, fell. At ſight of this, the *Albans* triumphed, and their joyful Acclamations threw the *Roman* Camp into a Conſternation: which was yet much increaſed, when they ſaw the ſecond *Horatius*, run through by another of the *Curiatii*, die upon the Body of his Brother. For then the Fear of the *Romans* was almoſt changed into Deſpair. *Livy, B. 1. ch. 25.*

NEVERTHELESS, the *Curiatius*, who had juſt conquered his Adverſary, was wounded in the Ham, by the *Horatius* whom he had killed: So that, the laſt of the three *Roman* Brothers was the only Perſon not wounded, while the *Albans* were all ſo: which was ſome Remains of Hope for *Rome*. Then the young Hero, who deſpaired of being able to ſuſtain the Attack of the three Brothers together, made uſe of a Stratagem to ſeparate them: He fled; and bore the Hootings and Reproaches of his Countrymen. The three *Curiatii* purſued him [98], but at unequal Diſtances, as their Wounds made them more or leſs unfit for running. Then *Horatius* turned and fell upon him who purſued him cloſeſt; and the *Albans* excited the wounded Brothers to fly to his Aſſiſtance: but their Strength failed them, and the nimbleſt of the *Curiatii* was already ſlain. Then *Horatius*, without Loſs of Time, ran to the ſecond *Curiatius*; and at one great Stroke with his Sword, cut off his Arm, and then ran him through the Body. *Liv. B. 1. ibid. Dion. Hal. p. 156.* *Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 156.*

THE Defeat of the third was eaſy; it could not be called a Combat. *Horatius* looked on the laſt of the *Curiatii* as a Victim he could without Difficulty offer up to the *Manes* of his Brethren. *Curiatius*, on the other Hand, being wounded, and ſupporting himſelf with Difficulty upon his Buckler, ſeemed to offer himſelf voluntarily to Death: whilſt the young Conqueror cries out, *To the Glory of* Rome *I ſacrifice thee*, ſtriking him on the Throat; and, big with his Victory, ſeizes the Spoils of the Conquered. It is eaſy to judge what Acclamations the *Romans* made in honour of the Hero, who gained them a Glory, which had hung ſo long in Suſpence. *Livy, B. 1. ibid.*

97 In our Relation of the Battel between the three *Horatii*, and the three *Curiatii*, we have ſometimes borrowed Circumſtances from *Livy*, and ſometimes from *Dion. Hal.*; but oftner from the *Latin* than the *Greek* Hiſtorian. We are of *Livy*'s Opinion, as to the Number of the *Curiatii* who periſhed in the firſt Encounter. *Dion. Hal.* pretends, that one of the *Horatii* was killed at firſt, together with one of the *Curiatii*; ſo that there were but two *Curiatii* left to encounter the *Horatius* who was Conqueror. But all the *Latins* contradict him in this: and we have therefore followed the greateſt Number. Tho', after all, the *Latins* may poſſibly have copied after one another; and the *Greek* Writer may have written after more antient and faithful Memoirs than the *Latins*. At leaſt, we thought not proper entirely to omit this Account of *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus*, tho' we have not inſerted it in the Body of the Hiſtory.

98 He, who was wounded in the Ham, did not leave the Field of Battel. *Dion. Hal.* ſays, the *Alban*, tho' wounded, ſupported himſelf by his Shield, and crawled along, with difficulty, to fight the laſt *Horatius*.

THE

Year of *ROME* LXXXIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

THE *Albans* and *Romans* buried their Dead 99, but with very different Thoughts. The former looked on themſelves as an enſlaved People, the latter as the Nation which was become Miſtreſs. And accordingly, *Fuffetius* acknowledged the Superiority of his Conquerors on the Field of Battel. *What are your Commands, Sir?* ſaid he to *Tullus*, ſaluting him as his Maſter. To which the King of the *Romans* replied, *Nothing but to keep your Infantry in a readineſs to march, at my Command, if I make War with the* Veientes 100.

AND now the Glory of the young *Horatius* was but too ſhining: He would ſcarce have remembred he was a Man, if Heaven had not moderated his Joy, by an Accident that interrupted it. He returned to *Rome* at the Head of the Army, and his Return had the Air of a Triumph; for his Shoulders were laden with the Spoils of the three *Curiatii*. The Conqueror was already drawing near to the Gate *Capena*, when he perceived his Siſter at a diſtance. This was the marriageable young Woman, who had been betrothed to one of the *Curiatii*. People were ſurprized to ſee her in the midſt of the Croud alone, without her Mother: but *Horatius* put the beſt Conſtruction upon ſo uncommon an Indecency, and attributed it to her Impatience of ſeeing a victorious Brother: Whereas, ſhe meant nothing leſs. *Horatia* had ſtollen from home, through an impatient Deſire of having ſome News of her Lover. Her Paſſion made her forget her Brother's Danger, and engroſſed all her Concern to her dear *Curiatius:* So that ſhe neglected to enquire after her Brother, and was only ſollicitous to know the Fate of him who was to have been her Husband. And as ſoon as ſhe had learned that he was dead, ſhe ran out of the City like one mad: and it was not in her Nurſe's Power, who called her back, to ſtop her.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 157.

THERE ſhe ſaw her Brother adorned with the Crown, which the King had put upon his Head: And when ſhe beheld the military 101 Robe of her Lover, which ſhe and her Mother had wrought with their own Hands, ſtained with the Blood of her dear *Curiatius*, ſhe untied her Head-dreſs, let her Hair looſe about her Shoulders, rent her Clothes, ſmote upon her Breaſt, and in a ſorrowful Tone repeated the Name *Curiatius:* which filled all about her with Terror. And then attacking her Brother himſelf, ſhe ſaid, *Barbarian! how could'ſt thou dip thy Hands in the Blood of thy Relations, even of thoſe* Curiatii, *whom thou haſt ſo often called thy Brothers? How could'ſt thou rob me of an Husband I ſo tenderly loved?*

Livy, B. 1. ch. 26.

HORATIUS ſtill breathed Blood, as being yet warm with that Day's Slaughter: *Go,* ſaid he to his Siſter, *go to thy Lover, unnatural Creature! Is it thus thou forgetteſt thy dead Brothers, thy living Brother, and thy Country? Thus let every* Roman *periſh, who laments the Loſs of an Enemy of* Rome. At which Words, he ſtabbed her with his Sword, and went home to his Father.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 158.

THE Crime was thought heinous, by the King and Senate, but the Merit of the late Victory leſſened the Horror of it. And old *Horatius*, ſeemed of all others to be leaſt affected with the Death of his Daughter, and the Loſs of his two Sons. The Love of their Country had then the Aſcendant, in *Roman* Breaſts, over natural Affections. He approved of the Murder of *Horatia*; and congratulated his Son upon it. He would not even attend his Daughter's Funeral, or ſuffer her to be buried in the Sepulchre of her Family. Forgetting all domeſtick Misfortunes, out of Regard to the Intereſts of *Rome*, he gave a great Entertainment the ſame Day, and crowning himſelf with Flowers, offered Victims on the Altars. Such was the Rigour of the *Roman* Virtue in theſe early Times. By means of theſe Sentiments, how barbarous ſoever they may appear to be, we ſhall ſoon ſee *Rome* arrive at ſuch a Pitch of Grandeur, as will raiſe our Admiration.

IN the mean time, whilſt *Alba* was in Conſternation and Mourning, *Tullus*

99 In *Livy*'s Time, the Tombs of the *Horatii* and *Curiatii* were to be ſeen, on the very Places where each of them loſt his Life.

100 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the *Albans*, afflicted by the Death of the three *Curiatii*, openly condemned the Conduct of their General; and, giving themſelves up to Grief all the Night, refuſed to take even neceſſary Refreſhments: but *Tullus Hoſtilius* comforted them the next Day, and encouraged them, by promiſing them that he would impoſe nothing upon them, contrary to the Terms of the old Alliance.

101 This military Robe is called by *Livy*, *Paludamentum*; which was a warlike Habit among the *Romans*. We ſhall both ſpeak, and give the Figure of it, in its proper Place. According to *Dion. Hal. Horatius*'s Siſter did not take notice of a military Cloak, but a Tunick of different Colours, which ſhe had worked with her own Hands, and given to him who was to have been her Husband.

Year of *ROME* LXXXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Hoſtilius received the Honours of a Triumph at *Rome* [102]. And when he returned home, he ſaw the young *Horatius* brought by ſome illuſtrious Citizens to his Tribunal, to take his Trial there. The Murder of *Horatia* was notorious, for which they demanded Juſtice. *Nothing*, ſaid they, *can be more pernicious, than to abate the Rigour of the Laws, in favour of Conquerors.* The Law was indeed expreſs againſt the Perſon accuſed: It ſaid, that *no one ſhould kill any Perſon whatſoever, who had not been condemned. And therefore*, ſaid they, *what have we not to fear from the Vengeance of the Gods, if once the Violation of the Laws be countenanced by Impunity? Tullus* was divided between his Regard for the Services of the young *Horatius*, and the Reſpect he owed to the Laws, as the Avenger of them. And to extricate himſelf out of this Difficulty, [103] and avoid the Odium of a Judgment ſo contrary to his Inclination, he found out the Expedient of turning the Cauſe into a State-Crime, the Cognizance of which did not belong to him. He conſulted the People, and then ſaid, *I appoint two* [104] *Commiſſioners* *, *who ſhall judge* Horatius *as a State-Criminal.* And this Determination was agreeable to the Law, which runs thus: *Let two Commiſſioners be appointed to judge of State-Crimes. If the Criminal appeal from the Sentence of the two Commiſſioners, let his Appeal be received. And if their Sentence be confirmed, let him be blindfolded, and hanged upon a Tree that he may there be ſtrangled, or let him be whipped, either within or without the Walls of* Rome. It's probable this Act of *Horatius* was conſidered as a State-Crime, either becauſe he had ſhed his Siſter's Blood in the King's Preſence, and in the Sight of the People when aſſembled; or becauſe he perſonally aſſumed to himſelf a Right of puniſhing the Guilty; which was uſurping the Authority of the Sovereign.

* *Duumviri.*

THESE Commiſſioners, called *Duumviri*, could only judge of the *Fact*, and not of the *Right* of the Accuſed. And as the Murder had been publick, Sentence was pronounced, without Delay, in theſe Words: Horatius *we judge you to be guilty of High Treaſon. Lictors, let his Hands be tied.* But as ſoon as Judgment was given, the Criminal, who was already in the Executioner's Hands, appealed from it to the People: And this he did at the Inſtigation of *Tullus*, who laboured to deliver him. Whence it is evident, that the Kings of *Rome* were not then in Poſſeſſion of a Power of pardoning, at leaſt State-Criminals.

THE Cauſe of the unfortunate *Horatius* was therefore pleaded before the People, that is, before the Aſſembly of the *Roman Curiæ*; and this is ſaid to have been the firſt capital Caſe that came before them. This Court had an unlimited Power, and could equally judge of Fact and Right, in all Cauſes. It was therefore a Point much laboured in Favour of *Horatius*, to prove that *Horatia* had been juſtly put to Death by him: Old *Horatius* eſpecially wept aloud, and at the ſame time loudly proclaimed the Senſe of the Laws.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 159.

OUR Lawgivers, ſaid he, *have given Fathers a ſovereign Power over the Lives of their Children. I am therefore the firſt Judge of them in my own Family. And if my Determination may take place, my Son* Horatius *had a Right of purging my*

Liv. B. 1. c. 26.

[102] We have not any Account of this Triumph of *Tullus Hoſtilius* in the *Faſti Capitolini:* Time has left no Footſteps of it in them. *Dion. Hal.* is the only one, who tells us he triumphed three times; once over the *Albans*, a ſecond time over the *Fidenates*, and a third over the *Sabines.* And his Teſtimony is more to be relied on than that of *Macrobius*, who, *B.* 1. acknowledges indeed that he triumphed three times; but contends, that the two firſt times were over the *Albans*, and the third over the *Sabines*; without mentioning the *Fidenates.* *Virgil* contents himſelf with ſaying, *Tullus* revived the Uſe of Triumphs, without telling us how often he triumphed, or over what People,

———*Reſideſque movebit*
Tullus in arma viros, & jam deſueta triumpho
Agmina———

After all, it is yet uncertain, whether *Tullus Hoſtilius* triumphed over the *Albans*, immediately after the Victory of the young *Horatius*, or after the Deſtruction of *Alba*, which happened at ſome Diſtance of Time from it. Let not the Reader therefore charge us with an Anachroniſm, concerning ſo doubtful an Event.

[103] *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Matter is different from this. According to him, the chief Men in *Rome* accuſed young *Horatius*, before the King, of having been guilty of Parricide. They quoted the Laws which forbad Violence, and at the ſame time brought Inſtances of the Vengeance of the Gods againſt ſeveral Cities which had let theſe Sorts of Crimes go unpuniſhed. But old *Horatius*, who defended his Son with Warmth, inſiſted that the Cognizance of this Affair ſhould be reſerved to him; ſince as a Father he was the natural Judge of his Children. The King, after having been much in doubt what Method to take, referred the Cauſe to the Judgment of the People, who ſhewed Favour to the Murderer, and acquitted him.

[104] Theſe *Duumviri*, of whom we have ſpoken already, were Delegates in extraordinary Caſes, which concerned capital Crimes. Their Authority expired as ſoon as Judgment was given: And they ſometimes acted under the Name of *Queſtors*, as well as that of *Duumviri.*

Year of ROME LXXXIII. Tullus Hostilius.

Family of the ill Blood that infected it. Among the brave and generous Citizens which I have given Rome, *there was found a Fury, whose Sentiments were pernicious to the Publick. She was an Offender, and my Son made use of my Right to punish her; of which I make no Complaint. So far am I from decreeing him Punishment as a Criminal in the Case, that I owe him Rewards for his Zeal. It is a double Triumph to me, to have both overcome the* Curiatii, *and to have delivered* Rome *from an ungrateful Creature, whose Heart was not* Roman. *And can you then tie this same Conqueror to the fatal Tree, whom you have just seen marching in Triumph amidst your Acclamations? Could the most barbarous* Alban *bear this Sight? Shall those Hands which brought Safety to his Country, be tied by the common Hangman? Shall the Head of the Deliverer of* Rome *be covered with the Veil of a Criminal? Will you fix the Tree, on which he is to expire, in the midst of the Trophies he has won from the Enemy? Shall he be whipped without the Walls, near the Tombs of the* Curiatii? *In what Place soever you fix the Scene of his Punishment, you will there find Monuments of his Glory.*

The Judges were sensibly affected with the Tears of the Father, and the Services of the Son. They thought it unworthy of them to punish the Hero as an Homicide, who had exposed his Life for his Country's Sake; and to reward the Superiority he had gained them over *Alba*, with an ignominious Death. The domestick Sentence which the Father pronounced against his Daughter, in favour of his Son, had great Weight with them. They were affected with the Condition to which they were going to reduce that Family to whom they were indebted for the most noble Prerogative of their City. They therefore saved the Life of young *Horatius*; but the Austerity of the Judges at that time would not suffer them to let him go utterly unpunished. They commuted the Punishment of Death, for that of an ignominious Ceremony. They made him *pass under the* [105] *Yoke:* Which was a sort of Insult to which those Prisoners of War were exposed, who had willingly given up their Arms. They erected two Pieces of Timber, over which they laid a third, like a Door-case. The Conqueror of the *Curiatii* was therefore treated as a cowardly Captive, and was forced to endure this Yoke; or in other Words, to pass under it bare-headed. And after they had satisfied Men by this Example of Severity, *Tullus* commanded that the Gods should be appeased, who were provoked by this Violation of the Laws. And accordingly, no kind of Expiation was omitted [106], to appease them. All Sorts of Lustrations, customary for those who had been guilty of Homicide through Inconsideration or Carelessness, were used on this Occasion. Nor was this all: The *Pontifices* erected two Altars, one to *Juno*, who presided over the Union of Brothers and Sisters, and the other to *Janus* [107]. They repeated the Names of the three *Curiatii*, whilst they were offering Sacrifices to appease their *Manes:* And the Place where the Ceremony was performed [108], was ever after looked on as consecrated Ground. These Altars, and this Yoke [109], under which they made the Criminal pass, were carefully preserved, and were all remaining in the Time of *Augustus*. And besides all this, it was further commanded, that the Thing

Dion. Hal. ib.

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 26. *Dion. Hal.* ib.

105 This humbling Ceremony was required by the *Romans*, of those Enemies who surrendred their Arms, and submitted to the Power of the Conquerors. After which, they had the Liberty of returning to their own Country. The King's Design in reducing the young *Horatius* to this ignominious Condition, was to make the Criminal sensible, that, according to the Customs of the *Romans*, he deserved the Fate and Punishment of a Slave. After a Criminal was once declared guilty of High Treason, and an Enemy to his Country, his Name was struck out of the Number of Citizens, and he was looked on as a Slave delivered up to the Rigour of the Laws. This was their Way of proceeding against the Citizens who had betrayed the Interests of their Country.

106 The Worship of false Gods did not destroy the Notions of a Providence. The Pagans were always persuaded, that the Gods were the Avengers of Crimes. This Prepossession, which arises from the purest Light of Reason, subsisted in the midst of the Darkness of Paganism. Hence came the offering up of Victims and expiatory Sacrifices, to appease the Wrath of the Gods, and regain their Favour. The guilty Person was also thought excluded from Society, till he had purified himself according to the Rites of Paganism.

107 *Dion. Hal.* says, the *Janus*, to whom the Altar had been erected, was called *Curiatius*, from the Name of the three *Curiatii*, who were killed in the Fight. This *Janus* was probably one of those *Genii*, whose Business was to watch over the Preservation of Men from the Moment of their Births. The Divinities which protected Women, were in like manner called *Junones*. *Pliny* mentions them *B.* 11. *Appositos sibi statim ab ortu custodes credebant quos viri genios, fœminæ Junones vocabant.*

108 This Place, according to *Dion. Hal.* was a Street that led down from the Street *Carinæ*, to the *Cyprian* or the *Good* Street.

109 The *Romans* called this Yoke *Sororium Tigillum*. Thus *Horatius*'s Pillar continued at *Rome*, in *Livy*'s Time, under the Name of *Pila Horatia*.

Year of *ROME* LXXXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

ſhould be annually commemorated by Victims offered up on theſe Altars. And the Prieſt who was to perform this ſolemn Rite, was ever after to be one of the Family of the *Horatii*.

SUCH were the Monuments of the *Roman* Severity; which ſeem to have exceeded thoſe whereby the *Romans* ſignalized their Gratitude. They only erected a ſquare Pillar to the [110] Conqueror, in the midſt of the *Forum*, on which were hung the Spoils of the three *Curiatii*; and on which they continued to hang till Time and Ruſt made them fall to Pieces. And for the unfortunate *Horatia* they built a Stone Tomb on the ſame Place in which ſhe was killed: At firſt indeed, old *Horatius* had refuſed to contribute towards the Burial of his Daughter, and the People only covered her Body with an Heap of Stones, confuſedly thrown together.

§. XIII. BUT to return, *Tullus* ſuſpended the Effects of his Revenge upon the rebellious *Fidenates*, a whole Year. They had formerly been ſubdued by *Romulus*, but they now pretended, that their Engagements to Servitude died with their Conqueror. The laſt Treaſon, which they had plotted equally againſt the *Albans* and *Romans*, had made a deep Impreſſion on *Tullus*'s Mind; and he therefore prepared for making War with them: But the Laws of *Numa* obliged him to obſerve all the preſcribed Forms, before he came to an open Rupture. So that he cited them to appear before the Senate, to give an Account of their artful Conduct at the Time when Battle was ready to be given to the *Albans*. But they, who knew themſelves to be guilty of the Treaſon, refuſed to come and make that Submiſſion at *Rome*, which, they ſaid, derogated from their Liberty. *Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 260.*

IT is likewiſe ſaid, that *Fuffetius* was the Author of their Revolt, and that he found Means to ſtir them up, by his Emiſſaries, to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. He had drawn upon himſelf the Hatred and Reproaches of the *Albans*, by having made the Fate of his Country to depend on the Combat between the three *Curiatii* and the three *Horatii*. For *Alba* turned the ill Succeſs of that wiſe Counſel againſt him; and the weak *Dictator* endeavoured to remove the Reproaches and Diſcontents which it had brought upon him, by Craft and Treachery. He made the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* hope, that if they entered into a ſecret League with him againſt *Rome*, he would join with them, in order to extirpate a new and imperious Colony, which made it her Glory to reduce her Neighbours to Slavery. He promiſed them that he would declare himſelf an Enemy to the *Romans* at a proper Time, and would then ſeparate himſelf from them when they depended moſt upon him.

UPON theſe Hopes, the *Fidenates* and *Veientes* openly took up Arms againſt the *Romans*. The two rebellious Cities raiſed Troops by publick Edicts, and depending on the Defection of the *Albans*, took the Field. The *Romans*, on their Side, aſſembled their Allies together, and among others, ordered *Fuffetius* to lead that Army to the Aſſiſtance of *Rome*, which the common Enemy had laid Snares to deſtroy. *Tullus* had a Heart full of that Openneſs, and *Roman* Generoſity, which uſually keeps Men from being upon their Guard againſt Treaſons. He had no juſt Cauſe to be apprehenſive of the Treachery of this new Subject; or to ſuſpect that he would make Uſe of the ſame Artifice, in Conjunction with the *Fidenates*, from which he had juſt before preſerved both *Alba* and *Rome*.

AND now, the *Roman* Army was already in the Field; it had already paſſed *the Anio*, and encamped in the Plains which are watered by that River, before it falls into *the Tyber*; and the *Alban* Forces had joined thoſe of *Rome*. The *Veientes*, on the other hand, had croſſed the *Tyber*, and joined the *Fidenates*. All the Armies were already in Sight of one another. The *Fidenates*, who were poſted in the left Wing, extended themſelves to the Hills; the *Veientes*, who were to engage in the right Wing, had the River in Flank: And *Tullus* diſpoſed the Order of the Battle which he made Preparations to give the next Day, in this manner. He choſe to fight the *Veientes* himſelf, and to face them on the Side of the River; he ſet *Fuffetius* and his Troops againſt the *Fidenates*, at the Foot of the Hills: And the *Liv. B. 1. c. 27.*

[110] According to the Teſtimony of *Dion. Hal.* the *Romans*, in order to immortalize the Glory of the Conqueror, made a Law, which continued to be in Force in this Hiſtorian's Time; whereby any Family in which three Male Children were born at a Birth, was entituled to the Privilege of having them brought up, to the Age of *Puberty*, at the publick Expence.

King

Year of *ROME* LXXXVIII. Tullus Hostilius.

King of *Rome*, incapable of Suſpicions, communicated all theſe his Deſigns to the *Alban* General, and greatly careſſed him. But the Traitor made no other Uſe of this, than to give the Enemies of *Rome* ſuch Intelligence as muſt be of Service to them: And the Evening before the Battle, *Fuffetius*, thinking it proper to communicate the criminal Reſolution he had taken, to the principal Commanders in his Army, beſpoke them thus.

I truſt my own Life, and the Recovery of our Liberty, to your Diſcretion and Counſels. It will be wholly in your Power, either to deſtroy me, by betraying my Secret, or to deliver your ſelves from Slavery, by putting my Deſign in Execution. Rome *is an imperious Miſtreſs to us. Perſonally ſpeaking indeed, I have leſs Reaſon than any Body to complain of her. Under the Name of a* Dictator, *ſhe laſt left me an almoſt regal Authority in* Alba. *But you are mere Subalterns; and I cannot reliſh the Pleaſure of ſeeing my ſelf diſtinguiſhed among you, as long as I am obeyed only by Slaves. I have long ſought Means to deliver us from this diſhonourable Yoke; and Fortune at length offers it to us, in this wiſh'd-for Moment. I am the Man who ſtirred up the* Veientes *and* Fidenates *againſt the* Romans. *Tho' in Appearance an Ally to* Rome, *I am come hither rather to deſtroy, than aſſiſt her. The Plot, which I have laid with ſo much Secrecy that* Tullus *has not been able to get the leaſt Hint of it, is advantageous to us in more Inſtances than one. If we purſue it, the* Fidenates *and* Veientes *will bear the whole Burden of the Battle; and upon them only will lie all the Dangers and Labour of recovering our common Liberty: Whilſt we will continue unactive till Fortune has ſhewn us which Army is like to get the Day, and then we will fall upon the* Romans, *if they are worſted, or on their Enemies, if the Diſadvantage is with them. By this means, we ſhall, without any Hazard, ſhare the Glory and Favour of the Conquerors, which ever Side proves victorious. And my being poſted by* Tullus, *in the right Wing of his Army, favours my Deſign: for as we, by this means, face the* Fidenates, *our Orders are to engage them at the Foot of the Hills. As ſoon then as the Signal is given for the firſt Attack, we will by degrees gain the riſing Grounds, and leave the Plain open for the* Fidenates *to take the* Romans *in Flank, and ſurround them. And when our Defection ſhall have ſtruck Fear and Diſcouragement into* Tullus's *Army, we will then come down from our Hills, and fall upon it, will ſtrew the Plain with* Roman *Carcaſſes, and will in one Day deſtroy all the Forces of a Colony which ought to obey thoſe to whom ſhe preſumes to give Law.*

THIS Deſign of *Fuffetius* was univerſally approved; all preſent bound themſelves by Oath to keep the Secret, and execute his Orders. In the mean time, both Armies, at Sun-riſing, marched out of their Camps. The *Romans* drew up in the Manner *Tullus* had appointed the Evening before: And the *Albans* were poſted at the Foot of the Hills, over againſt the *Fidenates*. And when the Troops on both Sides were in Motion, and were come within reach of one another, then *Fuffetius* was ſeen to draw back, and gain the riſing Ground, leaving the Place he was poſted in open to the Army of the *Fidenates*. A *Roman* Trooper therefore inſtantly rode away to *Tullus*, to inform him of the unexpected Motion of the *Albans*; and gave him Reaſon to fear the Approaches of the *Fidenates*, who were already advancing to ſurround him. But *Tullus*, tho' ſeized with Terror, knew how to diſſemble it: He ſilently made [111] a Vow to increaſe the College of the Prieſts with twelve *Salii*, and to build a Temple to *Fear* and *Paleneſs:* And then cried out with a loud Voice, which was heard at a great Diſtance among his Battalions, and even among the Enemies, *Courage, Friends, we have conquered! It is by my Orders that the* Albans *are poſſeſſing themſelves of the Hills; from whence they are likewiſe, by my Orders, to fall down upon the Enemy.* The Confidence of the King inſpired his Troops with Courage; he commanded the Cavalry to carry their Lances high, to conceal the Defection of the *Albans* from his Infantry; and the General's Preſence of Mind ſecured the Victory to his *Romans*. The *Fidenates* and *Veientes*, on the other hand, grew diſtruſtful of the *Alban:* They thought his Inaction was ſuſpicious. And thus the

Livy, ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 165. and *Livy*, ibid.

[111] The *Salii* inſtituted by *Numa*, had their Temple on the Hill *Palatinus:* Whence they were called *Salii Palatini*. Thoſe created by *Tullus Hoſtilius*, were called *Salii Collini*, and *Salii Agonenſes*, becauſe they had a Chapel peculiar to themſelves on the Hill *Collinus*, or *Agonalis:* Which, as we have obſerved in another Place, were the Names of the Hill ſince called *Quirinalis*.

Year of *ROME* LXXXVIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

Diſcouragement one Army was under, and the Valour of the other decided the Day. The *Roman* Cavalry broke through the *Fidenates*, routed them, and made them fly towards *Fidena*, which was at no great diſtance. But *Tullus* did not loſe Time in purſuing them: he returned upon the *Veientes*, who were in equal Conſternation, at the Defeat and Deſertion of their Allies. They did not long ſuſtain the Attack of the *Roman* Legions: being broken in all Parts, they diſperſed themſelves: Some few, whoſe Strength would give them leave, ſwam croſs the *Tyber*: but the greateſt Part of them either periſhed in the Waters, or loſt their Lives on the Banks of the River. *Rome* had, to that time, never gained a more complete Victory.

THE Conquerors were already employed in plundering the Camp of the Conquered, when *Fuffetius* quitted his Retreat. They ſaw him come down like a Torrent, on the ſmall Remains of the *Veientes* and diſperſed *Fidenates*: whereby he meant to ſignalize his Zeal in favour of the Victorious. And *Tullus*, who knew his Treachery, reſtrained his own Reſentments. Without making any ſtir in publick, he gave Orders to *Fuffetius* to purſue a ſmall Number of Fugitives, who could not gain the Walls of *Fidena*. His Obedience was ready: from a bare Spectator of the Fight, he became an Actor in it. They ſaw him cut ſome of thoſe his miſerable Allies in pieces, whoſe Revolt he had ſtirred up, and of whoſe Deſtruction he had himſelf been the Cauſe. And *Tullus* for the preſent let the Traytor pleaſe himſelf with the Fancy, that his Treachery was undiſcovered. The Interview between the two Chiefs was ſpent in mutual Congratulations upon the Exploits of the Day: and a ſolemn Sacrifice was appointed for the Day following.

IN the mean time, *Tullus* examined thoſe *Veientes* and *Fidenates* whom he had taken in the Battel, about the Authors of their Revolt: and they accuſed *Fuffetius*. When therefore the King had ſufficient Proof of his Defection, he returned ſecretly by Night to *Rome*. There he reported to the Senators the Crime the *Alban* General had been guilty of; and concerted with them the proper Manner of humbling *Alba*, puniſhing the General, and putting the Accomplices of his Treaſon to Death. This done, he returned to his Camp, before Break of Day; inſtantly detached young *Horatius*, who had conquered the three *Albans*, with a choſen Body of Horſe and Foot; and commanded him to go to the condemned City. *Alba*, who knew nothing either of the Plots of her Dictator, or the ſevere Sentence *Rome* had pronounced againſt her, was of courſe unguarded againſt the *Romans*; and received them as became a City allied and ſubject to them. But how great muſt the Surprize of the *Albans* have been, when *Horatius* declared to them the Orders he came to execute; which were, to overturn the City, and ſpare neither private nor publick Building, except the Temples. As for the Inhabitants, he told them, they had leave to carry Furniture, and other Effects, to *Rome*: which made the common People rejoice, that they were going to live there; whilſt the Rich only were grieved to leave the convenient Houſes they had inherited from their Anceſtors. However, Diſcipline was exactly preſerved in the Demolition of the City. No Footſteps of Robbery or Plunder were to be ſeen. A ſullen Silence and Tears were then the only Refuge of theſe unfortunate Citizens, who, at their Departure, ſaw their native City buried in a Cloud of Duſt, which roſe from its Ruins.

AND whilſt *Horatius* was thus deſtroying *Alba*, *Tullus* was conſidering how to puniſh the *Alban* General. He thought he might uſe Diſſimulation with a Traytor: and therefore careſſed him now more than ever. After he had commended his Exploits, he engaged him to give him a Liſt of thoſe Officers in his Army who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Battel. He told him his Deſign was to reward their Valour; but the Reward he had in Reſerve for them, was Death. He rightly judged, that *Fuffetius* would put only ſuch into his Liſt of brave Officers, as were Accomplices in his Treaſon. *Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 166.*

IT was even then an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom for the *Roman* Generals to harangue their Troops after a Victory. *Tullus* appointed the two Bodies of the *Roman* and *Alban* Armies, to attend him that very Day: and commanded, that, contrary to Cuſtom, all ſhould come to the Aſſembly without their Arms. *Fuffetius* continued in his Security, even whilſt at the Foot of *the Tribune*,

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from which the King was to make his Speech to his Soldiers. It was likewiſe cuſtomary, in this ſort of Ceremonies, to make uſe of an Herald, to call the Officers by Name, and to place them in order round about the Eminence, from whence the General harangued them. *Fuffetius* then, and his Accomplices were firſt called, and took the firſt Ranks: and they thought themſelves honoured by the Deference that was paid to their Nation. When they were placed, they were ſurrounded on all Sides by the *Roman* Legions; who had Orders, to bring their Swords to the Aſſembly hid under their Clothes, not to ſhew them but at the Signal agreed on; and then inſtantly to make ſuch uſe of them as they ſhould be directed.

ALL things being thus regulated, the King immediately aſcended *the Tribune*; and his Speech is differently related by Hiſtorians: But we ſhall extract only ſuch Parts of it, as appear to us, to be moſt worthy of the wiſe and generous *Tullus*.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 167. & Livy, B. 1. ch. 28.

If ever, ſaid he, *we had reaſon to give thanks to the immortal Gods, if I ever ought to congratulate my illuſtrious* Romans *on their Valour, it is after the Battel which has now ſignalized your Arms. Through the Aſſiſtance of Heaven and your Bravery, we have revenged ourſelves on the* Fidenates *and their Allies. Theſe indeed were open Enemies, from whom we had nothing to fear, but what is common in War. But we were not aware that Jealouſy had raiſed up other ſecret ones, who were the more formidable, as they concealed themſelves under the Mask of Friendſhip. It was by ſecret Plots with the Enemies of the* Roman *Name, and artful Contrivances to leave us defenceleſs in time of the greateſt Danger, that they purpoſed to deſtroy us. And what had we done to them, to deſerve their Hatred? They were left to their antient Government, and ſcarce felt that we were their Maſters. We bought the Dominion over them at the Expence of* Roman *Blood, and yet by our Moderation alleviated the Weight of it. What Returns have they made us! You are not to imagine, that it was by my Orders that* Fuffetius *retired to the Mountains. No, we ſuffered you to believe it, in order to keep you from being diſcouraged: But his Inaction proceeded only from his own corrupt Heart. It was concerted for our Deſtruction: and if the Project had ſucceeded, there had been an end of* Rome: *She had loſt the Glory and Conqueſts of ſo many Years, in one Day. Yes, Traitor! 'twas you who withdrew your Troops from the Battel; 'twas you who lighted up the Fire we have juſt now extinguiſhed; 'twas you who broke the ſacred Bands of the Treaty that united us. But theſe Reproaches are not intended to affect equally all the* Alban *Legions. Several of them were drawn in by the Example of their General, without knowing his Deſign: And I know how to diſtinguiſh between the Innocent and the Guilty, and to proportion the Puniſhment to the Crime. All the* Albans *ſhall not loſe their Lives, but all ſhall remove to* Rome: *there, as they become Inhabitants of the ſame City with us, they will lay aſide that Hatred for the* Roman *Name, when within our Walls, which their Continuance at* Alba *nouriſhes in their Hearts.*

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 171.

AT theſe Words the *Albans* were in commotion, and roſe up in a Tumult to run to Arms. But their Efforts were in vain, through the King's Precaution. He gave the Signal, and the *Romans* who ſurrounded them inſtantly drew their Swords, and ſilenced their Menaces. *Fuffetius* was the only one who continued his ſeditious Clamours: but the King made him hold his peace, and pronounced Sentence of Death upon him, in theſe Words: *Were you capable of changing, and was there any room to hope, that you would become of a peacable Diſpoſition, and obſerve our Contracts, I would ſpare your Life. But ſince your reſtleſs Spirit appears to be incorrigible, Die; and be an Example to warn Men from breaking through the Engagements, which Religion has made ſacred. You divided your Heart between our Enemies and us: let your Body therefore be now divided into two Parts, and be torn in pieces by two Chariots.*

Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid.

FUFFETIUS would, upon this, have made ſome reſiſtance againſt the Soldiers who ſeized him: but he only encreaſed his Puniſhment, by the Blows they gave him [112]. They tied him with Straps to two Chariots, drawn by Horſes

112 *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that *Fuffetius*, before he was rent in pieces, was ſeized by the *Lictors*; who tore off his Clothes, and beat him with Rods, till he was all over bloody.

his Arms to one, and his Legs to the other: and he was torn aſunder in a Moment. His Accomplices were all put to the Sword: and the reſt of the *Alban* Soldiers were carried to *Rome*, where they intermixed with the *Alban* Citizens, who were tranſplanted thither at the ſame time, and enjoyed all the Privileges of Citizens of *Rome*. Year of *ROME* LXXXVIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. XIV. BUT this new Increaſe of Inhabitants obliged *Tullus* to enlarge the Limits of *Rome*. The Hill *Cælius* [113] had already begun to be inhabited: and it was then made populous with that Multitude of *Albans*, who left their own demoliſhed Walls. *Tullus* uſed his utmoſt Care to alleviate the Uneaſineſs of their Removal. He built Houſes for the pooreſt, at his own Expence; and he diſtributed ſome Lands among the Hirelings, who were obliged to work for the Citizens, for Wages. As for the noble Families of theſe antient *Albans*, ſeveral of which were deſcended from the *Trojans*, he gave them a Place in the Senate [114]. Hiſtorians mention ſix, which were ever after *Patrician*, *viz.* [115] the *Julian*, *Quintian*, *Servilian*, *Geganian*, *Curiacian*, and *Clælian*. But though the Hill *Cælius* was, generally ſpeaking, appointed for the *Albans*, the King nevertheleſs gave them leave to ſettle in the other Quarters of the City: And he himſelf fixed his Seat among them [116]. As *Romulus* had had his Palace on the Hill *Palatinus*, and *Numa* his in the *Roman Forum*, or Market-Place; *Tullus* built his upon the Hill *Cælius*: And by his Benefactions he gained the Hearts of his new Citizens. He raiſed a great Number of them to the Rank of *Roman* [117] Knights, whom he divided into ten Companies: and the reſt of the Soldiers he admitted into the antient Tribes, and incorporated them with the *Curiæ*. In ſhort, he left the *Albans* no room to regret the Loſs of their antient Habitations. Thus periſhed that illuſtrious City, which was built by *Iulus*, the Son of *Æneas* and *Creüſa*: after it had laſted within thirteen Years of five Centuries. *Alba* had alſo ſent out thirty Colonies, which all ſettled in the Country of the *Latins*. But her Ruin was now completed; there never after appeared any Remains of her, beſides her Temples. *Dion. Hal.* B. 3.

THIS had been a very happy Campaign for the *Romans*: *Alba* was deſtroyed, and the *Fidenates* had been beaten. Nevertheleſs *Fidena* perſevered in her Revolt. *Rome* had not ſufficiently revenged herſelf, as long as the *Fidenates* continued to have an Aſylum within their Walls, and Riches enough to hire Troops in their Neighbourhood, and buy Proviſions to maintain them. The Victory was hitherto but begun; which made *Tullus* impatient to complete it. He ſpent all the Winter in making Preparations for War, and early in the Spring took the Field. It's true, *Fidena* began then to be ſenſible of the Terror which *Rome* ſpread among her Neighbours: No Nation dared declare themſelves her Enemies, by a publick Decree. The *Fidenates* were therefore forced to content themſelves without any other Auxiliaries, than a Gang of Mercenaries, who ſold them their Services. Nevertheleſs, this did not much abate their Boldneſs: they were not afraid to march out of their City, and offer the *Romans* Battel. It's true, they waited for them under their Walls, that they might have a Retreat in caſe of Misfortune: And it was a wiſe Precaution. Being repulſed and beaten, they retired within the Gates of *Fi-* Year of *ROME* LXXXIX, XC, XCI.

113 *Strabo* thought *Ancus Martius* made the Hill *Cælius* a Part of the City of *Rome*. *Tacitus* ſays, this Addition was no made till the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*. But the Opinion of *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* ought to be preferred.

114 *Livy* and *Varro* tell us, that *Tullus Hoſtilius* fixed the Aſſemblies of the Senate in a Temple built, as *Donatus* conjectures, in the *Forum*. This Edifice was conſecrated by the *Augurs*, and afterwards bore the Name of *Curia Hoſtilia*.

115 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* both ſay, that the *Julian* Family came to *Rome* after the Deſtruction of *Alba*: but it is ſomewhat difficult to give them credit. It is certain, even from theſe two Authors themſelves, that one *Julius*, ſurnamed *Proculus*, came to dwell there with *Romulus*, from the Beginning of the Foundations of the City: And in this Paſſage of *Livy*, inſtead of *Julia*, was formerly read *Tullia*.

But this does not ſolve the Difficulty, ſince *Dion. Hal.* indiſputably writes *Julia*. We muſt therefore ſay, that *Julius Proculus* was the only Perſon of all the *Julian* Family, who came to *Rome* with *Romulus*; and that the reſt of that illuſtrious Houſe continued at *Alba*, till it was deſtroyed; and did not come to *Rome* till the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*.

116 This Palace of *Tullus Hoſtilius* was alſo called *Curia Hoſtilia*. Whether this was different from his firſt Palace, is, in the Judgment of ſome Authors, uncertain. We think we ought to receive the Opinion of the Majority of Writers, who diſtinguiſh them one from the other. At leaſt, it's certain, that *Tullus Hoſtilius* fixed his Habitation in the *Forum*, before he dwelt upon the Hill *Cælius*.

117 *Livy* ſays, *decem turmas ex Albanis legit*. So that, reckoning thirty Soldiers to every Company, *Tullus Hoſtilius* doubled the *Roman* Cavalry, by joining three hundred more Horſe to the three *Centuriæ*, or hundreds, *Romulus* had eſtabliſhed, under the Names of *Ramnenſes*, *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*.

dena,

Year of *ROME* LXXXIX, XC, XCI.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

dena, which they immediately ſhut, with a Reſolution to hold out a Siege. But the King of *Rome* contented himſelf with blockading it, and ſurrounding it with a large Ditch, to cut off all Succours and Proviſions from it. In ſhort, he reduced the *Fidenates* to ſo great Extremities, that they ſurrendered at Diſcretion: and then he exerciſed the Power he acquired by this Victory with Moderation. He took off only the principal Heads of the Revolt; and ſuffered the reſt of the Citizens to live in their own City, and under the ſame Form of Government as before, only in Dependence upon *Rome*. As for himſelf, ſo complete a Victory over the *Fidenates* was recompenſed with the Honours of a Triumph, which were decreed King *Tullus* on this Occaſion; and the Spoils of the conquered Enemies were carried as Trophies.

Year of *ROME* XCII.

§. XV. As *Rome* was now enlarged by one half, ſince the Deſtruction of *Alba*, and the Settlement of the *Albans* within her Walls: ſhe would no longer bear, with her former Patience, the Injuries that were offered her, by the proudeſt and moſt powerful of her Neighbours. The *Sabines* were, next to the *Hetrurians*, the moſt numerous and moſt formidable of all the Nations about *Rome*. Theſe *Romulus* had indeed partly ſubdued, and ſome of them had voluntarily conſented to follow *Titus Tatius*, one of their Kings, and ſettle at *Rome*. *Numa*, who was taken from their Nation to govern *Rome*, had alſo in his Life-time gained the Reſpect of his Countrymen. But when he was dead, they deſpiſed a Colony which was much inferior to them in Number, and had been enervated by a long Peace: and they therefore were the Aggreſſors. The Account which Hiſtory gives us of the Grounds of their Quarrels, is as follows.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 173.

AT the Foot of Mount *Soracte* [118], upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, ſtood a Temple conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Feronia* [119]: It's probable, that *Flora* or *Proſerpine* was worſhiped under that Name, when ſhe gathered Flowers with her Companions, before ſhe was carried off by *Pluto*. This Temple had always been frequented, and the Goddeſs worſhiped, both by the *Sabines* and *Latins*. People came thither from all Parts; ſome to pay their Vows to the Goddeſs, and others on account of a Fair kept there, at which abundance of Merchandize was ſold. Among the reſt, ſome of the moſt illuſtrious *Romans* had been here the preceding Years, and had been inſulted by the *Sabines*. They had robbed them of their Money, kept them in Captivity, and had refuſed to ſet them at Liberty when demanded by their Country: *The* Romans, ſaid they, *uſed us in this manner, when they opened an Aſylum for our Fugitives, and peopled their City with them. This is only a Repriſal, which is conſiſtent with Equity, and agreeable to the Laws of Nations.*

Livy, B. 1. ch. 30.

BUT the *Romans* were no longer diſpoſed to bear the Affronts of their Neighbours, after the *Albans* had joined them. They now demanded the Priſoners, Sword in Hand. The *Sabines*, on their part, ſought for Succours among their Neighbours; but the *Veientes* dreaded the Fate of the *Fidenates*: and the *Sabines* were therefore left to depend on their own Valour only.

IT's true, ſome Remains of Hatred againſt *Rome* among the *Italians* procured the *Sabines* ſome Volunteers; and they hired a ſmall Number of Troops out of the neighbouring Countries: with which Reinforcements they kept themſelves upon the defenſive. *Tullus* was beforehand with them, appeared firſt in the Field, and ravaged their Lands. At length ſo bloody a Battel was

118 Mount *Soracte* is, in *the Eccleſiaſtical State*, twenty-ſix Miles North of *Rome*. It is now called *Monte Sanſylveſtro*. *Varro* aſſures us, that in his time there was a Spring upon this Mountain, which bubbled up at the Riſing of the Sun, and the Water of which was thought mortal to Birds.

119 The Pagans gave *Feronia* the Superintendence over Foreſts, Gardens, and Orchards. They had built a Temple to her at the Foot of Mount *Soracte*. Upon the Mountain was a little Grove conſecrated to this Goddeſs. *Cluverius* reckons up three Cities in *Italy*, which bore this Name. The firſt was ſituated in the Country of the *Volſci*, near the Marſh *Pontina*, three Miles from *Terracina*: In the Neighbourhood is a Lake now called, in the Language of the Country, *Lago di Ferona*. The ſecond ſtood upon the Shores of the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, in the Territory of *Luna*, fourteen Miles from *Lucca*, where now ſtands *Pietra Santa*, which belongs to the Great Duke of *Tuſcany*. The third was near Mount *Soracte* upon the Banks of *the Tyber*, and was famous for a Concourſe of People, who came to pay their Homage, and make their Offerings in the Temple dedicated to *Feronia*, in the ſame Place where now ſtands *Fiano*. The Freed-men paid a particular Worſhip to this Goddeſs, as has been obſerved above. The Grove of *Feronia*, or *Lucus Feronia*, was watered with a Spring, which Superſtition had conſecrated to this Divinity. Travellers uſed to waſh their Face and Hands in it: as *Horace* did.

Ora manuſque tua lavimus Feronia lympha.
Sat. 5. B. 1.

fought

fought upon the Confines of the *Sabine*'s Country, at a Foreſt called *the Malefactor's* [120] *Foreſt*; that both Nations, affrighted with the Numbers of their Slain, retired into their own Countries, and attempted nothing more that Campaign.

Year of ROME XCIII. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. XVI. BUT tho' the Animoſity between the two Nations was a little abated, by their mutual Loſſes, yet was it not extinguiſhed. The War was renewed the Year following, with more Fury than before.

THE two Armies met near *Eretum* [121], a City an hundred and ſeven *Stadia* diſtant from *Rome:* Where they fought a Battle, in which the Valour of both Parties kept the Victory long in Suſpence. The Slaughter was great on both Sides: And in this Diſtreſs *Tullus* had Recourſe to the Gods. He implored the Aſſiſtance of *Saturn*, and his Wife *Ops*, and vowed [122] to inſtitute a Feſtival to them on the ſame Day; which was always afterwards celebrated [123] at *Rome*, after Harveſt. Religion, whoſe Power over the Hearts of Men is well known, excited the Confidence and Bravery of the *Romans*. They fell furiouſly upon their Enemies, who were already haraſſed with a long Engagement; and Victory declared for *Tullus*, at Sun-ſet. Then the *Sabines*, brave as they were, fled towards their Entrenchments. The Night coming on, hindered the *Romans* from purſuing them; but they took a great Number of Priſoners, about the Ditches of the Camp. In ſhort, they continued the Fight, even in the dark, with a Valour equal to their Reputation; and made themſelves Maſters of the Enemy's Entrenchments, in ſpight of their Reſiſtance.

[124] BY ſo compleat a Victory, the Lands of the *Sabines* became alſo expoſed to the Pillage of the *Roman* Legions. All the Enemy's Country was immediately left defenceleſs, and the *Sabine* Armies appeared no more againſt the Conquerors. The Conquered had therefore no other Refuge but to implore the Clemency of the King: And *Tullus*, whoſe bare Name made them tremble, granted them a Peace, but upon his own Terms. The Captives carried away from *Feronia* were taken out of their Hands; they were obliged to reſtore all Deſerters; the *Romans* computed the Miſchief the *Sabines* might have done upon their Lands, and made them give an Equivalent for the Crop they had taken away, in Money. The Senate it ſelf preſcribed the Conditions of the Treaty: And they were written upon Pe-

120 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* give this Foreſt the Name of *Sylva Malitioſa*, or *Malitioſorum*, κακούργων; which was plainly ſo called, becauſe it ſerved for a Retreat for Robbers.

121 *Eretum* was a City of the *Sabines*, beyond *Fidena*, at a very little Diſtance from *the Tyber*. *Stephanus Servius* and the *Roman* Itineraries, place it in the *Salarian* Way, upon a high Hill, now known by the Name of *Monte rotundo*. *Dion. Hal.* is inconſiſtent with himſelf about it: for after he has reckoned, in his 3d Book, that *Eretum* was 107 *Stadia*, that is, about thirteen Miles from *Rome*; he lengthens the Diſtance, in his 6th Book, to 140 *Stadia*. This City, according to *Solinus*, was built by the *Greeks*, who gave it the Name of *Eretum*, from the *Greek* Word Ἥρα, *Juno*, to whom it was conſecrated.

122 According to *Dion. Hal. Tullus*, in the Heat of this Battle, made a Vow to double the Number of the *Salii*, thereby to engage the Gods in his Favour. But which ſhall we believe, the *Greek* Hiſtorian, or *Livy*? The latter relates this as a Circumſtance of that Battle in which *Fuffetius* betrayed the *Roman* Army, when he left the Field of Battle, to gain the Heights, with his Troops. And indeed, the Occaſion of making this Vow, is better contrived, and ſeems to be of more Conſequence, as ſtated by *Livy*.

123 Theſe Feſtivals of *Saturn*, and *Ops*, or *Rhea*, were kept at *Rome*, in the Month of *December*, under the Name of *Saturnalia*, and *Opalia*. They, properly ſpeaking, were but one and the ſame Solemnity, continued for ſeveral Days together. The Feſtival appropriated to *Saturn*, was fixed to the 16th of the Calends of *January*; and that of *Ops*, which was likewiſe a Part of the *Saturnalia*, to the 14th. It is ſurprizing that *Macrobius* ſhould go far to ſearch for the Origin of theſe two Feſtivals. *Dion. Hal.* attributes them to *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s Vow. Becauſe all the Fruits of the Earth were gathered in in *December*, the *Romans* therefore fixed the Feſtival of theſe Deities in that Month, one of which repreſented the Heavens, and the other the Earth, to whoſe united Influences and Power all Fruits owe their Production. Theſe Feſtivals were celebrated with mutual Entertainments; the Slaves themſelves eat at their Maſters Tables. Which was not only to reward them for their Labours in cultivating the Earth, and gathering the Fruits of it, but likewiſe to renew the Remembrance of the golden Age, in which all Men were equal. So that Servants had at this time a Right of being ſerved by their Maſters, wearing their Clothes, and reproving them for their Faults. In this Senſe we are to underſtand *Horace*'s applying himſelf to his Servant,

> ——— *Age, libertate Decembri,*
> (*Quando ita majores voluerunt*) *utere: narra.*
>
> Sat. 7. B. 2.

124 We have omitted one Battle, which *Dion. Hal.* ſays *Tullus Hoſtilius* fought with the *Sabines*. He makes ſo little Difference between the firſt and third Battle, which he alone mentions, that I had Reaſon to believe it was the ſame. Nay more; the Honours of the Triumph were, according to this Author himſelf, granted to *Tullus* after his ſecond Battle with the *Sabines*. Is not there then ſome Reaſon to preſume that the *Sabine* War was thought ended? So that this third Battle, of which *Livy* ſays nothing, ſeems to be ſuperfluous in the *Greek* Author, whom we therefore leave in this Caſe, contrary to our uſual Method.

deſtals which were erected in the holy Places, as eternal Monuments of the Superiority of *Rome*. A third Triumph which was decreed the victorious King on this Occaſion, raiſed him to the higheſt Pitch of Glory: He was henceforward looked on as another *Romulus*.

Year of *ROME* XCIV—C. TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. XVII. BUT all this did not ſatisfy *Tullus* and his Senate; the Deſtruction of *Alba*, and the Re-union of that Metropolis with the *Roman* State, made them think of making new Pretenſions.

IT has been already obſerved, that *Alba* ſent out thirty Colonies, and that all the Cities, which were ſcattered about in *Latium*, were dependant upon her, while ſhe ſubſiſted. The Senate therefore thought of uniting to the *Roman* State, thoſe Cities which had been dependant on a Capital which now belonged to *Rome*. *Tullus* ſent Deputies to them, to convince them of his Right of Conqueſt; and ſummoned them to ſubmit to the Laws of *Rome*, and follow the Fortune of their Metropolis. *There are*, ſaid theſe Deputies to them, *but two Ways of getting Dominion; one by Force of Arms, the other by voluntary Ceſſion. As to the firſt*, Alba, *on whom you depended, being overcome and ſubdued, belongs to us: And the ſame Fortune of Arms which has ſubjected her, has brought you under Subjection to our Laws. And as to the ſecond, the* Albans *being now become Members of the* Roman *State, have voluntarily transferred to us, the Rights they at any time had over you. You are therefore become* Roman, *both by the Neceſſity of a juſt Conqueſt, and by a free Ceſſion of your Lands.*

To this, every particular City did not give the *Roman* Envoys a ſeparate Anſwer: It was in a general Aſſembly of the *Latin* Nation, that they determined to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. This Reſolution was taken at [125] *Ferentinum*. The *Latins* there choſe two Generals, to whom they gave a full Power of declaring War, or concluding a Peace, as they ſhould think fit. One of them, who was of the City of *Cora* [126], was called *Ancus Publicius*; the other, who was of *Lavinium*, was named *Spucius Vecilius*.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 175.

HOWEVER, the *Romans* underſtood their own Intereſts too well, to reduce a People to Extremities, whom they looked on as Part of their State. They therefore did not attack them in the new Way of coming to pitch'd Battles, or beſieging or demoliſhing Cities. They contented themſelves with making War upon the *Latins* after *Romulus*'s firſt Method. The *Roman* Legions entered *Latium* in the Time of Harveſt, diſturbed the Husbandmen, and did their Enemies ſome Miſchief. After theſe Excurſions, they returned to *Rome*, and ſent back the Priſoners they had taken, or exchanged them. *Medulia* alone, which had joined the *Romans* in *Romulus*'s Time, and whoſe Inconſtancy had drawn her into the Party of the *Latin* Cities, was beſieged and taken by King *Tullus*; and, as was then thought, put out of a Condition of ever taking up Arms again.

Year of *ROME* C. CI—CIX.

§. XVIII. THUS ended Diſſentions, which had laſted five Years: but which had rather amuſed *Rome*, than diſturbed her. Nevertheleſs, ſome Years after, the *Sabines* thought themſelves in a Condition to revenge their Quarrel upon *Rome*, and repair their Loſſes. They therefore ſpread themſelves in little Bodies, all over the *Roman* State: And as they met with but little Reſiſtance, their Preſumption made them believe they might go on to *Rome* it ſelf, and lay Siege to it. They depended upon the Defection of the *Latin* Cities: But not one of them joined them. *Tullus* had wiſely made a Truce with them. Nay, he encreaſed his Army with a great Number of theſe new Allies, and marched againſt the *Sabines:* And one ſingle Battle, fought near *the Malefactor's Foreſt*, made them once more ſenſible of the Superiority of *Rome*. Their Army was broken by the *Roman* Cavalry, and the Fugitives being purſued even to their Camp, were forced to abandon it to the Conqueror, who plundered it, and returned to *Rome* laden with Spoil.

125 The *Ferentinum* here ſpoken of was in *Latium*, near *Monte Albano*, in the ſame Place where *Marino* now ſtands, which is a ſmall City in *the Eccleſiaſtical State*. We can yet trace its Antiquity! the rich Ruins of ſeveral antient Monuments teſtify the Grandeur of this antient *Ferentinum*. Here the *Latins*, after the Deſtruction of *Alba*, uſed to hold their General Aſſembly when they wanted to deliberate on the Intereſts of their Nation. In the ſame Place was a Grove, which *Livy* called *Lucus Ferentina*. It was watered with a Rivulet which gave *Ferentinum* the Name of *Caput aquæ Ferentinæ*. It was in great Eſteem among the *Latins*, agreeably to the Superſtition of the Antients, who conſecrated Groves and Springs.

126 *Cora* was a City of the *Volſci*, between *Signia* and *Pometia*. It was built by *Dardanus*, if we may believe *Pliny:* But the moſt common Opinion is, that it was founded by the *Greeks*, under the Care of *Coras* and *Catillus*.

§. XIX. *TULLUS HOSTILIUS* advanced in Years; and as he grew old, fell into a Weakneſs incident to old Kings. His Devotion to the Gods degenerated into Superſtition, and his Religion ſunk into a ſhameful Credulity. Sometimes they told him that it rained Stones upon the Hill of *Alba*; ſometimes, that a Voice from Heaven was heard there, which commanded the *Albans* to reſume their religious Ceremonies, and the antient Rites of their Sacrifices. Whereas, theſe Stones which it had rained, were probably nothing but Hail of an extraordinary Size, which was hardened into Icicles; and this Voice from Heaven was, doubtleſs, no more than that of a Man hid in a Wood that was planted on the Top of the Hill. It was pretended, that the *Albans* needed a Reformation in Matters of Religion. It may be, likewiſe, that they had then left their own Ceremonies, to confine themſelves to thoſe of the *Romans*; or perhaps that Grief and Uneaſineſs had made ſeveral of them very indolent, as to the Worſhip of their Gods. However it was, the good King gave an eaſy Belief to theſe Prodigies. He appointed expiatory Sacrifices for nine Days; either becauſe the Voice from the Hill had commanded that Number, or becauſe the *Augurs* had enjoined it. At leaſt, it afterwards became a Cuſtom to employ nine Days in appeaſing Heaven, as oft as Men were alarmed with Prodigies of this Kind.

Year of *ROME* CIX.
TULLUS HOSTILIUS.

§. XX. BUT old Age had not yet given *Tullus* a Diſtaſte for Battles; nor had the Plague which had fallen upon *Rome* abated his warlike Temper. He was perſuaded that nothing contributed more to the Health of the *Roman* Youth than the bringing them out of the City, and leading them into the Field. And he had continued to habituate them to fatiguing Exerciſes, if a very long and very tedious Sickneſs had not made him incapable of Action. But at laſt, his Strength of Mind and Body failed him all at once. This warlike Prince, who in his Youth would have thought it a Diſhonour to have appeared zealous for the Ceremonies of the publick Worſhip, ran all the Lengths of every the leaſt-countenanced Superſtition. He is ſaid to have ſtudied Magick in *Numa*'s Books; and it is pretended, that the ill Performance of the Operations of a magical Enchantment, was the Cauſe of his Death. Hiſtorians give us different Accounts of it; and we will therefore relate it with all the different Circumſtances they have mentioned.

Year of *ROME* CX—CXIII.

THE Art of raiſing the Devil, under the Name of *Jupiter Elicius* [127], was, ſay they, known in *Italy*, from the Times of the old Kings of the *Aborigines*. We are aſſured, that *Faunus* and *Picus* practiſed it in their Time; and that, by their Enchantments, they forced this pretended Divinity to appear to them by the Side of a Spring in *Italy*, and were by him enabled to raiſe a Storm of Thunder and Lightning, when they pleaſed.

Year of *ROME* CXIII.

Arnob. B. 5.

THE Tradition of this Sorcery was continued down to *Numa Pompilius*'s Time; or at leaſt it's certain, he, in his Life-time, erected an Altar to *Jupiter Elicius*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. And for fear the manner of calling up this *Jupiter*, and bringing him upon Earth, ſhould be forgotten at *Rome*, *Numa* ſet it down in a Book, which he tranſmitted to his Succeſſors.

THIS Book *Tullus* is ſaid to have made his Study, and to have hid himſelf in a private Place, in order to perform this magical Sacrifice; in finiſhing which, he omitted ſome of the Rules preſcribed by *Numa*. And at this, ſay they, the enraged God, inſtead of appearing before the King, who called him up, ſet his Palace on Fire with Lightning. In ſhort, *Tullus*, the Queen his Wife, and their Children, were all conſumed together in the Flames.

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 31.

BUT other Hiſtorians, and they more in Number, baniſh out of the Story all thoſe wonderful Incidents, which ſome Writers have put into their Relations of this tragical Event. Theſe ſay, that *Tullus* periſhed by the Ambition and Sword

Dion. Hal. B. 3. *p.* 176.

127 *Ovid* acknowledges, that the Antients had the Secret of making *Jupiter* appear to them, doubtleſs by Thunder; and that he was for this Reaſon called *Jupiter Elicius*. His Words are,

Eliciunt cœlo te, Jupiter! unde minores
Nunc quoque te celebrant, Eliciumque vocant.

What *Arnobius* relates of the Artifice *Numa* made uſe of to diſcover the Secret of making Lightning in the Air, which they called *Jovem Elicere*, is a mere Fable. He ſays, that the ſecond King of *Rome* hid a Dozen young bold and ſtrong Fellows in a Wood, where *Faunus* and *Picus* uſed to appear; that theſe young Men carried Chains thither with them, to bind theſe two Divinities when they ſhould appear; and that the King commanded them to force the Secret of making Thunder out of *Picus* and *Faunus*, when they had them in their Chains. The Project accordingly ſucceeded, and *Numa* learned the Magick Secret. *Tullus Hoſtilius* periſhed, ſays he, for not practiſing it in due Form and Manner.

of

Year of ROME CXIII.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS. *Plutarch.*

of *Ancus Martius*, who ſucceeded him. *Numa* was Grandfather, by the Mother's Side to this *Roman Patrician*, who was the Son of *Pompilia*, the Daughter of that ſecond King of *Rome*, by a ſecond Venter. But *Ancus* ſaw his Hopes of the Throne begin to vaniſh. Old *Tullus* had Children, on whom the *Romans* might naturally enough caſt their Eyes, to raiſe them to their Father's Dignity.

HE therefore watched an Opportunity of deſtroying *Tullus* and all his Poſterity together: and in order to this, found Means to bring the moſt intimate Confidant the old King had, into his Meaſures. This Man gave *Ancus* Notice, that it was now a proper Time to attempt what he pleaſed, and that he might find all the Royal Family aſſembled together in a private Place, and without Guards. *Tullus Hoſtilius* was indeed getting ready to offer a domeſtick Sacrifice in a ſecret Part of his Palace, at which none were to be admitted, but his Wife, Children, and a few Confidants: And *Ancus* ſeized this Opportunity, which Fortune offered him, of aſcending the Throne. He went to the Place of the Sacrifice with a Company of Conſpirators, and there ſlew *Tullus* and all his Family. Then he ſet fire to the Palace; and by that means there remained not the leaſt Footſtep of his Crime. And then he ſpread abroad the Report of the Lightning which was ſaid to be drawn down from Heaven, by a magical Sacrifice, made to call up *Jupiter Elicius*.

NEVERTHELESS, this Account did not appear probable to *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*: *Would* Ancus Martius, ſays he, *have ventured to commit Parricide at an abſolute Uncertainty? He was not ſure*, continues he, *that the Choice of the* Romans *would infallibly fall upon him. Beſides, how could he conceal ſo notorious a Murder, which could not, doubtleſs, have been committed, without the Aſſiſtance of many Accomplices, who would have betrayed the Secret?* Theſe, and ſome other more frivolous Reaſons, incline that Hiſtorian to believe, that *Tullus* had drawn down the Wrath of Heaven upon himſelf, and his Children, by going into the Superſtitions of Magick.

TULLUS, who was more inclined to the Buſineſs of War, than that of Peace, left few new Laws behind him. The only one mentioned is, that whenever three Male Children ſhould for the future be born at a Birth, they ſhould, in Memory of the *Horatii*, be brought up at the publick Expence.

THOUGH the laſt Years of *Tullus* be allowed to have caſt ſome Stains upon his Memory; yet, upon the whole, it muſt be granted that few Kings have ſurpaſſed him in Courage. *Romulus* had firſt tried the *Roman* Valour, *Numa* had abated it, and *Tullus* revived and perfected it. He was the firſt, who reſtrained himſelf a little by the Rules of War, and confined it within juſter Bounds. He had one Fault; which was, that he was never expeditious enough to prevent the Enemy. He thought himſelf ſo ſure of Victory, that he ſcorned to prepare himſelf beforehand for the Battel. But in the Action, his Want of Precaution was ſupplied by his Preſence of Mind.

In ſhort [128], by a continual Succeſſion of Victories and Triumphs throughout the thirty-two Years of his Reign, he put the *Roman* State into a Condition of giving Law to the neighbouring Nations.

128 Antiquaries have preſerved ſeveral Medals, which teſtify that the Name and Family of King *Hoſtilius* continued very long after him. In one of them we ſee a Head with the Hair ſtanding an end; by which, as a learned Man conjectures, the Coiner intended to repreſent *Fear*, as he did in the other *Paleneſs*; in Memory of *Hoſtilius*'s Vow, to build a Temple to theſe two Divinities. On the Reverſe of a third Medal, is a winged Victory, carrying a Trophy, which repreſents the Triumphs of this King.

Silver.

Silver.

Silver.

THE
Roman Hiſtory.
BOOK III.

§. I. THE *Romans* continued to adhere ſtedfaſtly to the Laws they at firſt made, in relation to their Government. From the Deceaſe of *Romulus*, they had eſtabliſhed an *Interregnum* after the Death of each *King*. The Senators took their Turns in enjoying the Honours, performing the Offices, and charging themſelves with the Cares, of the regal Power and Authority, till the Election of a Succeſſor. And this antient Regulation was not departed from in the preſent Inſtance. Year of *ROME* CXIII.

WE find no mention in Hiſtory, either of the Obſequies the Senate decreed for *Tullus*, or of the Place of his Burial: Doubtleſs, becauſe he was looked upon as a Man ſtruck by the Gods, and therefore no Regard or Honour was paid to his Aſhes, which were, probably, mixed and confounded with thoſe of his Houſe. In the mean time the Senate gave Orders for aſſembling the *Roman* People, to proceed to the Election of a new King. Nobility of Deſcent, and perſonal Qualities ſpoke in favour of *Ancus Marcius:* And it muſt be ſuppoſed, that he was not ſo much as ſuſpected of having made any Attempt upon the late King's Life. The *Romans* conſidered him as a Man of an antient Family, which was originally *Sabine*, and made illuſtrious by King *Numa*, who was his Grandfather by the Mother's Side. Year of *ROME* CXIV.

ANOTHER *Marcius*, Grandfather by the Father's Side to him, on whom the *Romans* began to caſt their Eyes, had been the firſt Man who made any Impreſſions on *Numa*'s Obſtinacy, when he refuſed to leave his Solitude for the Government of *Rome*. He likewiſe followed his Relation thither, had a Seat in the Senate, and was made the firſt *Pontifex Maximus*. At the time of *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s Election, this firſt *Marcius* had been the moſt warm and active of any of his Competitors; and killed himſelf out of Vexation and Grief at the Preference which the *Roman* People had given to another, to his Prejudice. This *Marcius* had a Son, who added to his own Name, the *Prænomen* of *Numa*, and was made [1] *Prefect* of *Rome*, in the preceding Reign. He married *Pompilia* the Daughter of *Numa Pompilius*, and from this Match came *Ancus Marcius*, the fourth King of the *Romans*. *Plut. Life of* Numa. Year of *ROME* CXIV—CXVII.

IN ſhort, the *Roman Curiæ* elected him unanimouſly, and their Choice was confirmed by the Senate. As the [2] *Prænomina* among the *Romans* were then ſome-

[1] This ſort of Magiſtracy was not common in *Rome*. It was arbitrary, and only temporary. When the *Kings* or *Conſuls* were obliged to attend the Army, they ſometimes created a *Prefect* or Governour of *Rome* during their Abſence. In one of *Romulus*'s Wars, he, according to *Tacitus*, committed the Government of the City to one *Denter*. *Tullus Hoſtilius* gave the ſame Commiſſion to *Numa Marcius*, the Father of *Ancus Marcius*. But we muſt not confound this tranſient Commiſſion with an Office which was inſtituted, under the ſame Name, by *Octavius Auguſtus*, and with which that Emperor honoured *Mecænas*. From that time, this Office became common, and permanent: and as the Duties of it were very honourable, it had great Privileges annexed to it.

[2] Every *Roman* had ordinarily three, and ſometimes four Names. The firſt was called *Prænomen*, the ſecond *Nomen*, the third *Cognomen*, and the fourth *Agnomen*. The *Nomen* ſhewed the Family from which he was deſcended; the *Prænomen* and *Cognomen* were often Nick-names, taken from the Circumſtances of the Perſon's Birth, or his Defects, or his bodily Qualities. And the laſt Names were to ſome Titles of Honour, as thoſe of *Africanus*, *Germanicus*, &c. Thus the Prince of the *Roman* Orators was called *Marcus Tullius Cicero*. The *Prænomen Marcus* ſignified that he was born in the Month of *March*. His *Nomen*, or Name *Tullius*, was that of his Family; and his *Cognomen*, or Sir-name *Cicero*, denoted the Mark or Wart he had in his Face, which was like a *Vetch*, called *Cicer*. *Valerius* aſſures us, that *Ancus Martius* had his Name of *Ancus* only from the *Greek* Word ἀγκὼν, becauſe he had not the free Uſe of one of his *Elbows*.

Year of *ROME* CXIV—CXVII.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

times a kind of Nick-names, borrowed from ſomething peculiar to the Perſon, *Marcius* might poſſibly have the *Prænomen* of *Ancus*, from his having a *crooked* Arm; which is the proper Signification of this *Latin* Word.

§. II. THE firſt Inclination of the new King, was to reſtore the Government of *Rome* to that Form and Condition in which his Grandfather *Numa* had ſettled it. Immediately, therefore, after his Election, he aſſembled the People, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 177.

IF *the Plague, or other Diſeaſes, made the City deſolate in the preceding Reign, if even the Throne itſelf has been intoxicated, it is to be aſcribed to a Neglect of the Worſhip of the Gods. The Weakneſs and Decays of the late King, under the Preſſures and Infirmities of old Age, were at once both the Effect and Cauſe of his Diſregard of thoſe ſacred Ceremonies which his Predeceſſor had eſtabliſhed. The Love of Religion and the Laws was loſt amidſt the tumultuous Hurry and Confuſions of War. We, upon a Return to our former warlike Diſpoſitions, have again had recourſe to Robberies, as the proper Means of growing rich, and have ſatisfied our Avarice by Rapines and Injuſtice. What then is become of the Plan which* Numa *formed? His Deſign was, that we ſhould apply ourſelves to Husbandry with Diligence, and ſhould take our Uſury and Profits only from our Lands. Why do we neglect our Cattel? War indeed deprived us of the Means of ſupporting them: but let Peace now reſtore them.* This Diſcourſe made an Impreſſion upon the People; who all hoped for a Reign of Peace and Tranquillity, made happy by a Moderation of Deſires, and not interrupted by Ambition.

ACCORDINGLY, *Ancus* ſent back the Husbandmen, who were become Soldiers, to their Farms. He encouraged the skilful Farmers by Commendations; and puniſhed thoſe as unworthy Citizens, who neglected the Cultivation of their Lands.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 178.

FROM the Reformation of the Labours of the People, *Ancus* turned his Care and Application to the Re-eſtabliſhment of the Worſhip of the Gods. He aſſembled the *Pontifices*, received from them the Laws [3] and Ceremonies *Numa* had appointed, tranſcribed them on Boards of Oak, (for it was not yet cuſtomary to write them on Braſs;) and laſtly, propoſed them to the Publick, who were proper Judges of the Omiſſions or Alterations the *Pontifices* had made, or might make in them. By this means he re-eſtabliſhed the neglected Sacrifices, and reſtored Religion to its former Majeſty.

BUT *Ancus* was not pacifick by Inclination. The Example of his Grandfather *Numa* had indeed had great Force in ſoftening him, and influenced him more than his own natural Temper. But, at the bottom, he loved War; and had no diſlike to the Honours of a Triumph. His ſeeming Inclination to follow *Numa*'s Example in every thing, was not natural. Nevertheleſs, it made him be loved by his *Romans*, and deſpiſed by Foreigners. The firſt who took advantage of the publick Prejudices againſt him, were the *Latins*, who had been brought into Subjection to *Rome*, by a Treaty with *Tullus*. They ſhook off the Yoke of the *Romans*, committed Hoſtilities in their Territories, and pretended that their Obligations to obey *Rome*, died with *Tullus*. So that, all the Anſwer they would give to the Complaints made to them of their Breaches of

Livy, B. 1. ch. 32.

publick Faith, was, *We have to do with a lazy unactive King, who will ſpend his whole Time in building Temples, and waiting at the Altars.* But the *Latins* found to their Coſt, that they had been miſtaken in the Opinion they had formed of the new King. *Ancus Marcius* ſeems to have partaken both of the Spirit of *Romulus* and that of *Numa*. Like the latter, he dedicated the firſt Years of his Reign to Works of Peace; and like the former, employed the laſt Years of it in War

3 *Plutarch*, in his Account of the Funeral Proceſſion the *Romans* made for *Numa*, relates, that there were two Stone-Coffins buried at the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*. In one of which was the Body of the deceaſed King; in the other, the Books he had written with his own Hand. And this, ſays our Author, was done by *Numa*'s own Appointment. In his Life-time, he contented himſelf with explaining the Senſe of theſe Books to the Prieſts and *Pontifices*: and he thought it not decent to tranſmit thoſe Writings to the Vulgar, which contained the Secrets of Religion: which, if true, we muſt neceſſarily conclude from thence, that the *Pontifices* only gave *Ancus* a written Summary of the Laws which they had received from *Numa*'s Mouth, or which *Numa* himſelf had given them in Writing.

He obſerved indeed, that in the preſent Circumſtances, it was neceſſary to revive the Maxims of *Tullus*, and that he ſhould never be able to enjoy a ſafe and laſting Peace, otherwiſe than by repelling Injuries by Force.

Year of *ROME* CXIV—CXVII.

§. III. *ANCUS* therefore reſolved on making War with the *Latins*: and out of reſpect to the Laws of *Numa*[4], omitted no Ceremony in declaring it, which that Lawgiver had appointed.

ANCUS MARCIUS. Year of *ROME* CXVII.

A *Fecialis* was deputed to go to the *Latins*: who no ſooner arrived in the Territories of that People, to whom he was ſent to demand Satisfaction, but, having a Bonnet or Cap on his Head, which terminated in a Point on which were Tufts of Wool; he cried out, *Great* Jupiter, *and ye Confines of the* Latin *Nation, hearken to Juſtice. I come hither with a Deputation from the* Roman *People, in all the legal Forms, and I demand, that Credit be given to what I ſay.* After which formal Declaration, he laid open the Cauſes of his Complaints, and the Reaſon of his Demands; and then, after having called *Jupiter* to witneſs, that what he ſaid was true, he added theſe Words: *If I have unjuſtly, and without reaſon, here publickly laid open the Pretenſions of* Rome, *grant, great God, that I may never return again to my own Country.* And after his Demands had been rejected, he added yet further: *O* Jupiter, Juno, *thou* Romulus, *and all ye Gods of Heaven, of Earth, and of Hell; hearken! I call you all to witneſs, that the* Latins *are unjuſt. We will therefore enter into Deliberations at* Rome, *on the proper Means of obliging them to give us juſt Satisfaction.*

No ſooner was the *Fecialis* returned, but the King referred the Affair to the Senate: which he did in the Form preſcribed by *Numa*, addreſſing himſelf to every particular Senator, in theſe very Words: *Say, what think you of the Refuſal which the* Pater Patratus, *and whole Nation of the* Latins *have given the* Pater Patratus *of the* Romans, *of reſtoring and granting us what we demanded of them?* To which every Senator gave this Anſwer: *Let us again demand our Rights by a juſt and lawful War: This is the Opinion for which I declare myſelf.* And when the greateſt Part of the Senators had declared their Opinions in this manner, the War was conſidered as unanimouſly concluded on. Then the *Fecialis* went to the Confines of the Enemy's Country, carrying in his Hand a Javelin, which was either headed with Iron, or burnt at the End, and dipped in Blood. When he came to the Territory of the *Latins*, he pronounced the following preſcribed Form of Words, in the Preſence of at leaſt three Perſons, of a competent Age. *On account of the Damages which the* Latin *Nation has done the* Roman *People, and in obedience to a Decree made by the Senate and People of* Rome, *importing, that a War ſhould be entered into with the* Latins; *I, a* Roman Fecialis, *declare it and begin it.* At which Words, he threw a Dart upon the Enemy's Lands. All this Ceremonial had been inſtituted by *Numa*; tho' that Prince, who was never engaged in any War, had never put it in practice: And *Tullus*, who was active, and very expeditious in his Undertakings, did not confine himſelf to theſe tedious Formalities. But *Ancus Marcius* eſtabliſhed the Uſe of them; and from his Time they were always practiſed in declaring the Wars, into which the *Romans* entered. And it ought here to be obſerved, that at that Time, the *Kings* themſelves neither made uſe of their Names or Authority in Treaties: we find nobody mentioned in them, but the Senate and the People.

Livy, ibid.

As ſoon as the War had been declared, the *Roman* Army took the Field, under the Command of *Ancus*. We don't find that any of the *Kings* eaſed himſelf of the Care of heading Armies, by committing it to Generals: this was an Office peculiar to themſelves. When *Ancus* took his leave of the City, he left the Adminiſtration of holy Things to the *Pontifices* and other Prieſts. His Army entirely conſiſted of new-raiſed Troops; for the new King employed none of thoſe who had ſerved under *Tullus*. With theſe new Forces he came and encamped before

4 Some think that *Ancus Marcius* drew up the Law concerning the *Feciales*, which we have already mentioned, and is in *Tully*'s ſecond Book *de Legibus*: and that *Numa* only pronounced it by Word of Mouth. It runs thus: *Fœderum, pacis, belli, induciarum, Feciales, Oratores, Judiceſve ſunto, bella diſceptanto.* We have taken our Account of the Ceremonies the *Romans* uſed in declaring War with any Nation, from *Livy*, *B.* 1. and from *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 16.

Politorium,

Year of *ROME* CXVII.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid.

Politorium [5], a *Latin* City, which he found unprovided, and ſurpriſed it before the other *Latins* could throw any Succours into it. By what means he became Maſter of it, is very uncertain; ſome ſay by Storm, others by Capitulation. However, he ſignalized his Moderation in the midſt of his Victory; by not taking away the Life of one ſingle Perſon. He only tranſplanted the Inhabitants of *Politorium* to *Rome*; and ſpared the Walls of the City.

THIS firſt Conqueſt therefore gained *Ancus* the ſame kind of Glory which two of his Predeceſſors had acquired. He enlarged *Rome* as well as they, and extended it farther than it had yet reached. In order to find room for his new Citizens, he added the Hill *Aventinus* [6] to the City; but did not conſecrate the Boundaries of it with thoſe Ceremonies, with which the *Romans* firſt, the *Sabines* after them, and the *Albans* yet more lately, conſecrated the Incloſures of the Hills, which they came and inhabited in *Rome*. And to this additional Part of the City were alſo brought the Inhabitants of *Tellena* and *Ficana*, two Cities of antient *Latium*. *Ancus*, who made himſelf Maſter of them, obliged the Citizens to come and dwell on the Hill *Aventinus*, which was as it were a ſecond City united to that of *Rome*, but without any Conſecration.

THE Year after the taking of *Politorium* was remarkable for new Advantages. *Ancus* took the Field againſt the *Latins* a ſecond time. They had turned his Negligence or Compaſſion to their Advantage, and had re-peopled *Politorium*, which he had been imprudent enough not to deſtroy. And this Want of Precaution coſt him a new Siege, and procured him a new Victory. He made himſelf again Maſter of *Politorium* [7], and entirely demoliſhed it.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 179.

HOWEVER, this ſecond Conqueſt of this ſingle Place took him up a whole Campaign; which was no ſooner ended, but he led back his Troops into the *Roman* Territories.

Year of *ROME* CXVIII—CXXII.

§. IV. BUT the following Years brought yet more Misfortunes to the *Latins*, and more Glory to the King of *Rome*. *Ancus* turned the whole Streſs of the War to the Side of *Medulia*. This City had voluntarily ſubmitted to the *Romans*, in *Romulus*'s Time: but being afterwards rebellious, it had been taken and ſtrengthened with a *Roman* Colony, by way of Garriſon. But notwithſtanding this, it changed its Maſters a third time. Whilſt the *Romans* were buſy in repairing the Walls, the *Latins* came ſuddenly upon it, and took it by Surprize. Since which, three Years were already paſt, and the *Romans* not yet in a Condition to return before *Medulia*. The *Latins*, after having fortified it, had made it the Barrier of their Dominions: it therefore became the Object of the Jealouſy of the *Romans*; and *Ancus* turned all his Strength againſt it. But *Medulia* had like to have exhauſted both his Forces and his Conſtancy. At the Foot of its Walls, Victory had more than once wavered between the *Romans* and the *Latins*. The City was indeed defended by a ſtrong Garriſon, and was plentifully ſtored with Proviſions. And as the Army which defended it was not all confined within the Ramparts, ſeveral Battels were fought in Sight of the Beſieged.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid. Liv. B. 1. ch. 33.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid.

NOR were the *Romans* always victorious in them. *Ancus* therefore led his Troops to the Siege of *Medulia* for four Years ſucceſſively; and the Reſiſtance of the *Latins* was equal to the Valour and Perſeverance of their Enemies. But the fourth Year was deciſive. *Ancus* brought all the *Roman* Troops before the Place; where he found the *Latins* encamped without the Walls of the City, as uſual. It was therefore neceſſary to come to a Battel, before he could make any Aſſault upon it. Accordingly they engaged; and the *Romans* being Conquerors in the Plain, took the City and plundered it.

5 It is not eaſy to determine very exactly, where *Politorium*, *Tellena*, and *Ficana* ſtood. All we learn from antient Authors, is, that theſe three Cities were in *Latium*, at a little diſtance from one another, and a little above *Lavinium*, towards the Mouth of the *Tyber*.

6 This was the Hill *Remus* choſe for obſerving the flying of the Birds. And becauſe that was not an happy Augury to him; therefore, ſays *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 13. the *Romans* did not bring it within the Incloſure of *Rome*, conſecrating it, by making a Boundary round the Ramparts, which they called *Pomœrium*, and which Religion made ſacred. The Emperor *Tiberius* was the firſt who incloſed the Hill *Aventinus* within the common *Pomœrium* of the City. But it was nevertheleſs inhabited, even in the Time of the Kings: only its Incloſure was not conſecrated, and encompaſſed by the *Pomœrium* of *Rome*. It was only fortified, to prevent the City's being attacked on that Side.

7 *Pliny* joins two other Cities to *Politorium*, called *Pitulum* and *Scaptia*: but other Hiſtorians ſay nothing of them.

Year of *ROME* CXVIII—CXXII.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

BUT the victorious King did not lie idle. He turned his Arms againſt *Ficana*[8], a City which he had ſubdued three Years before, and whoſe Inhabitants he had carried to *Rome*, but which he had not taken Care to demoliſh. It muſt be confeſſed, the *Romans* then ſhewed more Valour in conquering, than Wiſdom in preſerving their Conqueſts. *Ancus* was obliged to lay Siege a ſecond time to *Ficana*, where the *Latins* had fortified themſelves.

AND it was not without Difficulty that he made himſelf Maſter of it. But he at length took it, and deſtroyed it with Fire and Sword. Nevertheleſs the *Latins* were not diſcouraged by their Loſſes; they appeared again in the Field, and did not refuſe the Battle which the *Roman* offered them. They ſhewed their Fury and Obſtinacy, in two pitch'd Battles, on two Days ſucceſſively. In the firſt Day's Engagement they flattered themſelves they had not been worſted; but in the ſecond, being routed and put into Diſorder, they were driven back by the *Romans* into their Entrenchments. After this, they durſt not hazard any more Battles; but were contented with dividing themſelves into ſmall Bodies, and making Inroads into the Country of the *Romans*, and plundering it. And the King of *Rome*, on his Part, only oppoſed them with ſmall Bodies of Troops, the Command of which he gave to a Foreigner, named *Tarquin*. This Man, who was lately come from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, to puſh his Fortune there, made a Figure already in the *Roman* Armies, and gained himſelf Reputation enough by his Valour, to pave the Way for his being ſoon elected King.

IN the mean time *Ancus* returned to *Rome* full of Glory, after ſo many Conqueſts. Nevertheleſs, whether he then received the Honours of the Triumph[9], for putting ſo glorious an End to the War with the *Latins*, is uncertain. But this is ſure, that he brought with him a prodigious Multitude of *Latins*, and made them all Citizens of *Rome*. He placed them all within the Walls of his Capital; and poſſibly, in the Valley which lies between the Hills *Aventinus* and *Palatinus*. Which Valley was to that time called *Vallis Murtia*, or *Myrtia*; doubtleſs, either becauſe it was planted with *Myrtles*, or becauſe in it ſtood a Temple dedicated to *Venus*, who had alſo the Name of *Myrtia*, or *Murtia*[10]. *Liv. B. 1. c. 33.*

§. V. *ROME* was exceedingly enlarged in the Reign of *Ancus Marcius*. For this Prince was not content with carrying its Walls round the Hill *Aventinus*, but had Thoughts likewiſe of extending it beyond the *Tyber*. The Hill[11] *Janiculus*, which lay beyond the River, incommoded the City; which was commanded by it, and whatever was done in *Rome*, might eaſily be diſcovered from the Top of it. But on the other hand, the Treaties between *Romulus* and the *Hetrurians* had made the *Tyber* the common Boundary between the *Roman* Dominions and theirs.

HOWEVER, *Ancus* had no Regard to them; he made the frequent Incurſions of the *Hetrurians* upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, his Pretence for breaking thro' them: And complained, that the *Roman* Merchants had been often plundered there, and that the Navigation up and down the River was not ſafe.

BESIDES, he thought this ſlight Encroachment upon the *Hetrurians*, neceſſary for the publick Good, and the common Safety. He therefore undertook to en- *Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 182.*

8 It is certain, the City here meant is *Ficana*, and not *Fidenæ*, as we read in ſome Editions of *Dion. Hal.* upon the Credit of certain Manuſcripts. If we had either the Authority of *Sigonius*, nor *Gelenius*, nor *Portus*, we would appeal to *Dion. Hal.* himſelf, in Proof of it. This Hiſtorian ſays the following Campaign was memorable for the Revolt and taking of *Fidenæ*. He could not therefore ſay, that this City had been deſtroyed the preceding Campaign; unleſs we will charge ſo ſenſible an Author with the groſſeſt Contradiction.

9 Here the *Faſti Capitolini* begin to give us ſome Light concerning the Triumphs of the Kings of *Rome*. It appears by the Space left in the Marble, tho' the Words are effaced by Time, that *Ancus Martius* triumphed twice. The firſt Time poſſibly for having overcome the *Veientes*, *de Veientibus*, as *Sigonius* believed. Which if true, it's probable his ſecond Triumph was for having overcome the *Latins*: For we at preſent find in thoſe *Faſti*, this Piece of a Word NEIS, which we may imagine was originally at length, *de Latineis*.

10 The Valley which lay between the Hills *Aventinus* and *Palatinus*, was planted all over with Myrtles. Which, probably, was the Reaſon why a little Temple was built there to *Venus*, at the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*, which alſo bore the Name of *Mons Myrtius*. It is well known the *Myrtle* was dedicated to *Venus*. In this Plain, *Ancus Marcius* placed the *Latins* he brought to *Rome*.

11 This Hill was called *Janiculus*, either becauſe *Janus* lived upon it, or becauſe he there built a City, which was called by his own Name, or becauſe he was buried there, or becauſe this Hill was as it were the *Gate* (*Janua*) and Paſſage from the *Roman* State into *Hetruria*.

Year of *ROME* CXXII. ANCUS MARCIUS. *Dio. B.* 37.

compaſs the Hill *Janiculus* with Walls, and to make it a ſort of Citadel [12] for *Rome*. It is certain, this Hill was not at that time any Part of the City, but was entirely ſeparated from it. For certainly, if the Iſland formed in the *Tyber*, was then not thought to belong to the City, much leſs could the Hill *Janiculus*, which ſtood on the oppoſite Bank, be thought to be contained within it.

BUT now that *Rome* had extended its Fortifications beyond the *Tyber*, it was neceſſary to build a Bridge over it, for a Communication between the City and the new Citadel. And for this Purpoſe, the *Romans* choſe the Place where the River beats againſt the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus*; and built it there. It was of Wood [14], but ſo well ſupported by Pieces of Timber mortiſed into one another, that it was both ſafe for Paſſage, and eaſy to be taken in Pieces to ſtop an Enemy. It was called *Sublicius* [15], from the Beams of which it was made, and the *Piles* in the River upon which it ſtood; for the Word *Sublica* ſignifies both. This was the firſt Bridge that was built over the *Tyber*, and perhaps in *Italy*.

Livy, ibid.

AND as this very wide Tract of Ground upon which *Rome* ſtood, was filled with a confuſed Multitude of different Nations, whom the Fate of War had brought thither from ſeveral neighbouring Cities; hence it came to paſs, that Profligates multiplied there together with the Inhabitants. It was eaſy to commit Robberies and Aſſaſſinations within this large Tract of Land, ſome Parts of which could be but little frequented, by reaſon of its vaſt Extent. In order therefore to ſuppreſs the Licentiouſneſs of this numerous People, *Ancus* built a Priſon in the very Heart of the City, even in the *Roman Forum*, at the Foot of the Hill *Capitolinus*. Before his time, the Innocence of the *Romans* had made them Strangers to Impriſonments.

BUT if *Ancus* by this means ſtruck Terror into his Subjects, he by others ſecured both their Eſtates and their Lives. The City was no where defended againſt ſudden Irruptions, otherwiſe than by a Wall, which could be but a ſmall Defence againſt an Enemy. In the flat Valleys with which it was ſurrounded, there were ſeveral Places where an Enemy might eaſily have ſurprized it. In theſe Places therefore *Ancus* dug a wide Ditch, which always bore the Name of *Foſſa Quiritium*, becauſe all the People were employed in this important Fortification.

HISTORY does not indeed tell us the exact Number of Years which *Ancus* ſpent in theſe publick Works, but one would readily imagine that they could not be compleated without a long interval of Peace. And yet it's certain, that this Prince, who ſeems to have been born to repreſent one while the warlike *Romulus*, and another the pacifick *Numa*, ſoon exchanged Peace for War.

§. VI. THE firſt Enemies which felt the Return of his martial Diſpoſition, were the *Fidenates*. The City of *Fidena*, which was always rebellious, and always covert in her Deſigns, did not indeed make open War with the *Romans*; but only ſent little Detachments privately, to go and commit Ravages in the *Roman* Dominions.

12 *Dio*, *B.* 36. and *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 16. tell us the *Janiculus* was not a Part of *Rome*, in ſuch a manner as leaves no room to doubt of it. The former ſays, that as oft as the *Roman* People were drawn out into Centuries, this Army which was to defend and protect the City, was drawn up on the *Janiculus*. When at the ſame time he (and *Aulus Gellius* yet more clearly) declares, that it was not lawful to bear Arms in the City, or bring an Army into it. *Quia extra urbem exercitum imperari oporteat, intra urbem imperari jus non ſit.* Whence it follows, that the *Janiculus*, where an Army was drawn up, was thought to be without the City. In this manner do theſe two Authors reaſon about this Hill.

13 *Plutarch* and *Pliny* aſſure us, that the Iſland formed by the *Tyber* was not a Part of *Rome*. The former, in his *Roman Queſtions*, asks, why the Temple of *Æſculapius*, which was certainly in this Iſland, was placed without the City. And he gives two Reaſons for it: The firſt, becauſe the Air is generally more pure and wholſome out of Cities than in them. And the ſecond, becauſe it was not thought proper to bring the *Epidaurians*, who brought that God with them, into *Rome*. And *Pliny* ſays expreſly, *B.* 29. *c.* 1. that the Iſland of the *Tyber* was not in *Rome*. *Templum Æſculapium, etiam cum reciperetur is Deus, extra urbem fuiſſe, Tyberiſque in inſula, traditur.*

14 *Plutarch* ſays, that neither Iron nor Copper were made Uſe of in the firſt Building of this Bridge, and that by Order of an antient Oracle. But *Pliny* pretends on the contrary, that the *Romans* avoided cramping and ſupporting it with Iron, only after the War with *Porſenna*; and that becauſe they then found it very difficult to break it down, whilſt *Horatius* alone was defending it againſt the Enemy.

15 It's true, the Words *Pons Sublicius*, ſignify a *Bridge of Wood:* But I believe likewiſe that *Sublicius* was the proper Name of this Bridge, and that we ought to tranſlate them, *the Bridge Sublicius*; and not, *the Bridge of Wood*. This Name *Sublicius*, comes partly from the antient Word *licio*, which ſignifies *to join*. The Care of ſupporting and repairing this Bridge, belonged at firſt to the *Pontifices*, and afterwards to the *Queſtors*. We learn from *Plutarch*, that the *Queſtor Æmilius* built a Stone Bridge, inſtead of this wooden one, about the Year of *Rome* 747.

This *Ancus* could not be ignorant of, and therefore reſolved to revenge it. And in order to it, neglected the Formalities preſcribed by *Numa*, perhaps becauſe the Buſineſs was not ſo much to make War with a foreign Nation, as to puniſh Rebels. He marched his Army to *Fidena*, without ſending a *Fecialis* thither, and ſurprized it unawares. The *Fidenates* excuſed themſelves at firſt, with alledging that the Plunder of the *Roman* Lands had not been authorized by any publick Edict: And the *Romans*, who were very willing to take this Excuſe, gave them time to find out the Authors of thoſe many Hoſtilities. But this was only a Pretence, with reſpect to the unjuſt *Fidenates*. They employed the Time given them in making Preparations for War, in ſoliciting Succours from the neighbouring Nations, and in ſtoring themſelves with Proviſions. But the King of *Rome* broke all their ſecret Meaſures, and puniſhed their Treachery. He invented the Art of penetrating into their City, and taking it by Sap.

Year of *ROME* CXXX.

ANCUS MARCIUS.

THIS is the firſt Inſtance of this Kind of Attack, which we meet with in the old *Roman* Story. *Ancus* actually dug a Way under Ground, from his Camp, quite under the Walls of *Fidena*; which Way was doubtleſs divided into ſeveral Branches. Thro' theſe ſubterranean Paſſages, ſome *Roman* Soldiers paſſed quite under the Ramparts of the City: And when the Works of the Miners were ſufficiently advanced, *Ancus* led up the Bulk of his Army to the Foot of the Wall, as if he intended to ſcale it, in Places which were at a Diſtance from thoſe which he had undermined. And it is probable, that they actually attempted to ſcale the Walls in ſeveral Parts of the City at the ſame time, in order to keep all the Forces of the *Fidenates* in Play. When therefore the Beſiegers and the Beſieged were moſt hotly engaged, the *Roman* Miners ſtarted up out of the ſubterranean Paſſages they had dug, which opened into the City: And they no ſooner entered it, but they immediately ran to the Gates, which they opened to their Companions, and put *Ancus* in Poſſeſſion of the rebellious *Fidena*. It is to be preſumed, that in the firſt Fury of the Soldiers, in a City taken by Aſſault, much Blood muſt have been ſhed: But *Ancus* put a Stop to the Rage of his Soldiers, and made Proclamation by an Herald, that the Citizens ſhould retire to a Part of their City which he named. After this, the Lives of none of this aſſembled Multitude were taken away, excepting only a few who had been moſt guilty and active in the Revolt; and they were firſt whipped, as the Laws directed. The reſt, who were Spectators of the plundering of their Houſes, were permitted to live in their own City, in which *Ancus* left a ſtrong Garriſon, which kept them to their Duty.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 180.

THE *Romans* now became daily more and more knowing in the Art of War. Their King gave a freſh Proof of his Skill, in the War he was obliged to make with the *Sabines*. The *Romans* had then ſeldom any Reaſons for taking Arms againſt their Neighbours, but what were founded on ſome Depredations which they accuſed them of committing in their Territories: and this was the Pretence which the King of *Rome* took hold of, againſt the *Sabines*. They had thought themſelves free from their Engagements with *Rome*, ever ſince the Death of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, and had ſpread themſelves upon the *Roman* Frontiers, and plundered them. *Ancus* therefore marched againſt them, and divided his Troops into two Bodies. He advanced at the Head of his Infantry towards their Camp, which he found in a manner unguarded. The greateſt Part of the *Sabine* Army was gone in ſearch of Spoil, into the *Roman* Territories: and the King therefore took Poſſeſſion of their Camp without Reſiſtance. In the mean time, the *Roman* Cavalry, commanded by *Tarquin*, came up with the *Sabines* as they were returning from pillaging, in expectation of finding a Retreat in their Tents: But, to their great Surprize and Conſternation, they found the Enemy in Poſſeſſion of them: at which they threw away their Plunder in Terror and Deſpair, and fled with Precipitation towards the Mountains. However, a Troop of *Romans* light armed purſued them with ſuch Expedition, and fought them with ſuch Fury, that they let few of them eſcape their Vengeance. And the *Sabines*, whoſe Meaſures were more diſconcerted by the Art, than the Bravery of the *Roman*, ſent a Deputation to *Rome*, and obtained a Peace upon eaſy Terms: For as the *Romans* then begun their Wars on very ſlight Pretences, ſo they likewiſe put an end to them on very ſlight Satisfactions.

Year of *ROME* CXXXI.

§. VII. THE

Year of *ROME* CXXXI.

§. VII. THE four following Years of Peace, which *Ancus Marcius* enjoyed, were probably ſpent in erecting a famous Monument of it, which contributed more to eternize the Memory of his Reign, than any Victories he gained. Hiſtory does not indeed give us the exact Date of the Foundation of the Port of *Oſtia*; but it is certain it was the Work of the fourth King of *Rome*. *Ancus* had extended his Conqueſts as far as the Sea, and brought the Mouth of the *Tyber* within his Dominion. This led him to conſider, that it would be an eaſy matter to bring great Advantages to *Rome* from a Trade by Sea, and he extended his Views beyond *Italy*. He therefore examined the Courſe of the River, from the Place where it waſhed the Walls of *Rome*, to that where it emptied itſelf into the *Tyrrhenian* Sea: and he found the City to be ſixteen Miles Diſtance from his intended Port. The *Romans* had yet received no Benefit from the Neighbourhood of the Sea, becauſe nothing was yet done to defend the Mouth of the *Tyber*; and becauſe this Port, though well formed by Nature, was hitherto unimproved by Art. But *Ancus* loſt no Advantage which the Situation offered him: He foreſaw, that as the River was capable of carrying ſmall Boats quite up to its Head, and of bearing pretty large Merchant-Ships from the Sea to *Rome*, his Capital would thereby become a Center of Commerce by Sea and Land. As to the Mouth of the *Tyber* itſelf, he obſerved that every thing favoured his Deſign of making it a Port. The River was wide where it joined the Sea, and the Bays it formed were as ſpacious as thoſe of the beſt Ports in the World [16]. Beſides, no Bars of Sand hindered Ships from entering it, or made it difficult to unload them; an Accident which often happens in the Mouths of Rivers. And what's more, the *Tyber* was free from Flats, running only in one Channel, without dividing itſelf into many Branches. So that Merchant-Ships could enter it without difficulty, and be eaſily towed up to *Rome*. The larger Veſſels might lie at Anchor in the Road, till they were, by the Help of great Boats, unloaded and loaded again, without Danger from any Wind but the Weſt, which could at worſt only drive them out to Sea.

CXXXII—CXXXV. ANCUS MARCIUS.

SUCH was the Port the King made: and to it he added a City, which took the Name of *Oſtia* from the Word *Oſtium*, which ſignifies the *Entrance* or Mouth of a River. He founded it on the left Bank of the *Tyber*, in the Elbow which the Sea makes there. This City continues to this Day; but the Port, through the Alterations Time has made in it, does by no means come up to the Deſcription *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* has left us of it.

THE ſame Prince likewiſe enlarged the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, which was, till that Time, ſcarce big enough to hold twenty Perſons. And this is at leaſt one Proof of his Concern for Religion.

AND to make his Labours uſeful to his People, as he was now become Maſter of the Sea-ſhore, he dug Salt-Pits there; the Salt of which was applied *gratis* to publick Uſes: And he was the firſt King of *Rome* who diſtributed upwards of ſix thouſand * *Minots* of it among his Subjects: whereby he laid the Foundation of the publick Liberalities called *Congiaria* [17], which were afterwards very common in *Rome*, and promoted the Intrigues of the Ambitious.

Plin. B. 3. c. 7.

Year of *ROME* CXXXV.

§. VIII. BUT whilſt *Rome* enjoyed Peace, the *Veientes* were not idle: They had the Year before made Incurſions into the *Roman* Territories; and had ſhed much *Roman* Blood. *Ancus Marcius*, who found himſelf obliged to engage with a fierce Nation, and a Part of the *Hetrurian* Body, aſſembled together all the Troops he had either in the City or the Country, and added to them the Succours his Allies ſent him.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 181.

WITH this formidable Army he paſſed the *Tyber*, and entered the Territories of the *Veientes*, bringing Ruin and Deſolation wherever he came. He immediately forced the Enemy to put a ſtop to their Depredations, after his Horſe had beaten

16 *Strabo* had not ſo good an Opinion of this Port, as *Dion. Hal.* had. This antient Geographer ſays, *B. 5.* that it was not a very extraordinary one, in that it was but an indifferent Place to anchor in, becauſe the *Tyber* was here very muddy.

* The *French Minot* is half a *Mine*, which is half a *Setier*, which contains twelve Buſhels: So that 6000 *Minots* amount to 18000 Buſhels. But if by *Minot* is meant the *Medimnus*, then the whole, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, amounts either to about 6000 or 9000 *Engliſh* Buſhels, there being two Sorts of *Medimni*.

17 This was the Name given to thoſe free Diſtributions which the Magiſtrates and Emperors made among the People. The Word *Congiarium* was taken from that of *Congius*, which was a Meaſure in Uſe among the antient *Romans*, and of which we ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

theirs; and then he drew them into the open Field, where remaining Conqueror, after a bloody Battel, he made himſelf Maſter of their Camp. Year of *ROME* CXXXVI. ANCUS MARCIUS.

NEVERTHELESS, this firſt Diſadvantage did not diſcourage the *Veientes*. The Year following, they again broke the Truce their Nation had made with *Rome*; and thought themſelves ſtrong enough to re-conquer all the Country they had formerly yielded up to *Romulus* by Treaty. But *Ancus* defeated them near the Salt-Pits; and gained a more ſignal Victory over them, than that of the preceding Year: So that the Senate gave publick Proofs of their Gratitude to the Conqueror; who was carried, to return Thanks to the Gods [18], in Triumph: And *Ancus* likewiſe rewarded the Merit of *Tarquin*, who had diſtinguiſhed himſelf at the Head of the *Roman* Cavalry. Though a Stranger, he promoted him to the Rank of a *Patrician*, and gave him a Place in the Senate: which was the firſt Step of Honour by which he aſcended to the Throne.

THE *Veientes* thus ſubdued, the *Volſci* were too near *Rome*, not to be treated as Enemies. They were, in their turn, accuſed of having entered the Territories of their formidable Neighbours, in Arms; and War was declared againſt them. In which *Ancus* took Spoil enough from them to have made the *Romans* amends for their Loſſes: but the ambitious King was not ſo intent upon barely gaining a juſt Satisfaction, as upon enlarging his Dominions. He therefore went and laid Siege to *Velitræ* [19], the Capital of the *Volſci*; and he carried it on with that Bravery, and eſpecially with that Addreſs in attacking Places, to which the *Romans*, before his Time, were Strangers.

WHEN the Beſieged were reduced to great Extremities, they ſent the old Men out of their City, as Suppliants: who promiſed to make whatever Reparations the King required, for the Injuries done to *Rome*, and to deliver up the Offenders to his Juſtice. Upon which, the *Roman* obſerved the Maxim of his Country, which was, *to pardon the Nations who ſubmitted themſelves*. He made a Truce with them: And as they afterwards honeſtly made the amends they had promiſed, he concluded a Peace with them, and ranked them among the Friends and Allies of *Rome*.

IN the mean time, there yet remained ſome of the *Sabines* unconquered. There were yet among them, in a Country into which the *Romans* had not penetrated, ſeveral formidable Nations, who were both jealous of the Proſperity of *Rome*, and in a Condition to purſue the Dictates of their Jealouſy. Theſe firſt began their Hoſtilities, by ſending little Parties into the *Roman* Territories; and afterwards ventured to attack the *Romans* with a great Army which they brought into the Field. The indefatigable King marched his Troops againſt the audacious *Sabines* with great Expedition: and by one Battel, wherein he came off Conqueror, made them both more ſubmiſſive, and leſs enterpriſing. The Victory was indeed long diſputed; and the Conſtancy of the *Romans*, who were more inured to War, and were ſtronger to bear the Fatigues of it, was what alone turned the Balance in their favour. They took poſſeſſion of the Enemy's Camp; and the Money they found in it, both repaired their Loſſes and rewarded their Labours. What ſome ſay, of *Ancus*'s having then obtained the Honours of a Triumph, may be queſtioned: but it is certain he returned victorious to *Rome*, where he ſpent ſome time in Tranquillity. Year of *ROME* CXXXVIII.

§. IX. As to his Death, if we may believe *Plutarch*, it was a violent one. *Of all the Succeſſors of* Numa, ſays he, *none of the Kings of* Rome *died a natural Death*, Year of *ROME* CXXXIX.

18 This ſecond Triumph of *Ancus Marcius* will always be matter of Diſpute among the Learned. *Pighius* pretends that it was over the *Sabines*; his Proof of which is this, that in the defaced Marble of the *Faſti Capitolini*, we only read the Letters NEIS, which, he ſays, can no otherwiſe be made intelligible than by ſuppoſing it to have been *de* SABINEIS. But as it may as well be read *de* LATINEIS, and underſtood of the *Latins*, I don't ſee why this Triumph may not as well be aſcribed to his Victory over them, as to that over the *Sabines*. It's true, *Pighius* had regard in this, to the Order of Time; King *Ancus* had already conquered the *Latins* when he ſubdued the *Veientes*: whence he concludes, that if his firſt Triumph was for his having conquered the *Veientes*, the ſecond muſt have been on account of his Victories over the *Sabines*. It muſt be granted, that the *Faſti Capitolini* are always very exact in placing the Triumphs according to their Years. But as *Dion. Hal.* is miſtaken in giving *Ancus Marcius* but one Triumph, when he had two; why may he not as well be miſtaken in placing *Ancus*'s War with the *Sabines*, before that with the *Veientes*?

19 *Velitræ*, formerly a City of the *Volſci*, now bears the Name of *Veletri*, or *Beletri*, and is in the *Campagna di Roma*.

Year of ROME CXXXIX.

but Tarquin the Proud, *who died of old Age in Exile.* But the reſt of the Hiſtorians give us ſo plain and ſimple an Account of it, as leaves no room for a Suſpicion of Violence. 'Tis true, the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, tells us *Ancus* came to an untimely End: but this was doubtleſs only becauſe it happened at a time when it was leaſt ſuſpected, and before he arrived at an Age which threatned him with the near Approach of it. And, whatever antient Authors may ſay of it, the more modern ones, at leaſt *Euſebius* and St. *Auſtin*, impute it to Sickneſs.

De Civit. Dei, B. 3. c. 15.

Nor are Hiſtorians leſs divided about the Number of Years *Ancus* reigned, than about the manner of his Death. Thoſe of the latter Ages confine his reign to twenty-three Years, whilſt the more antient, as *Livy* and *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus*, make him reign twenty-four [20]. As to his Character, his Virtues made him equally famous both in War and Peace. He ſtands in the middle of the ſeven Kings of *Rome:* and as he was inferior to none that went before him, ſo he was ſcarce excelled by any that came after him. *Romulus* had left the Bravery of the *Romans* in all its Fierceneſs. *Numa* had indeed ſoftened them, but by an Exceſs of Indolence and Superſtition. *Tullus* had reduced the *Roman* Virtue to an auſtere and unpoliſhed Love of their Country. But *Ancus Marcius* civilized the City, without enervating it; took care of the Worſhip of the Gods, without making it burdenſome to his Subjects; made uſe of the natural Bravery of the *Romans*, without giving them up to their Impetuoſity; always fought regularly, ſet Laws to his Victories, and introduced Art and Skill in the manner of forming Camps, and taking Towns. It may likewiſe be ſaid, he firſt introduced a Regularity in the publick Buildings erected in *Rome*. He did not indeed make them magnificent: he thought it enough to make the many publick Edifices he raiſed, ſomewhat decent and ſolid: And laſtly, he improved the Mouth of the *Tyber* to the Advantage of Trade. By this means, he invited Strangers to come and enrich *Rome*, and opened a Way for his Succeſſors to extend their [21] Conqueſts beyond the Seas. The only Defect which Antiquity reproaches him with, is this; that he loved Praiſe to exceſs; and being too proud of his Nobility, boaſted of it with Oſtentation.

Euſeb. Caſſiod. & Eutrop.

Virgil.

ANCUS MARCIUS [22] left two Sons behind him at his Death; one in his Cradle, and the other near fifteen Years of Age. Their Father had committed them to

Brass *Silver*

20 According to this, *Ancus* muſt have been about ſixty-one Years old when he died. He was five, according to *Plutarch*, at the End of *Numa*'s Reign; to which if we add the thirty-two Years of *Tullus Hoſtilius*'s Reign, that will make thirty-ſeven Years; which, if added to twenty-four Years of his own Reign, the whole will be juſt ſixty-one.

21 *Ancus* extended the *Roman* Territories, according to *Livy*, as far as the *Mæſian* Foreſt, which he took from the *Hetrurians*. This Foreſt is thought to have ſtood in the Place, where at preſent ſtands *il Boſco di Boccano*, towards the River *Cremera*, not far from *Oſtia*.

22 The *Marcian* Family gloried in reckoning the Kings *Numa* and *Ancus* among their Anceſtors, whom they carried up to *Marcius*, who was firſt *Pontifex Maximus*, and afterwards *Prefect* of *Rome*, under King *Tullus Hoſtilius*. This *Marcius* married *Pompilia*, the Daughter of King *Numa*, by whom he had *Ancus Marcius*, from whom the *Patrician* Family of the *Marcii* deſcended in a right Line: for there was at *Rome* a *Plebeian* Family of the ſame Name, which came from the *Marcii* in a collateral Line. The Deſcendants, or they who pretended to be ſo, of this Family, publiſhed the Antiquity of it, in ſeveral Medals. The firſt of thoſe above bears an Head of *Ancus*; and on the Reverſe an Aqueduct and an equeſtrian Statue, with theſe Words, *Aqua Marcia. Pliny* pretends that this Aqueduct was begun by *Ancus*'s Commands, in order to ſupply *Rome* with Water. But beſides that *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* ſay nothing of it; it is very improbable that *Ancus* ſhould, for the ſake of building this Canal, have encroached very far upon the neighbouring Provinces, which were not under the Juriſdiction of *Rome*. The equeſtrian Statue, according to *Patinus*'s Conjecture, repreſents that which *Livy* ſays was erected by Order of the Senate, in honour to one *Marcius Tremulus*, who conquered the *Samnites* twice, and made himſelf Maſter of *Anagnia*. The double Head on the ſecond Medal repreſents *Numa Pompilius* and *Ancus Marcius*.

the

Year of *ROME* CXXXIX.

the Tuition of the ambitious *Tarquin*; doubtleſs not imagining that a Stranger, who was lately ſettled at *Rome*, could carry away the Suffrages of the People from his Son, and put the Crown upon his own Head. But the Addreſs of *Tarquin* (who was of *Greek* Extraction, a Man of great Subtlety, and underſtood the Art of gaining upon a Populace which had not yet loſt all Remains of Barbarity) ſucceeded, notwithſtanding the Care and Precautions of the late King.

§. X. *TARQUIN* was the Son of a Merchant in *Corinth*, named *Damaratus*; who, tho' in Trade, was yet of one of the moſt illuſtrious Families in his Country. He is ſaid to have ſprung from the [23] *Bacchiadæ*, who deſcended from *Hercules*. And this at leaſt is certain, that the *Bacchiadæ* did reign at *Corinth*, when the Tyrant *Cypſelus* deprived them of the Crown; and that he did his utmoſt utterly to deſtroy every the leaſt Branch of the Family of the antient Kings. *Damaratus* therefore came for Protection from the Fury of the Tyrant, into the Countries which he had known by the means of Commerce. He often made Voyages on the Coaſts of *Italy*, and carried Merchandizes from *Greece* to *Hetruria*, and from *Hetruria* to *Greece*. And as he traded upon his own Bottom, in a Ship built at his own Expence, and commanded by himſelf, he heaped up immenſe Riches. That he might ſecure them from the Rapines of *Cypſelus*, he put all his Effects on board, took his leave of *Corinth*, and came and landed at *Tarquinia* [24], then one of the moſt famous Cities in *Hetruria*. Here his Nobility and great Wealth enabled him to marry an *Hetrurian* of great Diſtinction: and by her he had two Sons, to whom he gave *Hetrurian* Names, calling the one *Arunx*, and the other *Lucumo*. Theſe two Children were inſtructed in the Learning of the *Greeks*, and at the ſame time taught the Cuſtoms and Sciences of *Hetruria*. *Arunx*, who was the eldeſt, married one of the moſt conſiderable Women in the Country where he reſided, and thereby made advantageous Alliances among the *Hetrurians*. But he died before his Father: and his Wife was with child, tho' not viſibly ſo, when *Damaratus* himſelf died of Grief for the Loſs of *Arunx*, after having firſt diſpoſed of his Eſtate by Will. As he was ignorant of his Daughter-in-law's being with child, he left the whole to *Lucumo* his ſecond Son. So that the poſthumous Son of *Arunx* was diſinherited before he was born: and therefore bore the melancholy Name of *Egerius*, (from *egere*, *to want*) on account of the Poverty to which he was reduced.

LUCUMO being now ſole Maſter of the immenſe Riches of his Father, aſpired at the higheſt Dignities in *Tarquinia*: and *Tanaquil* his Wife, who was not inſenſible of her noble Deſcent, and whoſe Virtue was more worthy of *Rome* than *Hetruria*, ſtirred up her Husband's Ambition, and was impatient till ſhe ſaw him placed in a Rank equal to their Extraction. But the Misfortune was, that *Lucumo* was looked on, in *Hetruria*, as a Foreigner: and this ſingle Conſideration hindered his Advancement to the publick Poſts of the Nation wherein he dwelt. So that the rich *Greek* was in Danger of ſpending his beſt Days in the low Sphere of an unactive private Life. Rouzed therefore by the Reproaches of the aſpiring *Tanaquil*, he determined to remove to *Rome*, where two *Sabines* had been Kings, where Strangers were received with Marks of Diſtinction, and where perſonal Merit was the ſureſt and only Means of arriving at the Dignities of the State. *Tanaquil* readily forſook her own Country, to go to *Rome*, and there try her Fortune with her Husband. At the ſame time ſeveral other *Hetrurians*, who were attached to *Lucumo* and *Tanaquil*, removed with them, and preferred *Rome* to *Tarquinia*.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 184, 185.

23 The *Bacchiadæ*, a Family in *Corinth*, came originally from *Bacchis* the Son of *Prumnis*, and Sovereign of that City. During the Celebration of the *Orgia*, they tore *Actæon* the Son of *Meliſſus* in pieces. The Father therefore came in Deſpair to the *Iſthmian* Games, where, after having made horrid Imprecations againſt the *Corinthians*, if they did not revenge the Death of his Son, he threw himſelf down a Precipice. Upon this the People of *Corinth*, to avert the Evils they feared, baniſhed the *Bacchiadæ*, ſome of whom embarked, and came and ſettled in *Sicily*. They had long enjoyed the Government of *Corinth* in common. They annually choſe one of their own Body, whom they called *Prytanis*, and who held the Place of King.

24 The antient *Tarquinia*, one of the chief Cities of *Hetruria*, was thought to have been founded by *Tarchon* the Brother of *Lydus*. *Suidas* obſerves, that it was firſt called *Tarconia* or *Tarconium*. But *Juſtin* thought the *Pelaſgi* and *Spinambrii* had founded it. It is now called *Tarqueno*, and is in the *Patrimony of St.* Peter, near the Dutchy of *Caſtro*. The Ruins of *Tarquinia* are yet to be ſeen, a Mile above *Corneto*.

Year of *ROME* CXXXIX.

THE Succeſs which attended the New-Comers, gave Riſe to a Fable which makes ſomething miraculous to have happened on *Lucumo*'s Arrival at *Rome*. It is ſaid, that as he was on the Road with his Wife, in an open Chariot, he no ſooner came to the Foot of the Hill *Janiculus*, but an Eagle appeared over his Head. She hung ſome time in the Air, and then making a ſudden Stoop at the Stranger, took off his Hat: After which ſhe ſoared up again, and was loſt in the Clouds; and deſcending with Rapidity a ſecond time, left the Hat upon *Lucumo*'s Head. Now the Art of Auguries had always been in Uſe among the *Hetrurians*: One [25] *Tages*, whom they made to be *Jupiter*'s Grandſon, is ſaid to have taught it to the twelve *Lucumonies*, of which the *Hetrurian* Nation conſiſted. *Tanaquil* therefore, well skilled in gueſſing at future Events by the flying of Birds, embraced her Husband with Tenderneſs, and in a Tranſport of Joy explained to him the happy Preſage of his future Grandeur.

BUT if there really were any ſuch Augury, it muſt be confeſſed that *Lucumo* happily ſeconded it, by his Induſtry, his Valour and his Liberalities. He was no ſooner admitted Citizen of *Rome*, but he endeavoured to appear entirely *Roman*. That not the leaſt Marks of the Foreigner might continue about him, he took *Roman* Names. He was no longer called *Lucumo*, *Lucius* was his *Prænomen*: And the *Nomen* or *Name* of *Damaratus*, or *Demaratus*, ſavouring too much of the *Greek*, he borrowed one from *Tarquinia*, where he had been brought up, and called himſelf *Tarquinius*. As for the *Cognomen* of *Priſcus* [26] (which ſignifies *Old*) it is probable it was not added to the two former ones, till after his Death. I am of Opinion, that it was not thought on till the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*: It was then uſed, in publick Diſcourſes, thereby to diſtinguiſh *The Elder Tarquin* from the latter.

THE polite and engaging Behaviour of the *Greek*, now become a *Roman*, was a Charm which gained him much Popularity. He forwarded his expected Riſe, by the Agreeableneſs of his Converſation, the Entertainments he gave, the Favours he plentifully beſtowed on thoſe who applied to him for any, and the gracious Manner in which he beſtowed them. His Fame therefore ſoon reached the Court of *Ancus Marcius*; where, as *Tarquin* (for ſo we ſhall call him for the future) was naturally complaiſant and inſinuating, he was always ready to ſerve the King's Inclinations, but without Meanneſs, or debaſing himſelf by any ſervile Behaviour. And leſt his great Wealth ſhould raiſe Suſpicions of him, in a City which was yet but poor, he offered to depoſite it in the publick Treaſury, to ſupply the Wants of the City. He likewiſe built him an Houſe, and enrolled himſelf and his Followers in one of the *Roman* Tribes.

NOT that it was only by civil Virtues that the induſtrious *Tarquin* diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Citizens of *Rome*. He well knew that military Exploits were a yet ſurer Step to great Honours. He therefore not only contributed to the Expences of the Wars out of his Eſtate; but likewiſe perſonally aſſiſted in them. No one Commander ſignalized himſelf more in the *Roman* Armies than the generous *Tarquin*. Underſtanding well how to command the Infantry, he fought on Foot in the War with the *Latins*: And underſtanding the Command of the Cavalry yet better, he gained all the Honour of the laſt Victory, at the Head of the *Roman* Horſe. Add to this, that he was no leſs prudent in Council, than formidable in Arms. He ſhone in the Senate, from his firſt Admiſſion into it; and the King always followed his Advice in military Expeditions.

25 All the antient *Roman* Authors ſay, that *Tages* taught the *Hetrurians* the Art of the *Haruſpices* and *Augurs*: and Fable has embelliſhed his Origin. Some make him the Grandſon of *Jupiter*; others ſay he ſtarted up ſuddenly out of the Earth in *Hetruria*; which is their uſual Way of talking of thoſe whoſe Birth they knew nothing of. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, who likewiſe attributes the Invention of the Art of Divination to *Tages*, ſays, that he conſidered that the Gods, either in Goodneſs to Mankind, or in Gratitude for the Worſhip they received, would give Men ſome Signs of future Events, either in the Bowels of Beaſts, or the flying of Birds; and that he was the firſt who made Obſervations on them. He wrote a Book on that Subject, which he left to the *Hetrurians*. *Ovid* ſpeaks thus of him:

Indigenæ dixere Tagen, qui primus Etruſcam
Edocuit gentem caſus aperire futuros.

26 It ought to be conſidered, that none of the Kings of *Rome*, but the laſt, had a *Cognomen* in his Life-time. *Romulus* had not ſo much as a *Prænomen*. The reſt had only the Name of their Family, and a *Prænomen*. Nor did the latter *Tarquin* take his *Cognomen* of *The Proud*, out of choice: the diſcontented People gave it him. We don't find that the *Cognomen* was common among the *Romans* in the firſt Ages of *Rome*: the Cuſtom of taking it was not introduced till the Time of the Republick.

It

Year of ROME CXXXIX.

§. XI. It is eaſy to conceive, that a Man of ſo univerſal a Reputation, and ſo ambitious, ſhould think the Death of *Ancus* the critical Time for his attempting the Throne. His Merit had indeed made him worthy of it, but Artifice and Intrigue were the Means that raiſed him to it. Being Tutor to the two Sons of the late King, he was not apprehenſive of any Competition, unleſs from the eldeſt of his Pupils. This young Prince was near fifteen Years of Age; and *Tarquin*'s Fear was, that if the *Inter-regnum* ſhould continue, tho' but a little while, the Memory of the Father would gain his Son the Hearts and Suffrages of the People. He therefore brought on the Election with the utmoſt Expedition, and cauſed the *Curiæ* to be ſummoned to aſſemble, before young *Marcius* was fifteen. And for the greater Precaution, *Tarquin* took Care to remove his Pupil from *Rome*, and keep him out of the Sight of the People during the *Comitia*, by procuring him Hunting-Matches in the Country. In the mean time, he carried on his Intrigues, and gained ſome by Money, others by Careſſes. In ſhort, he was the firſt who introduced into *Rome* the Cuſtom of asking for Offices of State, and publickly making Intereſt to obtain them. The *Romans* had hitherto affected a ruſtick Modeſty, which had hindered them from diſcovering to the World the Deſires they had of obtaining the higheſt Poſts. But the *Greek* was above theſe timorous Scruples, and was bold enough to propoſe himſelf to be King, in an Harangue he made to the People.

AS I am a Stranger, ſaid he, *I ſhould never have preſumed to have offered my ſelf for the* Roman *Throne, if others, as much Strangers as my ſelf, had not been raiſed to it by your Suffrages. Nay, which is more, was not* Titus Tatius *even your Enemy, before he came to preſide over you? And yet did he not, when aſſociated with* Romulus, *ſhare the Honours of the Royal Power and Authority with him in* Rome? *Did not* Numa, *who was a Native of* Sabinia, *and forced from his beloved Solitude, come hither and govern a State he knew nothing of, and of a ſudden become Maſter of a City to which he was an utter Stranger? As for my ſelf, I am bold to ſay, I have more of the* Roman *than the* Hetrurian *in me. As ſoon as I arrived at a ſufficient Maturity of Age to enter upon civil or military Offices, I left* Tarquinia. *I brought a great Eſtate with me to* Rome, *and have dedicated my Treaſures and my Self to your Service. I have ſerved an Apprenticeſhip in War under* Ancus: *judge therefore of the Scholar by the Maſter. And a long Reſidence among you in a Reign ſo equitable as his, has given me ſufficient Time and Opportunities of informing my ſelf in the Cuſtoms, Laws and Ceremonies of* Rome. *If I behaved my ſelf like an aſſiduous Courtier to my Maſter, and taught others the Reſpect they owed him, it was only the better to know the Man whom I ſhall ever hereafter labour to imitate, in the Indulgence and tender Love he always ſhewed to his People.*

TARQUIN the First.

THE *Romans* had experienced the Truth of what *Tarquin* ſaid, and were therefore charmed with the Expectations of finding in him a King full of *Ancus*'s Spirit, and formed by him, and one who would appear with equal Dignity, both in the Throne, and at the Head of Armies. The Majority of Votes therefore were given in his Favour, and the *Roman* People *commanded* him, (for this is the very Term thoſe imperious Citizens uſed from that Time, in the Inſtalment of their Sovereigns;) the *Roman* People, I ſay, commanded him to ſit down at the Helm of Affairs. As then Ambition had made *Tarquin* induſtrious in raiſing himſelf to the Throne, ſo it made him very careful to maintain himſelf in it. That he might have a more conſiderable Party in the Senate, he created an hundred new Senators. This, it's probable, was to reward thoſe who were lately come to *Rome* with him; and thoſe among the People who had ſhewn moſt Zeal in his Election. The Name * given to theſe new Senators was not altogether for their Honour [27]; but that did not in the leaſt leſſen their Authority, which was equal to

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 35.

* *Minorum Gentium.*

[27] There are ſeveral Opinions about the Name of *Patres minorum gentium*, which was given to the Senators of this third Creation by *Tarquin*. We ſhall ſpeak of them again in another Place, where we will declare what we think moſt probable concerning them. At preſent, it is ſufficient to mention the different Opinions of Authors. *Plutarch* blames not to allow of this Diviſion of Senators into *majorum*, and *minorum gentium*. He likewiſe contends, that none of the Kings choſe any Senators, but out of the antient *Patrician* Families: And adds, that thoſe called *Patres conſcripti*, had that Name from their being *written* or enrolled, a *ſecond time*, among the antient Families. But as he is not exact in his Account of the three different Orders of Senators, which all other Hiſtorians unanimouſly

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TARQUIN THE FIRST.

to that of the oldeſt Senators. This additional Part of the Senate was always attached to *Tarquin*'s Intereſt, both by Inclination and Gratitude.

§. XII. THE Affairs of *Rome* were left in ſuch a Situation, as made a War inevitable. Almoſt all the Nations the former Kings had ſubdued, pretended that their Treaties of Union, Alliance, or Peace with *Rome*, were no longer in Force, than during the Lives of the Kings who had ſubdued them. The *Latins* were the firſt who made Uſe of this Pretence, or, if you will, this Reaſon, for making War. The whole Nation did not indeed take up Arms together againſt *Tarquin*; and this was the Cauſe of their ill Succeſs. As the *Latin* Cities only declared againſt him one after another, *Tarquin* eaſily conquered thoſe People ſeparately, which he would have found it difficult to have overcome in a Body. *Apiolæ*, a pretty conſiderable City of antient *Latium* [28], was the Capital of a little Diſtrict; the Inhabitants of which plundered ſome Lands in the *Roman* Territory, and gave the firſt Offence by Robberies. *Tarquin* therefore made Repriſals, and came with a conſiderable Army to plunder the Lands of the *Latins* in his Turn. But the *Apiolans* obtained Succours from the neighbouring Cities, and confidently appeared in the open Field, to fight the common Enemy. Over them the new King gained his firſt Victory. He conquered them in two Battles fought immediately after one another, and determined to lay Siege to *Apiolæ*; and in order to make himſelf Maſter of it, the expert General made equal Uſe of Stratagem and Valour. He divided his Army into ſeveral Bodies, and appeared before the Place with only the leaſt Part of it. The Beſieged therefore finding themſelves almoſt equal in Number with the Beſiegers, made frequent Sallies, and the Loſſes they ſuſtained in little Skirmiſhes waſted them away by degrees. Whilſt *Tarquin* ſupplied the Place of his firſt Troops, when fatigued, with freſh ones, but ſtill in ſo ſmall Numbers as not to diſhearten the *Apiolans*. This then drew the Beſieged into freſh Engagements, which ſtill continued to leſſen their Numbers; till at length they were ſo weakened by their own Valour, that they ſunk under the Fatigue, and their City was taken by Aſſault. Moſt of them periſhed Sword in hand, and the remaining few threw down their Arms. Nevertheleſs, as *Tarquin* thought it neceſſary to make the Beginning of his Reign, and his firſt Victory, memorable by an Inſtance of Severity; he therefore did not carry the Conquered to *Rome*, and incorporate them among his Citizens, as his Predeceſſors had done; but ſold them for Slaves. Their City was given up to the Plunders of the Soldiers, who deſtroyed it by Fire, and entirely demoliſhed the Walls of it. By this ſmall Violation of the Laws of Huumanity, *Tarquin* enlarged the Extent of his Dominions, and more effectually ſecured his Conqueſts.

The *Cruſtumini* were a Colony of the *Latins*, who had ſubmitted to be governed by the *Roman* Laws in *Romulus*'s Reign, and had hitherto preſerved their Fidelity to *Rome* inviolate. But now the ill Example of the other *Latin* Cities drew them into the ſame Defection from *Tarquin*, and involved them in the ſame Guilt. So that the King of *Rome* raiſed a new Army, either to reduce them to their Obedience, or puniſh them. But they were ſoon ſenſible of their Folly, and repented of their Revolt. The *Roman* Forces ſtruck Terror into them, and no Succours appeared to guard them from the impending Danger. They therefore choſe wiſely to open their Gates to their antient Maſters, without expoſing themſelves to the Miſeries of a Siege. The old Men and moſt honourable Citizens of *Cruſtuminum* came and preſented themſelves before the King, in a ſuppliant manner, and prayed him to moderate the Severity of his Revenge. Accordingly, their Submiſſion ſoftened him, and preſerved them. He did not ſo much as condemn one Perſon to Death. The Authors of the Revolt were gone into a voluntary Exile, and their Flight was their only Puniſhment. The *Cruſtumini*

nimouſly agree in, we ſhall in general not concern our ſelves about any of his Opinions concerning them. *Tacitus*, *Ann. B.* 11. grants indeed there were Senators *minorum gentium*; but pretends, that this Name was firſt given by *L. Junius Brutus*, to thoſe he brought into the Senate after the Baniſhment of *Tarquin the Proud*. But in this he is contradicted by *Livy*, who ſays, the Name of *minorum gentium* was given to the Senators created by *Old Tarquin*. We ſhall give the Reaſon why theſe Senators were ſo called, in another Place.

28 Antient Authors give us Reaſon to conjecture, that *Apiolæ* was ſituated near the *Anio*, in the Neighbourhood of *Cruſtuminum* and *Cornicalum*, upon the Confines of *Latium* and *Sabinia*. This City was entirely deſtroyed, and there are now no Footſteps of it remaining.

were

were ſtill permitted to enjoy their Privileges, without any Alteration; and only the Means of a ſecond Revolt were taken from them. At the ſame time that the King continued to them the Rights of Allies to *Rome*, he ſettled a Colony of *Romans* among them. Year of *ROME* CXLI. TARQUIN THE FIRST.

IN the mean time, the Inhabitants of *Nomentum* [29], who were yet more inexcuſable than the *Cruſtumini*, had committed Hoſtilities againſt the *Romans*, and plundered their Lands: And yet their Submiſſion exempted them from a more rigorous Treatment. They ſurrendered to the *Romans* in a handſome manner, and therefore experienced the Clemency of *Tarquin*.

THE Conqueror purſued his Point, and advanced into old *Latium*. The *Collatini* [30] thought themſelves in a Condition to hold out againſt the victorious Army, and were brave enough to try their Strength with that of the *Romans*. Nothing but their Loſſes could convince them of their Inferiority; but being always beaten and repulſed in the open Field, they at length ſhut themſelves up within their Walls. And then the Neceſſity to which they were reduced obliged them to have Recourſe to the other *Latin* Cities. But the *Roman* was too quick and active to give them a Moment's Time to breathe. He carried on the Siege ſo vigorouſly, as not to give them Time to receive ſome lingring Succours, which did not arrive till the City was ſurrendred. In ſhort, *Collatia* ſubmitted to the Will of the Conqueror; who did not treat it with the ſame Indulgence as he had done *Cruſtuminum* and *Nomentum*. All its Inhabitants were diſarmed, and forced to pay a Sum of Money: And the Garriſon *Tarquin* left in it kept them in Duty and Subjection ever after.

THE *Roman* Virtue had hitherto condemned thoſe partial Regards which Men are apt to have for their Blood and Family, and which are ſometimes contrary to the Laws of the ſtricteſt Equity. But *Tarquin*, who was naturally leſs ſcrupulous, and had more of the *Greek* Policy, conſidered the high Station he was in, as a proper Means of advancing and enriching his Relations. As ſoon as he was Maſter of *Collatia*, he thought he might diſpoſe of it as he pleaſed: And therefore gave the Government, or rather the Sovereignty of it, to that Son of his Brother *Arunx*, who had been diſinherited before his Birth, and bore the Name of *Egerius*, from the Indigence to which he was thereby reduced. And from this City of *Collatia*, which became his Property, he took the Name of *Collatinus*, which he tranſmitted to his Poſterity: Who afterwards made themſelves famous among the *Romans*, for the Services they did them, even againſt the *Tarquins* themſelves.

THE taking of *Collatia* was followed by that of *Corniculum* [31], another City of the *Latins*. The Conqueror pillaged its Territory, without Reſiſtance; and immediately appeared before the Place, but rather to ſollicite it to come into an Alliance with the *Romans*, than to ſubdue it. *Tarquin* made ſo many Attempts to gain the Friendſhip of the Beſieged, that he ſeemed rather to act the Part of a Mediator, than of a Beſieger: And he found the happy Conſequences of this moderate Conduct. The Offers of the *Roman*, and the Courage of the *Latins*, divided the Inhabitants of *Corniculum* into two Factions. Some were for the War, and ſupported the Siege with Bravery: Others preferred a peaceable Alliance with *Rome*, and made but ſmall Reſiſtance againſt the Aſſailants. So that the Valour of the braveſt, who by expoſing themſelves too much to Danger, wore themſelves away with Fatigue, and diminiſhed their Numbers by their Loſſes; and the Backwardneſs of the moſt pacifick, whoſe Motions were but faint, contributed equally to the common Ruin. In a Word, the City was taken by Storm; whilſt the moſt valiant died defending themſelves and retiring from Poſt to Poſt within their Walls; the more cowardly eſcaped with their Lives, but at the Expence of Year of *ROME* CXLIII. *Dion. Hal. B.* 3. *p.* 188.

29 *Nomentum* was one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in *Sabinia*, near the *Salarian* Way, and the Banks of the River *Allia*, not far from the Waters which are now called, in the Language of the Country, *i Bagni della Grotta marrozza*, and ten Miles from *Rome*. It is now only a Village, which bears the Name of *Lomentano*.

30 *Collatia* was a City which ſtood upon the Borders of *Latium* and *Sabinia*, between the *Preneſtine* Way, and the left Bank of the *Anio*, ſix Miles from *Rome*.

31 Moſt Geographers place *Corniculum* between the *Tyber* and the *Anio*, half way from *Tibur* to *Fidenæ*. *Holſtenius* conjectures, that this City ſtood in the ſame Place where now ſtands the little City of *St. Angelo*, near the Place called *Torre Vergata*, two Miles from the *Montes Corniculani*, mentioned by *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. which *Kircher* thinks were the Mounts St. *Angelo* and *Monticelli*.

Year of *ROME* CXLIV.

TARQUIN THE FIRST.
Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid.

their Liberty. They, their Wives and their Children were ſold for Slaves; and the City it ſelf was plundered, and reduced to Aſhes.

§. XIII. By the Number of Cities already conquered by the *Romans* in old *Latium*, it is eaſy to conceive how well this little Spot of Ground muſt have been peopled: And the Reader will therefore be ſurprized to find what a great Multitude of them yet remained unconquered. The reſt of the *Latins* ſeeing ſo wide a Paſſage opened into their Country, began to look about them, and at laſt found it neceſſary to make greater Efforts, to oppoſe the *Romans*. This they reſolved on in an Aſſembly of ſome of their Cities: And accordingly, an Army was raiſed, and ſent into one of the beſt Cantons of the *Roman* Territories, where it committed Depredations, and made ſome Priſoners, or rather Slaves. Whilſt *Tarquin*, who was not in a Condition to prevent theſe Aggreſſors, reſolved to make Reprizals. He led out his Troops into their Country, where he took as much Spoil from the *Latins*, as they had done from him: And in ſhort, followed his Enemy's Example in making War like a Pyrate. But the two Armies, which were in Search of one another, met at laſt near *Fidena*, five Miles from *Rome*; where the Attack was vigorous, and the Battle bloody. However, Victory declared it ſelf at laſt for the *Romans*; their Enemies left their Camp to be plundered, and diſperſing themſelves, retired by Night, every one to his own City.

NEVERTHELESS *Tarquin* was not forgetful of his Intereſts after ſo compleat a Victory: But that no Advantage might be loſt, which could be made of it, he ſent to ſollicite the *Latin* Cities, which the Fugitives had terrified as they paſſed through them, to enter into Alliances with the *Romans*. Accordingly, ſeveral of them, hoping for no Succours from their ſubdued Countrymen, and not having Strength enough of their own to have Recourſe to, preferred a voluntary Obedience to the *Romans*, to the Slavery which threatned them. The *Fidenates*, who were now more faithful to the *Romans* than formerly, got them ſeveral new Subjects on this Occaſion, and procured the Surrendry of ſeveral pretty conſiderable Places to them, on advantageous Conditions. And at length, *Camerium* ſubmitted to the *Romans*, and put them in Poſſeſſion of ſeveral fortified Places [32].

Year of *ROME* CXLV.

§. XIV. By this means, Terror ſpread itſelf ſo univerſally among the *Latins*, that there was reaſon to fear, the reſt of *Latium* would be drawn in to follow the Example of ſo many terrified Cities: and therefore the extreme Danger they were in, brought them to deſperate Reſolutions. Whilſt *Alba* ſubſiſted, it was conſidered as the Capital of *Latium*; where the *Latins* held their Aſſemblies, and whither all the Cities ſent their Deputies to conſult together. And though it was now deſtroyed, yet the *Latins* continued to have ſome Remains of their former Reſpect for their Mother-City, and aſſembled their Diets at the Foot of the famous Mountain of *Alba*, by the Head of a Spring conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Ferentina*. This Place, whether it were a Village, or only a pleaſant Plain watered by a Rivulet, bore the Name of *Ferentinum*: And here the whole Nation of the *Latins* aſſembled in a Body, on the preſent Occaſion.

Year of *ROME* CXLVI.

Pompeius Feſtus.
Dion. Hal. B. 3. ibid.

THEIR Deliberations turned upon the Means of ſtopping this impetuous Torrent, which broke in with ſuch Fury upon the Countries of *Latium*, as to bear down their Cities before it: and the Reſult of them was, that it was neceſſary to ſtand obſtinately againſt the Attempts of a riſing Colony, to bring all the Militia of the neighbouring Cities into the Field, and to apply for Succours to the moſt powerful Nations of *Italy*. And accordingly they determined to ſend two Embaſſies, one to the *Sabines*, the other to the *Hetrurians*.

EVERY thing contributed towards facilitating the Negotiations of the Embaſſadors in favour of the *Latins*, who were thought oppreſſed. The Hatred of the neighbouring Nations to *Rome*, had encreaſed in proportion to her Grandeur. The *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* therefore readily entered into a League with the *Latins*, but in ſomewhat a different manner. The entire Body of the *Sabines* united themſelves with them; but only ſome Countries of the *Hetrurians* declared for them, againſt King *Tarquin*. The whole Nation of the *Sabines* promiſed the *Latins*, that as ſoon as they had begun Hoſtilities, their Forces ſhould likewiſe enter into

32 *Livy* reckons *Ficulnea* or *Ficula*, *Ameriola*, *Medulia*, and *Camerium*, among the Cities conquered by *Tarquin*.

he *Roman* Territories on their Side, and make a Diverſion there. As for the con- Year of
ederated Cities of *Hetruria*, they only furniſhed them with as many Succours as they *ROME*
could draw together. The *Latins* indeed had the five following very conſiderable CXLVI.
Cities of *Hetruria* in their Party; *viz. Cluſium* 33, *Ruſellæ* 34, *Volaterræ* 35, *Are-* TARQUIN
tium 36, and *Vetulonia* 37: but notwithſtanding all this, *Tarquin*'s Valour found means THE FIRST.
o diſperſe this Storm, which aroſe from the Union of ſo many confederated Cities;
nd they all, in their Turns, only furniſhed Matter for his Conqueſts, and his
Triumphs.

HOWEVER, the *Latins*, in dependence upon theſe great Succours, entered the Year of
Territory of the *Romans* on their Side: whilſt the *Sabines*, on theirs, ravaged *ROME*
hoſe *Roman* Lands which bordered upon them. The brave *Tarquin* in the mean CXLVII.
ime got every thing in readineſs for his March, and raiſed a great Army; but did *Dion. Hal.*
ot think proper to divide it, for fear of weakening it. He therefore left the *Sa-* *B. 3. p. 189.*
ines in poſſeſſion of the Country, which they plundered and laid waſte, in confi-
dence that he ſhould ſoon be able to make them pay for their Robberies; and
e marched with all his Forces againſt the *Latins*. The two Camps were poſted
retty near each other: and the two Armies ſeemed for ſome time to be afraid, *Dion. Hal.*
r ſtand in awe, of one another, or to be mutually examining each other's Strength. *ibid.*
t firſt, nothing happened, but ſome little Combats between a few Champions,
ho marched out of the Intrenchments after one another: till at length, ſlight
kirmiſhes inſenſibly brought on a general Action. Both Camps were left empty,
nd the Plain was covered with two Armies, near equal in Numbers, and both
ured to War, and very brave. The Battel was begun with Fury on both Sides,
nd continued without Intermiſſion the whole Day, till Night drew on, and put
ſtop to it.

THEY then retired into their Intrenchments, without any evident Marks of
onqueſt on either Side: it did not appear which had the Victory, till the
ext Day. At Sun-riſing, the *Romans* marched out in good Order, to offer a ſe-
ond Battel: but the *Latins* kept themſelves within their Camp, under Cover of
eir Intrenchments. *Tarquin* therefore looked on himſelf as Maſter of the Field
f Battel, ordered his *Romans* to ſtrip the Dead; and after having waited a great
hile for the Enemy, returned to his Tents, with the Acclamations of his
rmy.

NEVERTHELESS, the Affairs of the *Latins* were not yet deſperate: the *Hetru-*
rians ſoon came to the Aſſiſtance of their Allies, and repaired their Loſſes. They
herefore, full of Confidence upon the Arrival of theſe new Re-inforcements, ap-
eared again in the Field, and ventured to offer the *Romans* a ſecond Battel:
ut this only ended in a more ſignal Defeat of the confederate Enemies of *Rome*,
han the former. *Tarquin* gained an inconteſtable Victory over them; and what
dded moſt to his Glory, was this, that all agreed it was wholly owing to his per-
onal Bravery and Conduct.

THE Right Wing, which he commanded, had indeed ſome Advantage over
e *Hetrurians* with whom he fought; but then the *Roman* Legion which was Year of
oſted in his Left Wing, was at the ſame time already broken by the *Latins*, *ROME*
nd had like to have been entirely routed: which the King perceiving, he ſent a CXLVIII.

33 *Cluſium*, now *Chiuſi*, was conſiderable among
e twelve *Lucumonies*, or *Metropoles* of *Hetruria*.
was firſt inhabited by the People of *Umbria*;
d, according to *Livy* and *Polybius*, was then cal-
d *Camers*. Being afterwards conquered by the
elaſgi, under the Command of *Cluſius*, the Son of
yrrhenus, it from him changed its firſt Name into
at of *Cluſium*. *Strabo* reckons it to be a hun-
ed Miles diſtant from *Rome*; which is the pre-
nt Diſtance between *Chiuſi* and that City. It
rders upon the Territories of *Peruſa* and *Orvieto*.
liny is the only Writer who mentions another Ci-
which he calls *new Cluſium*, ſituated between
e *Arno* and the *Tyber*, at the Foot of the *Apennine*
ills.

34 The Ruins of *Ruſcellæ*, formerly a City of
etruria, are yet to be ſeen three Miles from the
Lake *Prilis*, near the Mineral Waters, which the
Natives now call *Bagni di Roſelle*.

35 *Volaterræ*, an antient City of *Hetruria*, is ſtill
in being, in the Territory of *Piſa*, and is now called
Volaterano.

36 The City of *Arezzo*, which is ſaid to have
been the antient *Aretium*, is in the Neighbourhood
of *Florence*.

37 Nothing is now left of the antient *Vetulonia*
but its Ruins, which are in the Territory of *Piſa*,
three Miles from the Sea, near the *Vetletta*, or *Ve-*
tulonian Foreſt. There were hot Waters in the
Neighbourhood of *Vetulonia*; which, if we may be-
lieve *Pliny*, had Fiſh in them at the ſame time:
they were probably thoſe which the *Italians* now
call *le Caldane*.

Year of *ROME* CXLVIII. TARQUIN THE FIRST.

Detachment of Foot from his Right Wing to ſupport his Left, and haſtened to its Relief, at the Head of ſome Horſe, with ſuch Expedition, as ſurprized the Enemy: and by his Preſence he immediately reſtored the Order and Courage of his Legion. Then he flew back with the ſame Rapidity to his Right Wing, and facing the *Hetrurians* again, ſtruck more Terror into them than before. He broke through them, routed them, and ſtrewed their Carcaſſes all over the Field of Battel. After this, he led on his Cavalry full ſpeed to the Enemy's Camp, firſt giving Orders, that his Infantry ſhould march on ſlowly after him. By this means, the *Latin* Soldiers, who were left to guard the Camp, were deceived by this precipitate March; and miſtaking the *Roman* Cavalry for the *Hetrurian*, permitted them to enter it. So that when the flying Enemy came to their Camp for Refuge, they found it ſeized by the *Romans:* and to compleat the Misfortune, the broken and diſperſed *Hetrurians* and *Latins* fell by the Swords of the *Roman* Infantry, who, continuing in the Plain, made a great Slaughter of them: whilſt ſuch as reached the Foot of their Intrenchments, were forced back by the *Romans*; and thoſe *Latins* which they drove before them, either periſhed by the Sword, or were cruſhed to Death in the Croud. So fatal was this Day's Engagement to the *Latins*, ſo advantageous to *Rome*, and ſo full of Glory to *Tarquin the Firſt*. The King took to himſelf all the Money he found in the Camp, and all the Captives, whom he ſold for Slaves: the reſt of the Spoil he gave up, as free Booty, to the Soldiers.

Year of *ROME* CXLIX.

AND the Conſequence of theſe two laſt Battels, was this, that it filled all *Latium* with Terror. The *Latins* had now no Refuge left, but in the Mercy of the Conqueror. So that when *Tarquin* brought his Army to beſiege thoſe *Latin* Cities which had refuſed to enter into Alliance with him; they did not wait for his inveſting them, but ſubmitted voluntarily to the Yoke, and changed their former Arrogance and Pride into humble Supplications. They unanimouſly ſent an Embaſſy to him, and offered to ſurrender to him, upon his own Terms.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 190.

THE King therefore having now ſo many Cities, all within ſo ſmall a Tract of Ground, abſolutely at his Diſpoſal, would not deny them that Clemency, which the *Romans* gloried in ſhewing to the Cities which ſubmitted to them. He condemned no one *Latin* either to Death or Baniſhment; neither did he extort any Money from the conquered Country, by laying it under arbitrary Contributions. He left the *Latins* Maſters of their own Lands, and ſuffered them to enjoy their antient Laws. The Conqueror only obliged the Conquered to deliver up Deſerters, and ſet at liberty the Priſoners they had taken from the *Romans*; to reſtore the *Roman* Citizens the Slaves they had taken from them in the Country; to pay for the Damages they had done the Husbandmen; and to be in a readineſs to march their Forces to the Aſſiſtance of *Rome*, whenever they ſhould be called for. Upon theſe Conditions, which the *Latins* gladly accepted of, they were received into the Friendſhip and Alliance of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CL.

§. XV. AND now that the War with the *Latins* ſeemed to be ended, *Rome* thought the Honours of a [38] Triumph due to a Victor, who had ſo long gone on to fight and conquer without Intermiſſion. The antient Simplicity of the Triumph was not yet changed into Magnificence: but we ſhall ſoon ſee the ſame *Tarquin* (who now walks on Foot, according to the antient Cuſtom of thoſe who triumphed) riding in a glittering Chariot, and introducing Luxury, and coſtly Pomp, into the *Roman* Triumphs. The Spoils the King had taken in the conquered Cities of *Latium*, and particularly in *Apiolæ*, were much beyond his Hopes or Expectations; ſo that he took not the Profit of them to his own private Uſe, but applied it to the building [39] a *Circus* for the *Roman* Games, which were alſo called [40] *The Great Games*. The Name

38 The three Triumphs with which *Old Tarquin* was honoured, are expreſly ſet down both in the *Faſti Capitolini*, and *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus*. The Authority of theſe *antient Marbles* gives credit to the *Greek* Hiſtorian. *Livy* is generally not very exact in ſetting down the Number of the Triumphs, and placing them according to the Order of Time. He and *Macrobius* make *Old Tarquin* to have triumphed but once: and the Author of *The Illuſtrious Men* gives him but two Triumphs. But the Agreement of the *Faſti Capitolini* and *Dion. Hal.* ought to have more weight with us, than their Authorities.

39 *Tarquin* was of a *Greek* Family: and this led him to think of building a *Circus* at *Rome*, in imitation of the chief Cities of *Greece*. The firſt *Circus* which was ever built, and was a Pattern to all the reſt, was in *Elis*, where the *Olympick* Games were celebrated.

40 It's certain the *Roman Games* were alſo called *The*

Year of *ROME* CL.

TARQUIN THE FIRST. *Varro.*

Name of *Circus* [41] was given to this magnificent Structure, either becauſe one End of it at leaſt was a Portion of a *Circle* [42]; or becauſe the Chariots, which diſputed the Prize in them, were obliged to run ſeven times [43] *round* the Poſts which were at each End of it: and this was afterwards, or perhaps from that very time, called *The Great Circus* *; either on account of its vaſt Circumference, or with reſpect to the other [44] *Circus's*, which were ſmaller; or becauſe *The Great Games* were celebrated in it, at a *great* Expence; or laſtly, becauſe it was dedicated to the moſt conſiderable Deities; as particularly to *Vertumnus* [45], *Neptune*, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, and eſpecially to the *Dii Penates* of *Rome*, which were peculiarly called [46] *The Great* Gods.

* *Circus Maximus.*

TARQUIN placed his *Circus* in the [47] *Myrtian* or *Murtian* Valley, which reached from the Hill *Aventinus*, to the Hill *Palatinus*. It is unqueſtionable [48] that

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The Great Games: Livy aſſures us of it. Nevertheleſs, we muſt not from thence conclude, that all the Sports which were celebrated in the *Circus*, and which were called *Circenſes*, were *The Great Games*. Some were celebrated in the *Circus*, to *Ceres*, *Apollo*, &c. which were different from *The Great* or *Roman Games:* Nor were thoſe called *Megalenſes*, the ſame with *The Great Games*. The former were celebrated before the *Nones of April*, and the latter on the Eve of the *Nones of September*. Beſides, *The Roman Games* were inſtituted in honour of *The Great Gods*; whence they were called *The Great Games*; and the *Megalenſes* only in honour of *Cybele*. Laſtly, *The Great Games* were inſtituted by *Old Tarquin*; and the *Megalenſes*, not till *Junius Brutus*'s Time, who appointed them to the honour of *Cybele*, then called μεγαλήσια, or *The Great Goddeſs*.

41 Among the ſeveral Etymologies of the Name *Circus* here given, I have omitted one, which is *Tertullian*'s. He contends, that the *Roman Circus* took its Name from the famous *Circe*, the fabulous Daughter of the Sun: and imagines, *B. de Spectac.* that *Circe*, who invented it, intended to repreſent by the Sports of the *Circus*, the Courſe of the Sun her Father, running round the Globe of the World, in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes. But this does not ſeem to me very ſolid.

42 The *Circus* had four Fronts; one at the bottom of it, where the Poſts ſtood round which the Chariots were obliged to turn, one at the oppoſite End where the Chariots ſtarted, and one at each Side; where the Spectators ſate in two great Galleries. It is certain, that at leaſt that Front, where the Turning-Poſts ſtood, deſcribed a Portion of a *Circle:* and it's probable the oppoſite Front where the Chariots ſtarted, was ſemi-circular. But that is not abſolutely certain.

43 It is not doubted but they were obliged either to turn ſeven times round one Poſt, or only once round ſeven different Poſts. The Poets only mention ſeven Rounds, without expreſly ſaying, whether they were about ſeveral Poſts, or one only. *Propertius*'s Words are theſe:

Haud prius infecto depoſcit præmia curſu,
Septima quam metam triverit ante rota.

And *Auſonius*, in his Epitaph on the Horſe *Proſphorus*, ſays,

Proſphore clamoſi pannoſa per æquora Circi
Septenas ſolitus Victor obire vias.

But *Caſſiodorus* ſeems to ſay more expreſly, *B.* 3. that it was neceſſary to turn round ſeven different Poſts, *Septem metis omne certamen peragitur.* Nevertheleſs, we are generally told, that there was but one Poſt, at leaſt at *Rome*, round which the Charioteers were obliged to turn ſeven times.

44 If the *Circus Tarquin* built, was only called *The Great Circus*, with reſpect to ſome other that was leſs, it is very uncertain when it took this Name. We don't find there was any other *Circus* at *Rome*, but *The Great* one, till *Flaminius*'s was built: and when that was, is uncertain. *Varro* pretends, *B.* 4. *Of the* Latin *Tongue*, that a Shew of Bull-fighting was given in the *Circus Flamineus*, in the Reign of *Tarquin*; but does not ſay which *Tarquin*, whether the firſt or ſecond. And according to him then, that *Circus* muſt have been well nigh as antient as *The Great Circus*. Nevertheleſs, *Caſſiodorus* contends, that the *Circus Flaminius* was not built till *L. Veturius* and *C. Lutatius* were *Conſuls*.

45 *Vertumnus*, if we believe *Ovid*, was the moſt antient God of the *Hetrurians*. The *Lucumo*, who came from *Hetruria*, and ſettled at *Rome*, in *Romulus*'s Time, firſt made him known to the *Romans*, and built a Temple to him. He was invoked to give the People good Markets, and good Bargains. A Feſtival was conſecrated to him in *October*, called *Vertumnalia*.

46 Theſe *Dii Penates* were chiefly the two *Palladiums*, otherwiſe called *The Gods of Samothracia*. *Rome* gave them, particularly, the Name of *Potes Dii*, or *Powerful Gods*. *Varro* ſays the Name of *Great Gods* was peculiar to them; and that on the Pedeſtal on which they were placed, was this Inſcription, *Magnis Diis*. Thus *Virgil* ſpeaks of them, in the ſame manner,

Populoque, Penatibus, & Magnis Diis.

47 This Valley was, according to ſome, called *Murcia*, from a Temple erected to the Goddeſs of that Name, at the Foot of the Hill *Aventinus:* or *Myrtea*, according to others, from a Temple built in that Place to *Venus* ſurnamed *Myrtea*, becauſe *The Myrtle* was conſecrated to her.

48 There was, properly ſpeaking, no *Circus* in *Rome*, before that which *Tarquin the Firſt* built. The *Romans* indeed had their Games, in which there were Chariot and Horſe-races, from the Time of

Year of ROME CL.

TARQUIN THE FIRST.

that there was a *Circus* for the *Roman Games*, before *Tarquin*'s Time; but it is thought not to have been in the ſame Place under the former Kings, in which *Tarquin* erected his. At leaſt it muſt be granted, that this Prince made it more commodious for the Spectators. For before his Time [49], the People could only ſee the Games ſtanding, upon wooden Galleries, ſupported by forked Poles: but *Tarquin* placed the Spectators on three Rows of Seats, or a ſort of ſemi-circular Steps, which grew narrower and narrower quite up to the top. The loweſt Steps were made of Stone, and the higheſt only of Wood. Within the *Circus*, along the two Sides of it, and at one End, they made a Trench [50] of ten Foot broad, and as many deep, to carry off the Water. The *Circus* was three *Stadia* and an half long [51], and four *Jugera* broad. An hundred and fifty thouſand Men could [52] ſit in it at their eaſe: tho' perhaps *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus* may have confounded this *Circus*, as it was in *Tarquin*'s Time, with the ſame *Circus*, as it was in the Time of *Auguſtus*. *Julius Cæſar* indeed built it a-new, and *Auguſtus* embelliſhed it with Gildings. Beſides, it had underwent many Alterations ſince the Reign of the King that firſt built it; the *Conſuls* and *Emperors* often adorned it with freſh Monuments of their Magnificence. It is probable that *Tarquin*, at that Time, built this great Work of ſolid Stone. He divided it into ſeveral Parts, which he diſtributed among the thirty *Roman Curiæ* [53], each of which had its own Quarter, for ſeeing the Chariot and Horſe-Races, and the Combats of the *Pugiles* [54]. Theſe were the only Games

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 200.

Dion. Hal. ibid.

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of *Romulus*: but theſe Games were celebrated on the Banks of the *Tyber*, and Swords faſtened up, with their Points towards the Racers, were uſed for Goals. They were obliged to turn quite round them in a narrow Path, where they were in danger of wounding their Horſes with them. *Caſſiodorus*, *B.* 5. derives the Words *Ludi Circences*, from this Cuſtom; *Circences*, ſays he, *quaſi circum enſes, inter enſes & flumina, locis virentibus agebantur*. And the ſame Etymology is adopted by *Iſidorus*, *B.* 7. in theſe Words: *Ubi nunc metæ, olim gladii ponebantur, quos quadrigæ circuibant in littore.* For this Reaſon doubtleſs *Virgil* repreſents *Æneas*, promiſing to give Chariot-Races on the Banks of a River.

Centum quadrijugos agitabo ad flumina currus.

Hence it is that we read the Words, DISCURSIO TIBERINA, in an antient Inſcription, quoted by *Bulinger*. This Cuſtom continued even after the Erection of the *Circus's*. We ſometimes find a Horſeman puſhing on his Horſe, with this Inſcription, *Decurſio*, on the Reverſe of antient Medals, as in that in the foregoing Page.

49 *Livy* is the only Author that ſays, the Spectators were even from *Tarquin*'s Time placed on Scaffolds twelve Foot high, and ſupported by forked Pieces of Timber.

50 This Trench was called *Euripus*. It run round only three Sides of the *Circus*: for that Side where the Chariots ſtarted, and ſet up, had no Trench. It was at firſt ſeparated from the *Arena*, only by a Wall Breaſt-high: but this was afterwards, according to *Pliny*, *B.* 8. changed into an Iron Balluſtrade.

51 *Dion. Hal.* plainly tells us, this was the Length and Breadth of the *Circus*: but *Pliny* makes it only three *Stadia* long. He probably omitted the half *Stadium*, mentioned by the *Greek* Hiſtorian, for the ſake of a round Number. Nothing therefore remains, but to compute how long and wide the *Circus* was, according to our Meaſures. Now *Pliny* tells us, *B.* 1. *ch.* 3. the Length both of the *Roman Stadium* and *Jugerum*. The former, according to him, contained ſix hundred twenty-five *Roman* Feet, each of which Feet contained twelve *Inches*, or ſixteen *Finger's Breadths*: ſo that conſequently the *Circus*, as it was three *Stadia* and an half, muſt have been two thouſand one hundred and eighty-ſeven *Roman* Feet, long. And it being four *Jugera* broad, each of which *Jugera* contained, according to him, two hundred and forty *Roman* Feet; it is from thence eaſy to infer, that the *Circus* was nine hundred ſixty *Roman* Feet broad, and conſequently was above twice as long as it was wide. So that the Length of the *Circus* was (ſomewhat more than three *Engliſh* Furlongs) very near half an *Italian* Mile, or about a very little Quarter of a *French* League. One of *Trajan*'s Medals gives us the Form of the *Circus*, of which we ſhall hereafter give the Plan.

52 Tho' this Number be ſurpriſingly great, *Pliny*, *B.* 36. makes it almoſt half as big again. He aſſures us *The Great Circus* would hold two hundred ſixty-thouſand Spectators: Which ſhews, that *Dion. Hal.* ſpeaks of the *Circus*, only as it was in *Tarquin*'s Time; and that *Pliny* ſpeaks of it, as it was after it had been rebuilt by *Julius Cæſar*.

53 The great Love the *Roman* People had for theſe ſorts of Shews, made *Juvenal* ſay,

——— *Duas tantum res anxius optat,*
Panem & Circences ———

54 *Livy* is the Author who tells us, that the Combats of the *Pugiles* were made a Part of the publick Shews in *Old Tarquin*'s Time. *Ludicrum*, ſays

Games 55 then in Uſe, either for the Entertainment of the Publick, or the Solemnization of the Worſhip of the Gods.

Year of *ROME* CLII.

TARQUIN THE FIRST.

§. XVI. THE long War *Tarquin* undertook with the *Hetrurians*, and the ſignal Victories he gainned over them, much advanced the Glory of the Conqueror, and both enabled and inclined him to introduce Luxury into his Court. *Hetruria* was a very large Country in *Italy* 56, which then extended it ſelf between the *Tyrrhenian* Sea and *Apennine* Hills, quite from *Liguria* to the *Tyber*. The *Latins* called the Inhabitants of it ſometimes *Tuſcans*, and ſometimes *Hetrurians*; but the *Greeks* more frequently called them *Tyrrhenians*; who poſſeſſing all the South Coaſt of *Italy*, gave therefore their own Name to the Sea, which was from them called *the Tyrrhenian*. This great State was divided into twelve Cantons, called *Lucumonies*, which were ſubject to twelve Heads, who governed them with a ſort of ſovereign Authority, under the Name of *Lucumones*. In their Wars, ſometimes one *Lucumony* made War with its Neighbours by it ſelf; and ſometimes the *Hetrurians* all joined in one National Body, in Defence of their common Intereſts. It is ſurprizing that the *Romans* ſhould have been ſo early in a Condition to oppoſe the Attempts of ſo powerful and warlike a People: But nothing ſeems to have been too hard for their Valour.

Strabo, Pliny, Mela.

THE Advantages ſo often gained over the *Hetrurians* by *Tarquin*, whetted their Jealouſy. Beſides, they ſaid they had Reaſon to complain of a Want of Juſtice and Equity in the King of *Rome*. The Ambaſſadors they had ſent to him, to demand back their Priſoners, had not been admitted to Audience. On the contrary, the *Romans* thought it proper, in Point of Policy, to detain them, as ſo many Hoſtages for the Fidelity of the *Hetrurians*. So that Reſolutions were taken, in an Aſſembly of the whole Nation, to join in making War on this imperious People. To which it was added, that if any City ſtood neuter, it ſhould be for ever cut off from the general Alliance of the *Lucumonies*.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 192.

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SOME Time was ſpent in theſe Deliberations, and in ſettling the Plan of the War. But at length the *Hetrurians* appeared in the Field, paſſed the *Tyber*, and came and encamped before the Gates of *Fidena*. They flattered themſelves, the *Fidenates*, who had more than once rebelled againſt the *Romans*, would ſurrender to them, in hopes that a ſudden Terror might ſerve them for an Excuſe to *Tarquin*: And the *Hetrurians* were not diſappointed. If the *Fidenates* did not voluntarily ſurrender themſelves, at leaſt the City was taken by Surprize, thro' the Treachery of ſome of the Citizens. So that the *Hetrurians*, who became Maſters of it, found themſelves to be thereby within Reach of *Rome*, which was now but five Miles diſtant from them. Then the *Roman* Lands became a Prey to the Enemy, who fortified themſelves in *Fidena*, and drew Advantages from ſo important a Conqueſt. But the King of *Rome*, being prevented by the *Hetrurians*, appeared not in the Field all that Year; he quietly ſuffered them to go on waſting his Country, chooſing rather to let the *Lucumones* triumph for a Time, than to fight them without ſufficient Preparations.

THE next Year *Tarquin* put himſelf into a Condition of repairing his Loſſes.

ys he, *equi, pugileſque ex Hetruria acciti*. But es this Hiſtorian only mean, that Men then boxed the *Circus* with their Fiſts, and with the *Ceſtus*, hich Sort of Combatants were called *Pugiles*? does he likewiſe mean that the *Gladiators*, who ſometimes called *Pugiles*, were introduced into *Circus* ſo early as that Time? What we have re ſaid of the *Circus* and *The great Games*, is on- a Sketch of what we ſhall have occaſion to ſay reafter on theſe Subjects.

55 The Entertainments of the Stage or Theatre ere not ſo ſoon introduced into *Rome*. Accord- to *Livy*, the *Romans* did not build their firſt ge till the 389th, or the 390th Year of *Rome*; this was only for ſome *Hetrurian* Dancers, o danced to the Sound of their Inſtruments, with- making any Speeches. So that the firſt Theaal Entertainment of the *Romans* was Dancing; hich began when *C. Sulpitius Potitus*, and *C. Lius Stolo*, were *Conſuls*.

56 In order to a more diſtinct Knowledge of old *Hetruria*, it may be proper to obſerve here, that it was bounded on the Weſt, by the River *Macra*, now called by the *Italians*, *Magra*; which ſeparated it from *Liguria*; on the Eaſt, by the *Tyber*, which ſeparated it from the *Roman* Territories; on the North, by the *Apennine* Hills; and on the South, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The Names of the capital Cities of the twelve *Lucumonies*, were *Luna* or *Carrera*, *Piſa*, *Populonia*, *Volaterræ*, *Agylla* or *Cære*, *Feſula*, *Ruſſeliana*, *Aretium*, *Peruſia*, *Cluſium*, *Falerii*, and *Volſinium*. *Hetruria* was long the Mother of all the Learning and Politeneſs of the *Romans*. Before they had conquered *Greece*, they ſent their Children thither to go through with their Studies, and cultivate their Minds. The *Hetrurians* taught the *Romans* the Uſe of religious Sacrifices, Divination, and Auguries: And moſt of the *Roman* Arts came originally from *Hetruria*. The *Hetrurians* themſelves were an antient Colony of *Lydians*. *Herodotus* ſays a Company of *Phoceans* ſettled there.

Year of *ROME* CLVI. TARQUIN THE FIRST.

He armed all his Legions, applied to all his Allies for Succours, and took the Field in the Beginning of the Spring. The Subjects of a State which is governed by one Head only, are uſually in a greater Readineſs to march, than Troops collected from different Cantons, which are independent of one another. *Tarquin* divided his Army into two Bodies, his *Romans* he commanded himſelf, and gave the Command of his Allies to his Couſin *Egerius*, otherwiſe called *Collatinus*, whoſe Negligence proved fatal to him. For he went and inveſted *Fidena*, and at the ſame time preſuming too much upon his Strength, ſent out ſeveral conſiderable Detachments from his Army, to go and plunder the Country. The *Hetrurians* had a ſtrong Garriſon in the Town, which they had taken Care to increaſe with new Succours from *Hetruria*. And with theſe Reinforcements they made ſo vigorous a Sally upon *Collatinus*'s Army, that they ſurprized his Camp ill-guarded and ill-defended; and then eaſily defeated his Detachments, which were diſperſed about the Country in ſmall Parties.

HOWEVER, *Tarquin* and his *Romans* had a more ſucceſsful Campaign. He turned his Arms againſt *Veii*, one of the Cities of antient *Hetruria*, which was neareſt *Rome*; and encamped at the Foot of the ſteep Rock on which it ſtood. Here he made it his Buſineſs to ravage all the Neighbourhood; which drew the *Hetrurians* together from all Parts, to defend their Lands, and brought on a Battle, in which *Rome* had all the Advantage. *Veii* indeed was not taken; its advantageous Situation preſerved it: But all its Territory was laid waſte. Three Years ſucceſſively were ſpent in making Incurſions into it; whereby the *Veientes* were prevented having any Harveſts a great while. So that the King returned to *Rome* enriched with Spoil, after having taken a great Number of Priſoners from the Enemy, and made freſh Preparations for continuing the War with *Hetruria*.

CÆRE, one of the moſt conſiderable Cities of the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* [57] (founded by the *Pelaſgi*, who at firſt gave it the Name of *Agylla*, which the *Hetrurians* afterwards changed into that of *Cære*) was next attempted by *Tarquin*, who turned his whole Strength againſt it. Upon this, the Grandeur, Riches and Reputation of the City put all the *Hetrurians* into Motion, and brought them from all Parts to its Defence: But the *Hetrurian* Army, which was drawn up under its Walls, did not at all terrify the intrepid *Roman*. On the contrary, he fought and diſperſed it, forcing the Conquered, after the Loſs of many Men, to fly for Refuge within the Walls of *Cære*. Nevertheleſs, *Tarquin* did not think fit to attempt the Siege of a Place which was filled with the Remains of a great Army; and therefore contented himſelf with getting what Spoil he could out of the Country. The Plunder of this wealthy Territory kept the *Romans* long employed; and they did not return to *Rome* till they were grown ſo rich and victorious, that they could find no more Enemies to conquer, or Spoils to carry away.

Year of *ROME* CLVII.

§. XVII. IN the mean time, the Conqueſt of *Fidena* grew daily of more and more Importance to the *Romans*. They had Reaſon to fear, that if the *Sabines* ſhould again join the *Hetrurians*, this City, which was the only Bulwark they had againſt the Irruption of the *Sabines*, would ſerve them as a Key to open a Way into the *Roman* Dominions. Beſides, the *Fidenates* had juſtly incurred the Anger of the Conqueror, by their Revolt and Treachery. But then the *Hetrurians* were at the ſame time no leſs concerned in Intereſt, to maintain themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of a Poſt which was a ſort of Blockade to *Rome*, and a great Inducement to the *Sabines* to join them; and they therefore aſſembled all their Forces together round about *Fidena*. So that the two Armies came to a very ſharp Engagement here, but the Victory, which was long diſputed, fell at laſt to the *Romans*. The Conqueror did not think it enough to plunder the Country he ſubdued; he concluded it abſolutely neceſſary to recover a City ſo near *Rome*; and accordingly laid Siege to it. It is difficult to deſcribe the Ardour with which the *Romans* puſhed on their Attacks; and we ſhall therefore only obſerve in general, that as Treachery had delivered it up to the *Hetrurians*, ſo Valour and Force reſtored it to the *Romans*;

57 The *Tyrrhenians*, ſoon after their landing in *Italy*, having determined to make themſelves Maſters of *Agylla*, one of them went near the Walls to enquire what was the Name of the City. To whom the Inhabitant he ſpoke to giving no other Anſwer but χαῖρε, which was with the *Greeks* a common Term of a civil Salutation, the *Tyrrhenians* thought this a happy Omen; and after they had taken the City, changed its firſt Name into that of *Cære*.

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Year of ROME CLIX. TARQUIN THE FIRST.

ho were now wholly taken up with revenging themſelves on the rebellious *Fi-enates*. All ſuch as were ſuſpected of having ſold the City, were whipped with ods, and beheaded. The *Hetrurian* Gariſon were made Priſoners of War, and uch increaſed the Number of thoſe who had been taken in the preceding Battles. hen the Lands of the *Fidenates* were diſtributed by Lot among the *Roman* Sol-iers, which were left in Gariſon at *Fidena*, and made their Property. And the emainder of the Citizens were ſent into perpetual Baniſhment.

THE *Sabines* kept yet ſome Meaſures with the *Romans*, and by an unac-ountable Piece of Policy, did not enter into a direct Confederacy with the *He-rurians*, againſt their common Enemy; though they at the ſame time gave the *He-rurian* Army a free Paſſage thro' their Country, to carry on the War againſt *Rome*. he formidable Army which was to have been raiſed out of all the *Lucumonies*, as to have taken this Rout, to come and attack it. But the vigilant *Tarquin* aſtened to meet the Enemy, before they were aſſembled, and came up with them ear *Eretum*. This was a little City of the *Sabines*, only ten Miles diſtant from *Rome*. It is indeed ſurprizing, that the *Romans* ſhould not have gained themſelves laſting Dominion at a greater Diſtance from Home than this, after ſo much Blood ad been ſhed by them under five Kings. But they ſeem to have been then wholly aken up with peopling their City, by removing into it all the Inhabitants of the Cities they ſubdued; and not to have given themſelves any Trouble about enlarg-ng their Territories. But be that as it will, *Eretum* now became the Scene of he moſt bloody Battle, and moſt glorious Victory, by which *Tarquin* ever ſigna-ized himſelf. He was ſo expeditious, that he did not give all the *Lucumonies* ime to aſſemble; nor had the *Sabines* given the *Hetrurians* any Succours, but a ew Voluntiers, which they hired at a great Price. The Courage of the *Ro-ans* in the Battle, was not inferior to the Expedition of their March. *Tarquin* xcelled himſelf on this Occaſion, and the Defeat of his Enemies was com-leat. The *Roman* State it ſelf may be ſaid to have begun to increaſe conſidera-ly from this Time: And therefore the Senate immediately decreed their King the Honours of a Triumph. It was not uſual indeed to grant them till after a Nation had been ſubdued and conquered: But the *Romans* thought the *Hetruri-ns* could never recover the Blow they had received before *Eretum*. Nevertheleſs, *Tarquin* did not enter *Rome* in Triumph, till after the War with *Hetruria* was en-tirely ended.

INDEED the *Hetrurians* themſelves deſpaired of conquering the *Romans*, af-ter ſo unſucceſsful a Battle. They conſidered that the *Lucumonies* were ex-tremely weakened by the Loſs of the braveſt of their Youth, who had either been aken or killed in the many Battles in which they had been worſted; and parti-cularly obſerved how much their Army was diminiſhed by the laſt Defeat. Tho' he whole Body of their State had not been in the Engagement, yet there was no ne Canton of it but what had received ſome Damage, at leaſt from the Battle f *Eretum*. Beſides thoſe of their People who had been left dead upon the Spot, here were others likewiſe who had been overtaken in their Flight, and had ſur-endered themſelves to the Enemy.

IN this great Diſtreſs then, the *Lucumones* acted like wiſe Men. The new Ar-ny *Tarquin* led from *Rome* increaſed their Apprehenſions; and brought them to a Determination, in a general Aſſembly of the whole Nation, to apply to the Con-queror for a Peace. They ſent Deputies to the King from each *Lucumony*, who were Men venerable for their Employments and their Age, and had an nlimited Commiſſion. Theſe did their utmoſt to raiſe the King's Compaſſion, y putting him in mind that he owed his Birth to *Hetruria*; and that his Father's nd his own Alliances there had made him *Hetrurian* before he became *Roman*. *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to Clemency, and followed that Inclination, when e found it not prejudicial to his Ambition. He gave the Deputies a favour-ble Audience, and anſwered them in theſe Words: *I have but one Queſtion to sk you: Do you yet pretend to ſet your ſelves upon an equal Foot with* Rome, *nd vie with her; or do you acknowledge your ſelves to be overcome, and give us p the Victory?* To which the Deputies replied, with the utmoſt Submiſſion, *Both ur Cities and our* Lucumonies *are yours; diſpoſe of us, as of your own Property: For we ask no other Conditions of Peace, but ſuch as the Will of our Conqueror*

ſhall

Year of ROME CLIX. TARQUIN THE FIRST.

ſhall dictate. The Conditions then which I inſiſt on, replied the King, with a Smile, *are theſe: I ſpare all the Blood of the* Hetrurians, *and don't require the Death of any one of your Citizens. You ſhall likewiſe continue to enjoy your Eſtates, and remain in your own Country. I will neither take away your Laws, nor alter the antient Form of your Government; nor ſhall your fortify'd Places be filled with* Roman *Garriſons. I will depend on the Fidelity of your Promiſes for ſecuring their Subjection to me. And I will not puniſh you either with Contributions or Taxes. The only Advantage I require, for heaping all theſe Favours upon you, is, the Sovereignty over your* Lucumonies. *I could indeed extort it from you, by the ſuperior Strength of my Forces, if your Obſtinacy refuſed it me; but I chooſe rather to accept it, as a free Gift, from a People I love, and to whom I owe my Birth. Return then to the Aſſembly of your States, and make a Report of my Clemency, and my Pretenſions; and enjoy the Truce I now grant you, till your* Lucumonies *give a deciſive Anſwer.*

THIS was granting the *Hetrurians* much more Favour than they had expected; and they therefore neither delayed ſending back their Deputies to the King; nor did they bring him only Words, and bare Promiſes: In Proof of their accepting the King of *Rome* to be their Sovereign, they preſented him with all the Enſigns of Authority they had among them, which were theſe: A Crown of Gold, a Throne of Ivory, a Scepter with an Eagle on the Top of it, *a Tunick* embroidered with Gold [58], and adorned with Palm-Branches, a purple Robe enriched with Flowers of different Colours; and laſtly, according to ſome, twelve *Axes* [59] with their *Faſces*.

TARQUIN's Moderation, and Deference for his Senate and People were no leſs ſignal on this Occaſion, than his Valour and Clemency towards his Enemies. Tho' he was enriched with ſuch valuable Preſents, he was not in Haſte to appear with them; but deferred wearing theſe ſtately Ornaments even after his Return to *Rome*, till ſuch time as the People and Senate had conſented to it by an expreſs Law. As ſoon indeed as a Decree was paſſed, which removed the Scruple *Tarquin*'s Condeſcention had thrown in his Way, he reſolved to apply theſe *Regalia* to the Decoration of his Triumph: Which by this means became much more ſumptuous and magnificent than any triumphant Entry had hitherto been. Some antient Hiſtorians make this Triumph of *Tarquin*'s the firſt *Rome* had ſeen; but this doubtleſs can only be becauſe they overlook thoſe of the former Kings, which had nothing but their Simplicity to recommend them. Whereas *Tarquin* entered *Rome*, in the preſent Triumph, riding in a gilded Chariot, and drawn by four Horſes. He wore all the royal Ornaments he had received from the *Hetrurians*; and the Splendor of his Appearance, with a Crown of Gold on his Head, a Scepter in his Hand, ſitting in a *Curule* Chair, cloathed in a purple Robe, and *a Tunick* em-

Meſſala, and *Eutropius*.

Florus, *Pliny*, and *Verrius Flaccus*.

58 This the *Latins* called *Tunica palmata*. It is true, Authors ſometimes confound it with what they alſo called *Toga picta*: But theſe were two different Ornaments worn by thoſe who triumphed; and it is neceſſary to ſhew here the Difference between them. The *Tunica palmata* was not, properly ſpeaking, a long hanging Robe, but rather a Veſt, which was partly hid under the Robe. It at firſt had no Sleeves, and afterwards but very ſhort ones. As all the *Romans* wore *Tunicks*, they ſhewed the Difference of their Rank, by that of their *Tunicks*. Some ſewed upon theirs purple Flowers, which were ſtuck on like the Heads of Nails; and hence comes the Word *Laticlavium*. Only the chief Magiſtrates, and Senators, and general Officers of the Army, could wear theſe. The inferior Magiſtrates, the *Roman* Knights, and ſome other Officers in the Army, wore indeed *Tunicks* with purple Flowers; but theſe Flowers were ſmaller than the others; and from hence comes the Name *Anguſticlavium*. As for thoſe who triumphed, of whom we are now ſpeaking, they, inſtead of embroidered Flowers, wore purple *Palm Branches* upon their Tunicks, or *Tunicæ palmatæ*. As to the *Toga picta*, ſome think it was a Robe common among the *Romans*, only of a purple Colour: And as to the Robe in general, it was nothing but a ſort of very long Mantle, which hung in great Folds quite down to the Ground, and which they put on upon their right Shoulders, and threw one Lappet of it over the left. The *Robes* of the Senators were adorned with great purple Flowers, as well as their *Tunicks*; and thoſe of the Knights with ſmaller. And the *Robes* of thoſe who triumphed were likewiſe probably adorned with Palm-Branches, as their *Tunicks* were. At leaſt, it is certain they were made of rich Stuffs, and had ſome Gold in them; and they were called *Togæ pictæ*. Only two Perſons ever had the Privilege of wearing them out of a Triumph, and in common, who were *Paulus Æmilius*, and *Pompey*.

59 It is not the common Opinion, that the twelve *Lictors*, carrying their *Axes* and *Faſces*, began firſt to attend the *Kings* in *Old Tarquin*'s Time. The beſt Hiſtorians aſſure us, that this Royal Guard was uſed as early as *Romulus*'s Time. It's true, the firſt King of *Rome* borrowed this Cuſtom from the *Hetrurians*; which perhaps was what made *Strabo* think, *B.* 5. that *Old Tarquin* received the *Axes* and *Lictors* from them. Which if he did, it's certain he was not the firſt King of *Rome* who made Uſe of them.

broidered

broidered with Gold, and attended by twelve *Lictors* with their *Axes* and *Faſces*, dazzled the Eyes of his *Romans*. But alas! how ſhort-ſighted were they, to ſuffer their antient Simplicity and Frugality to give way to Luxury and Exceſs! When once *Tarquin* was authorized to appear with Splendor on the Throne, he never laid aſide the State with which he had been inveſted. He ever after appeared in publick with the ſame Air of Grandeur, and tranſmitted down theſe Enſigns of State to the *Kings* his Succeſſors. From them they paſſed to the *Conſuls*, who always appeared with the ſame Train of Attendants, and the ſame Ornaments, excepting only the golden Crown, and the *Tunick* embroidered with Gold, and ſprigged with Palm-branches: but the laſt of theſe Ornaments was granted to thoſe who triumphed, even in the Time of the Republick.

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THUS ended the War with the *Hetrurians*, which laſted nine Years. *Tarquin*, who firſt left *Hetruria*, out of Deſpair of ever riſing there to publick Offices, had now, ſince his Removal to *Rome*, both aſcended the Throne of the *Romans*, and made himſelf Sovereign of the *Hetrurians*. A rare Inſtance of a great Ambition, ſupported by as great Merit.

Year of *ROME* CLXI.

§. XVIII. AND now indeed it had been but juſt, that the *Romans* ſhould have enjoyed the Sweets of Peace, at leaſt after the Fatigues of a long War: but their King loved Action, and delighted in Exerciſe too much, to let their Repoſe degenerate into Idleneſs. He therefore ſpent the Interval between the laſt War and the ſucceeding one, in uſeful Works, ſuch as fortifying, adorning and cleanſing *Rome*. This, I believe, was the Time in which *Tarquin* finiſhed the Walls of the City, and built thoſe famous Common-Sewers, which were afterwards thought to be one of the Wonders of the World. And we ought not therefore to omit the particular Account which Hiſtory has given us of theſe important Structures, for which *Rome* was indebted to a King, who was of *Greek* Original, and ſeems to have brought with him into *Italy*, the Taſte of that Country, for adorning Cities, and for the Magnificence of publick Buildings.

As to the Walls of *Rome*, the Maſonry of them, till *Tarquin*'s Time, was very coarſe, and the Stones uneven. But he, before he began his War with the *Sabines*, built up a Part of them with hewn Stones, and with an Elegancy hitherto unknown to the *Romans*. And now, that he had ended that Expedition, he finiſhed his Work, or at leaſt left very little of it for his Succeſſor to do.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 200. Livy, B. 1. ch. 36. and Meſſala.

AND as to the Common-Sewers of *Rome* [60], which were alſo the Work of *Tarquin*, tho' they did not ſtrike the Eyes of his People ſo agreeably as the *Circus*, or the Reparation of the Walls, they were nevertheleſs in reality both more uſeful and more magnificent.

Year of *ROME* CLXII, CLXIII, CLXIV, CLXV.

PLINY, who did not examine them till eight hundred Years after they were built, could not ſpeak of them without Admiration. *Rome*, as has been ſaid, then contained within it four Hills eſpecially, which were conſiderable; namely, the *Palatinus*, *Tarpeius*, *Quirinalis*, and *Cælius*: and in the Valleys between them, the Rain-water and Springs uniting, made great Pools, which overflowed the low ſtreets, and the publick Places. The Mud of them likewiſe made the Way unpaſſable; and not paſſing off, it infected the Air, and made the City unhealthy. This then led *Tarquin* to apply himſelf to purifying the City, and cleanſing it from its Filth: which he undertook to do, by drawing off the Waters through ſubterraneous Canals, and conveying them into the *Tyber*.

Pliny, B. 33. ch. 15.

HE made all the Arches of theſe Common-Sewers of hard Stone, and ſpared neither Expence nor Labour to make the Work durable. Their Heighth and Breadth were ſo conſiderable, that a Cart loaded with Hay, could eaſily paſs

[60] Beſides what is ſaid in the Text of theſe Common-Sewers, it may not be improper to add ſome Circumſtances here taken from different Authors. 1ſt, It's ſaid, that *Rome* took the myſterious Name of *Amaryllis*, from the Word ἀμάρα, which may ſignify a Channel for the drawing off of Water, becauſe of the Magnificence of theſe Common-Sewers. 2dly, The Sewers *Tarquin* made, were divided into three large Canals, into which ſeveral other little ones emptied themſelves: and by this means all the Filth of the City was eaſily carried off. 3dly, The Deſcription *Caſſiodorus* gives us of them, is a magnificent one. He ſays, the ſubterranean Canals were ſo many Rivers, and that with reſpect to them, *Rome* never had its Equal; *Hinc Roma ſingularis*. 4thly, Suppoſing that each of the 6000 *Drams*, of which the *Attick Talent* is univerſally allowed to have conſiſted, to be equal to ten *Sous French*, [and, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, to 7 Pence 3 Farthings *Engliſh*] the 1000 *Talents* given to the Perſon who undertook to repair theſe Sewers, will then amount to three millions of *French Livres*, [and to 193750 Pounds *Sterling*.]

Year of *ROME* CLXII, CLXIII, CLXIV, CLXV.

TARQUIN THE FIRST.

through them under Ground. But what moſt encreaſed the Difficulty of the Work, was, that in order to reach the *Tyber* [61], into which theſe Waters were to diſcharge themſelves, it was neceſſary to cut through Hills, and open under the City, through Rocks, a Way big enough for a navigable Stream, and covered with Arches ſtrong enough to bear the Weight of the Houſes, which were often built upon them, and ſtood as well as on the moſt ſolid Foundations. The Expence of this incomparable Work was never ſo well underſtood as when it came to be repaired. The *Cenſors* gave no leſs than a thouſand *Talents* to him * who undertook to cleanſe theſe Sewers.

Strabo, B. 5. *Pliny, B.* 36. *ch.* 5.

* *Aquilius*, according to *Dio. B.* 3.

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WHEN the Valley, in which the *Roman Forum* [62] ſtood, was perfectly cleaned of its Filth, by the help of theſe Common-Sewers, the King took pleaſure in adorning this publick Place. He ſurrounded it with Galleries, in which were Shops for Tradeſmen, eſpecially for the Bankers and Money-Changers. He built Temples in it, and opened Schools there for the Youth of both Sexes: and laſtly, erected Halls, for the Adminiſtration of publick Juſtice. And all this was brought to ſo great a Perfection by him, that all the Magnificence of the *Romans* afterwards, added very little to what had been at firſt done in his Time.

§. XIX. BUT whilſt *Tarquin* employed the Leiſure of his *Romans* in uſeful Works, his own Thoughts were employed in conſidering of a War with the *Sabines*. Both his natural Ambition, and the Intereſt of his State, excited him to undertake this new Expedition. The Country of the *Sabines* was ſo near *Rome*, that the *Romans* had always reaſon to be apprehenſive of ſuch dangerous Enemies, whenever their Troops removed, tho' but at a little diſtance, from their City. Beſides, the Territory of the *Sabines* was very large and fruitful. It's true, their Forces were formidable: but after the Conqueſt of the *Latins*, and the Submiſſion of the *Hetrurians*, *Tarquin* thought he might uſefully employ theſe new Subjects againſt a Nation which they themſelves had made haughty and proud with the Succours they had ſent them before their Subjection to *Rome*. And for Pretences, *Tarquin* did not want any, for declaring War againſt the *Sabines*. He had already ſent to them, to demand all thoſe of their Nation, who had ſtirred up the *Hetrurians* to take up Arms againſt him; and pretended to puniſh them as Rebels. This they thought was ſtriking at their common Liberty, and refuſed to ſurrender up their Countrymen to the Revenge of an imperious King, who aſſumed to himſelf a Right over them which did not belong to him. Nay, they were even bold enough to be beforehand with the *Romans*, and made Incurſions into their Lands.

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Dion. Hal. B. 3. *p.* 196.

THEN *Tarquin* loſt no time in leading his Troops againſt the *Sabines*. Theſe indeed never imagined they would fall upon them ſo ſoon: but the *Romans* were always ready to fight; and their inſatiable Eagerneſs after Battels would appear incredible, were it not atteſted by all Antiquity. The preſent one, which was fought on the Confines of the two Nations, continued the whole Day, till Night put an end to it. It was fought with equal Valour and equal Advantage on both Sides: which made the Generals begin mutually to fear, and to ſtand in awe of each other. So that the two Armies retired into their Camps, and appeared in the Plain no more. Nay, both *Romans* and *Sabines* returned to their own Countries; and neither committed any more Hoſtilities, nor made any Incurſions, all the reſt of the Campaign.

§. XX. IT was not uſual for *Tarquin*, to return to *Rome* without being crowned with ſome freſh Laurel; he therefore made Advantage of the ſhort Interval he had left, before Spring, by employing it, in forming Schemes for the enſuing Campaign. He conſidered, that his Armies wanted Horſe, and that ſo conſiderable a Defect as this, had often hindered him from ſufficiently

61 Theſe Common-Sewers were ſpread all over the City in different Branches, which all ran into the *Tyber*. The great Number of Aqueducts and Rivulets which joined to all the Waters of *Rome* and round about it, and diſcharged themſelves into theſe Sewers, together with the Declivity of theſe ſubterranean Canals themſelves, would not ſuffer the Filth to continue long in them.

62 *Forum Romanum* was the Name given to this publick Market-place, or great Opening, in *Rome*. It reached from the *Capitol* to the Hill *Palatinus*; and it was called *Forum*, *à ferendo*, becauſe ſome *brought* Proviſions to ſell there; and others *brought* Cauſes to be heard there. The Aſſembly of the *Curiæ* was held in a Part of it, which was called *Comitium*. During the whole Time of the Kings and the Republick, there was no publick *Place* in *Rome*, except the *Forum Romanum*. *Julius Cæſar* added a ſecond to it; and *Auguſtus* a third. And other Emperors adorned *Rome* with other publick *Places*: but that of *Tarquin* excelled all the reſt in Magnificence.

purſuing

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ursuing his Advantages. The *Roman* Infantry was indeed become very numerous, nce the removal of a great multitude of Inhabitants from the conquered Cities *Rome:* but the Cavalry continued upon the ſame Foot on which *Romulus* had ft it. It conſiſted only of three Bodies of *Roman* Knights, to whom the firſt ing had given the Names of *Rhamnenſes* [63], *Tatienſes*, and *Luceres*. *Tarquin*, ho knew how to make the beſt uſe of the Cavalry, and had commanded it in e former King's Time, propoſed to add ſome new Bodies of Knights to thoſe f the firſt Inſtitution.

AND in any State leſs ſuperſtitious than that of the *Romans*, this Deſign would ave been put in execution, without any Diſpute: but in *Rome*, *Tarquin* found n Oppoſition made to the Innovation he had a mind to introduce. This Diviſion f the Horſe into three Bodies had been determined by *Auguries:* and this was round enough for the *Augurs* to oppoſe the wicked Attempt which, they ſaid, the ing was going to make againſt the Authority of Religion.

TARQUIN was indeed born in *Hetruria*, where Divinations had their *Terence.* iſe; for the *Hetrurians* were the firſt *Italians* that made uſe of them. Neertheleſs, as he was a *Greek* by Deſcent, he ſeemed to have but little Regard for heſe trifling Obſervations; and therefore thought to prevail on his People to overook ſuch weak Conſiderations. *Actius Navius* or *Nævius*, the famous *Augur* of hat Time, was the only Man who undertook to oppoſe the King's Will: And I annot omit giving an Account here of an Adventure which both ſacred and pro- *St. Auſt.* and *Lactantius.* hane Antiquity have tranſmitted to us; though I am not ignorant of the little Credit it deſerves; notwithſtanding that *Tully* makes his Brother *Quintus* ſay, that *Tully de Divin. B.* 1, hey muſt burn all their Annals, and call in queſtion the beſt atteſted Facts in Hiſory, who don't believe the Prodigy of *Actius Navius*. The whole Story is his.

§. XXI. *NAVIUS* was born in the Country, and his Father was a poor Man, whoſe *Dion. Hal.* whole Inheritance was a little Field, partly ſown with Corn, and partly planted with Vines. His firſt Buſineſs in his Infancy was to keep the vileſt Animals his Fa- *Tully, ibid.* her had: And one Day, after he had been aſleep, he found at his waking, that ome Sows of his Herd were wanting. At this, his Fear of the Anger and Corection of his Father firſt vented it ſelf in Tears, and then he went into a Cave, conſecrated to the *Heroes*; that is, to thoſe famous Men in *Italy*, who, according to the Belief of that Time, from being Mortals, had been placed among the Gods. Here *Navius* made a Vow to come and offer up to the Demi-Gods the biggeſt Bunch of Grapes that was in his Father's little Vineyard: And afterwards the young Swine-herd by Chance found his ſtray Beaſts. Upon which, the great Difficulty of performing his Vow with all due Exactneſs, being that of finding out which was really the biggeſt Bunch of Grapes in the Vineyard, he had Recourſe for this to the Art of Divination. By the Help of the Augural Staff he divided his Father's Field into four Parts, made his Obſervation on the flying of the Birds from the four Quarters of the World, and the Operation ſucceeded. He found out by the Auguries the Vine which bore the biggeſt Bunch, gathered it, and made an Offering of it in the Cave of the Heroes.

IN the mean time, *Navius*'s Father, who had been a Witneſs of all his Son's Management, thought Nature had given him a Talent for Divination, which it was his Duty to bring to Perfection. He therefore brought him to the neighbouring City, had him there made a good Scholar, and when he was come to a mature Age, put him under the Diſcipline of the moſt learned *Augur* in *Hetruria*. At this time *Numa* had eſtabliſhed a College of *Augurs* at *Rome*, which then conſiſted of Citizens who were more conſiderable for their Birth, than their Knowledge in Divinations. *Navius* was therefore ſent for to *Rome*,

[63] Theſe three Names were thoſe of the three *Tribes*, into which *Rome* was divided by *Romulus*. The firſt of theſe was ſo called from one of *Romulus*'s Names; the ſecond from the Name of *Titus Tatius* the *Sabine* King, whom *Romulus* permitted to reign with him in *Rome*; and the third, either from the Name of the *Lucumo*, who came and ſettled at *Rome*, in *Romulus*'s Time, or from the Name of the Wood, which ſerved as an *Aſylum* to the firſt *Romans*, and was called *Lucus*. Out of each of theſe *Tribes* was choſen a hundred Knights, which made in all three hundred, and each Body bore the Name of the *Tribe*, out of which it was taken. *Auguries* had likewiſe been made uſe of in their Choice: So that the People had long continued not to dare to increaſe their Number, out of a ſcrupulous Regard to Religion. However, *Tarquin* doubled them, and made them ſix hundred.

merely

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merely to assist the *Augurs* in the Business of their Office, without being admitted into this illustrious Society: And as he had an established Reputation for Skill in the Art of Divining, no Determination was made by the Court of *Augurs* but by his Advice, and upon his Answers.

NAVIUS therefore was not afraid to stand alone in opposing the Resolution the King had taken, of increasing the Number of *Roman* Knights, which had been determined by Divination. He obstinately withstood the King's Will, and took upon him the Defence of *Romulus*'s Institution, as he had left it.

BUT *Tarquin* thought the *Augur* not serious in his Opposition, and therefore sent for this Diviner into his Presence, being fully resolved to confound and discredit in him this Divining Art, which Superstition maintained to the Diminution of the Royal Authority.

Livy, B. 1. *ch.* 36.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. *p.* 203. and *Florus.*

As soon as *Navius* appeared before *Tarquin*, in the midst of the *Forum*, and in the Sight of all the People, the King said to him, *Diviner, canst thou discover by thy Art, whether what I am thinking of can be done, or not?* And the *Augur* answered with great Composure, *Yes, my Lord,* [64] *my Art tells me that what you are thinking of may be done.* Upon which *Tarquin*, pulling out a Razor from under his Robe, and taking a Flint in his Hand, replied with a Sneer: *I was thinking whether it was possible to cut this Flint with this Razor. I have taken thee in thy own Craft; the introducing the Gods into thy Decisions, is all Cheat and Imposture. If thou canst perform what is impossible, do.* At these Words the People burst out a laughing: Whilst *Navius* alone discovered no Surprize. On the contrary, he addressed himself to the King with an Air of Assurance, and said, [65] *Put the Razor to the Flint, and try. I readily submit to any Punishment, if you don't do what you thought on.* In short, *Tarquin*, contrary to his Expectation, saw the Hardness of the Flint give way to the Edge of the Razor, and he cut through it with so much Ease, that the Stroke reached his Hand, and drew Blood from it.

THEN the People, in a Consternation, testified their Surprize by their Acclamations. The King laid aside his Design of altering *Romulus*'s Establishment, and his Contempt for the *Augur* was turned into Admiration. The Art *Navius* professed gained new Credit in *Rome* from that Time: And no Determination was afterwards made, either in the Camp or City, without the Approbation of the *Augurs*.

As for *Navius* himself, *Tarquin* erected a Statue [66] of Brass to his Memory, in the Place [67] called *Comitium*, where the publick Assemblies were held, and there it continued till *Augustus*'s Time. The Razor and Flint, which were kept as Monuments of the Miracle, were buried near it [68], under an Altar, at which Men were ever after sworn, in Matters of Justice. If we may judge of *Navius* by this Statue, he was but small of Stature: He wore a Veil on his Head, to shew that he was consecrated to the Worship of the Gods.

Silver.

64 *Dion. Hal.* says, *Navius* went, by *Tarquin*'s Order, to consult the flying of Birds upon the spot, and told the King, that the Omens were favourable.

65 *Livy* says, *Navius* took the Flint into his own Hands, and cut it, in *Tarquin*'s Presence.

66 This Statue was of a lesser Size than ordinary. It represented the *Augur Navius*, with one of the Lappets of his Robe thrown over his Head like a Cowl. The *Augurs* were always represented so, when in the Performance of their Office, as appears by the Medals.

67 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the Statue was placed near the *Ficus Ruminalis*; (or the Fig-tree under which *Romulus* and *Rhemus* are said to have sucked the Wolf:) and *Livy*, that it stood on the Left Hand of the Place called *Curia Hostilia*, where the Senate used to assemble.

68 The Place where this Razor and Flint were buried, was called *Puteal:* it was indeed a sort of *Well*, (which is in the *Latin*, *Puteus.*) An Altar was built over it, in the *Comitium*, near the Place where Justice was administred. *Tully* says, Men were sworn on this Altar, by touching it with their Hands. The Form of the Oath consisted of calling *Jupiter* to witness the Truth of what was said, and praying him to deprive those who swore, of all they had in the World, if they swore falsely, as effectually as they deprived themselves of the Stones they had in their Hands, which they let drop. *Si ego te sciens fallo, ita me ejiciat Diespiter bonis, salva urbe & arce, ut ego hunc lapidem.*

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THE Reader will, no doubt, think it ſtrange, that an Event related with ſo many Circumſtances, reported by all the Writers of the *Roman* Hiſtory, and adopted even by ſome of the Fathers of the Church, who without queſtioning it, imputed it to Magick, ſhould be a mere fabulous Invention: And yet this is the Judgment which *Tully* himſelf formed of it, tho' an *Augur*. *Look with Contempt*, ſays he to his Brother *Quintus*, *look with Contempt on the Razor and Flint of the famous* Attius; *when we reaſon as Philoſophers, we ought to lay no Streſs upon Fables.* *De Divin. B. 1.*

As to *Tarquin*, it is pretended that he paid ſuch a Deference to the common Prejudices in Favour of *Auguries*, as not to dare to make any Attempts upon *Romulus*'s Eſtabliſhment. He therefore did not add any new Company of *Roman* Knights to the three old ones: Nevertheleſs he had a greater Number of Horſe than any of his Predeceſſors. He increaſed the Number of Soldiers, without increaſing the Number of the Troops; and the *Roman* Cavalry now amounted to 1800 Men. Thus the artful *Greek* ſhewed a Regard for the publick Superſtition, and at the ſame time augmented his Forces.

§. XXII. WITH this Reinforcement the King marched out of *Rome*, in the Spring, to renew the War with the *Sabines*: But they, having had time enough to get great Succours from the Cities of *Hetruria*, prevented him [69], and appeared firſt in the Field. *Tarquin* found them encamped near *Fidena*, by the Place where *the Tyber* joins *the Anio*. The *Hetrurians* were poſted on one Bank of *the Tyber*, and the *Sabines* on the other, over againſt them; and there was a Communication between the two confederate Armies, by a Bridge of Boats laid croſs the River.

THE *Roman*, who found himſelf ſtopped by this unexpected Incampment, and could not poſſeſs himſelf of the upper Part of the River, came nevertheleſs and poſted himſelf on a Hill by the Banks of *the Anio*, in an advantageous Situation. The skilful *Tarquin* thought his preſent Buſineſs was not ſo much to exert his Valour in bold Attacks, as his Conduct in ſurprizing the Enemy by ſome Stratagem of War. He bore the Bravadoes of the united *Sabines* and *Hetrurians* without ſtirring; and though they came into the Plain and inſultingly offered him Battle, he would not move out of his Intrenchments. He was all the while taken up with inventing a Stratagem, whereby he might ruin and deſtroy both their Camps. He ſent a Detachment of his Troops to the oppoſite Side of *the Tyber*, unknown to the Enemy, with Orders not to act till he gave them Notice. Whilſt he himſelf was in the mean time contriving Means to cut off the Communication the *Sabines* had with the *Hetrurians* by the Bridge of Boats which they had laid over the River. As the *Roman* had poſted himſelf above *the Anio*, at a little Diſtance from the Place where it diſcharges it ſelf into *the Tyber*, he perceived, that the Current of this little River would carry any thing into *the Tyber*, which was ſent down it. He likewiſe foreſaw, that if the ſame Wind continued, it would, with a little Help, carry Barks up *the Tyber*, againſt the Stream, and bring them to the Bridge of Boats.

WITH this View, the King built flat-bottom Boats, like Rafts, and loaded them with dry Wood, Sulphur and Roſin: And in the Night, while the Wind continued favourable to his Deſign, he ſent the Fire-ſhips he had prepared, both down *the Anio*, and up *the Tyber*, at the ſame time. So that the Enemy's Bridge being thus inveſted on both Sides, with theſe burning Materials, was ſoon all in a Flame. The *Sabines* therefore ran inſtantly to extinguiſh it, and, as is uſual on ſuch unforeſeen and ſudden Accidents, left their Camp unguarded. Then *Tarquin* came and attacked it with the beſt Part of his *Roman* Forces. He had marched out of his Entrenchments before the Day dawned, and by break of Day he made himſelf Maſter of the *Sabine* Camp. On the other Bank, the Detachment he had ſent away, and which had paſſed *the Tyber* in the Night, came and fell upon the Camp

[69] This War of the *Sabines* in Conjunction with the *Hetrurians*, may perhaps be thought miſplaced. And indeed the *Romans* had made Peace with the *Ceremonies* of *Hetruria*, from the Time that *Tarquin* triumphed for his Victory over them. Nor do I deny but it's probable, that this firſt War of the *Sabines* againſt *Rome*, might be ſome Years before their other Wars with *Tarquin*, which we mention immediately after it. But after all, as Hiſtorians have not given us the exact Dates of theſe *Sabine* Wars, which we believe were at different Times, we will therefore relate them in one continued Chain, to the Triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, upon the entire Reduction of the *Sabines*. We ſhall indeed, by this means, place thoſe Events all together in one View, which did not perhaps immediately follow one another: but we think it a ſufficient Excuſe, to give the Reader this Notice of it.

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of the *Hetrurians*, which was ſtill more negligently guarded than that of the *Sabines*. As ſoon as they ſaw the Bridge of Boats take Fire (which was the Signal *Tarquin* had given them) they attacked the Camp on the other Side *the Tyber*. So that the Enemy being attacked on both Sides of it, ſome of them periſhed by the Flames, ſome by the Sword, and ſome by leaping voluntarily into *the Tyber*, to ſave themſelves by ſwimming. And by this means, the Arms of the Enemy, which came floating down the River, brought the News of this Victory to *Rome*, before the Couriers diſpatched by the King arrived. The greateſt Part of the Glory of this fine Action was avowedly due to the *Roman* Cavalry. Theſe, being poſted in the Out-ſide of the two Wings of the Army, and ſeeing the *Sabines* come out of their Camp, and break through the Center of the *Roman* Infantry, ran with ſuch Expedition to its Relief, that they made the *Sabines* give way. The latter were preparing to gain the Hills, after they had made their Way thro' a Body of *Romans*; but the Horſe, without giving them time to do that, drove them back to the Side of the River, and let but a few of them eſcape.

Livy, B. 1.

SUCH was the glorious Victory of the illuſtrious *Tarquin*, who may be truly ſaid to be indebted only to his own Skill and Art for it. His Conqueſt was owing to his ſetting Fire to the Bridge; and therefore he dedicated the Spoils of the Enemy to *Vulcan*. He threw them together in an Heap, and burned them in Honour to this God, as he had vowed to do.

AFTER this, *Tarquin* would give his Enemies no Reſt, but immediately entered into the Lands of the *Sabines*; whoſe preſent Misfortunes had not at all abated their Pride. They ventured to face the Enemy again, with an Army tumultuouſly gathered together; but it was routed, or cut in Pieces, and then they had no Refuge left, but in the Clemency of the King. They ſued to him for a Peace; but the *Romans* did not think fit to grant them more than a ſix Years Truce.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. *p.* 197.

§. XXIII. As ſoon then as the Term preſcribed for that Ceſſation of Arms was ended, the *Sabines* paſſed *the Anio*, and made Incurſions into the *Roman* Lands; which *Tarquin* was no ſooner informed of, but he haſtened out of *Rome*. He was followed by the braveſt Youth of his City, and falling on theſe Plunderers with incredible Expedition, defeated them. And after he had taken their Spoil from them, *Tarquin* came and encamped near the Enemy, with the Body of Men he had with him, whilſt the reſt of his Army haſtened after him; and the whole was augmented with auxiliary Troops, brought from the Countries which were ſubject to him. The *Sabines* were not inferior to the *Romans*, either in Number or Valour. As ſoon then as *Tarquin* had drawn up his Troops in order to engage, the *Sabines* offered him Battle. The firſt Shock was violent on both Sides, and all gave ſignal Proofs of the greateſt Courage: The Victory which *Tarquin* won was wholly owing to a Stratagem. The Night before the Battle, he detached a Body of Men from his Army, who were to take a great Compaſs, and come and attack the Enemy behind, in the Heat of the Battle. Accordingly, when the Armies were moſt furiouſly engaged with one another, the *Sabines* ſaw ſome *Roman* Troops at a Diſtance, which advanced in good Order, to ſurround them. At this, a ſudden Fright ſeized the moſt brave, and the *Sabine* Army was put into Diſorder. Every one fled without Heſitation, and the Rout was general. The ſcattered Soldiers were hotly purſued by the *Romans:* So that they who eſcaped the Swords of the Conquerors were taken Priſoners, and few of them were able to reach the neighbouring Cities. Then the Conſternation of the *Sabines* was ſo great, that their Camp it ſelf, tho' pretty well fortified, was not able to hold out againſt the Enemy, and the ſudden Pannick which ſeized them, but ſurrendered to the *Romans*, without Reſiſtance. Such was the Effect of a well-concerted Stratagem, which gave the *Romans* a ſurprizing Superiority over a People, who were not inferior to them in Courage.

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BUT the *Sabines* were not diſcouraged, tho' overcome. They imputed their Defeat to the Incapacity of their General, and their Bravery reviving their Confidence, they choſe themſelves an experienced Commander, who was very capable of warding againſt Artifice. Whilſt *Tarquin*, who was informed of the new Preparations the *Sabines* were making, under another General, was wholly in-

ent upon taking the Field early, and preventing this new Rival of his Glory. Accordingly, he paſſed *the Anio*, and ſhewed himſelf to the Enemy, before all the *Sabine* Army was aſſembled. But the *Sabine* General wiſely avoided a battle, and poſted himſelf upon Eminencies, in an inacceſſible Camp. There he amuſed the valiant *Romans* with ſlight Skirmiſhes, without hazarding a general Action. He waited for the coming up of the reſt of his Troops, to join him in this impregnable Poſt. *Tarquin* therefore choſe to change the Attack of the Enemy's Camp into a Blockade, and ſurrounded it on all Sides, to cut off their Proviſions. But this Project ſucceeded only in part: It would have been much happier for him, if he could have made himſelf Maſter of the Prey which he held ſhut up. The *Sabines* attempted by little Excurſions, at little Diſtances of time, to furniſh their Camp with Neceſſaries; but being often beaten by the *Roman* Horſe, it was with great Difficulty that they brought the little Convoys which they guarded, to their Camp. They were at length utterly deſtitute of Proviſions and Forage, and reduced to the utmoſt Extremity. And then the *Sabine* General, who had plunged them into theſe Difficulties by Neceſſity, extricated them with Addreſs. He took the Opportunity of a dark and ſtormy Night, by Favour of which he marched all his Troops out of his Camp, and left nothing in it, but ſome wounded Men and Cattle. Thus ended the Campaign, which was glorious to *Tarquin*, but not at all deciſive.

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TARQUIN THE FIRST.

§. XXIV. THE *Sabines* took Courage again, under a General whoſe Conduct they liked, and promiſed themſelves more happy Succeſs for the future: And they enliſted all their Youth, who were capable of bearing Arms. They no longer went on in the old Way, of letting every City take its Turn of ſending out its Militia, to make up a moderate Army; the whole Nation joined, and took Arms together. And this Multitude being thought too great, by the *Sabine* General, to be under the Command of one Man, he divided it into two Bodies, which were to act ſeparately. *Tarquin*, on his Part, took his Meaſures from his Enemy's Conduct, and in like manner, not only increaſed his Troops with thoſe of *Hetruria* and *Latium*, but likewiſe borrowed ſome from all his Allies. And being by this means more formidable, and better provided with Troops than the *Sabine*, he divided his Forces into three Armies, and ordered them to encamp always near one another, that they might be under the ſame Government, and purſue the ſame uniform Deſigns. He commanded his *Romans* himſelf, put his Nephew *Arunx* at the Head of the *Hetrurians*, and gave the Command of the *Latins* and other Allies to *Servius Tullius*. This Man had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in all the *Roman* Wars, though he had been a Slave, and was a Foreigner. It was now but a little time ſince he obtained the Privileges of a *Roman* Citizen; and we ſhall ſoon ſee him riſing gradually in the Army, till at laſt he aſcends the Throne. Thus were the two braveſt Nations in *Italy*, then trying their Strength with each other in the *Sabine* Plains. *Tarquin* commanded in the right Wing of his Army, *Arunx* in the left, and *Servius Tullius* in the Center. They fought the whole Day with equal Intrepidity and Conſtancy; but in the End the *Romans* were victorious. Tho' this was probably not till after *Tarquin* had made a Vow to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, to build them a magnificent Temple. Then Superſtition increaſed the Courage of the *Romans*: Their Enemies gave way, left the braveſt of their Men dead upon the Spot, and the reſt were taken or diſperſed. Whereby all the Territory of the *Sabines* lay open to the Mercy of the Conqueror; and it is incredible what Riches he carried off. In ſhort, *Tarquin* weary with plundering, returned to *Rome* crowned with freſh Glory.

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BUT the *Romans* had not yet made all the Advantages they might have done of their Victory. The Country of the *Sabines* was indeed plundered, but their Cities ſtill ſubſiſted, and preſerved that Liberty, of which they were ſo jealous. *Tarquin* therefore was already buſy in making Preparation for the Sieges, which were to be the Buſineſs of the next Campaign. But in the mean time, the natural Heat and martial Ardour of the Enemy diſappeared. The Courage of the *Sabines* was ſunk with their Forces: And their Wiſdom brought the conquered Nation to a Reſolution, which was very neceſſary in the preſent Diſtreſs. They humbled themſelves ſo far as to ſend Deputies to *Tarquin*, from all the beſt of their Cities, to ſue for a Peace. The Ambaſſadors met the King, who was already

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ready upon his March, with Intent to take and plunder their Cities: And their Embaſſy ſaved him the Trouble of the Expedition. The Deputies offered him the Poſſeſſion of their fortified Places, and all their Country, if he would give them tolerable Conditions. The Conqueror ſhewed them no more Severity than he had done the *Hetrurians*. Nay, he even granted them the Favour of delivering up their Priſoners without a Ranſom. Thus did *Tarquin*, by Valour in fighting, and Moderation towards the Conquered, make the *Roman* State greater and more formidable than it had ever hitherto been: So that the Honours of a Triumph [70] could not but be again due to ſo glorious a Prince. He entered *Rome* in the ſame State as he had done in his Triumph over the *Hetrurians*. And his eldeſt Son, or perhaps Grandſon [71], who, tho' but fourteen Years old, had both ſeen and imitated the Valour of his Father, or Grandfather, in the laſt Battle, received likewiſe at *Rome*, his Share of Honour in Proportion to his Age. The King gave him publick Commendations before the People; and the Right of wearing a Robe of Diſtinction, and a Ball of Gold hung about his Neck, was his Reward.

Macrob. Saturnal. B. 1. c. 6.

§. XXV. *TARQUIN* being now grown old, thought only of enjoying the Sweets of Reſt and Quiet, after his great Labours and continual Victories. Nevertheleſs he did not forget the Vow he had made to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, in the laſt War with the *Sabines*: As ſoon as that War was ended, he made it his firſt Buſineſs to perform it. He began with levelling the *Area*, on which he reſolved to raiſe the famous Temple he had promiſed to build: which Temple became afterwards the moſt glorious Monument of the *Roman* Magnificence, and the principal Place for the *Roman* Worſhip. Even the firſt Attempts towards building this magnificent Structure, were conſiderable both for Expence and Labour. The Hill *Tarpeius* (for ſo it was now called, though it had formerly borne the Name of *Saturnius*) being full of craggy Points, and its Top uneven, it was therefore levelled. And in order to this, it was neceſſary to fill up the Hollows with Rubbiſh, and to raiſe high Pieces of Stone-work upon Piles, thereby to bring the Precipice of the Rock upon a Level with the Top of the Hill. This painful Work was carried on by *Tarquin*'s Orders; and the Plan of the Temple marked out, and its Foundations laid [72].

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 201.

AND now *Attius Navius* appeared again upon the Stage. This famous *Augur* is ſaid to have been conſulted about the Part of *Rome*, in which *Jupiter* would beſt like to have his Temple placed: and he, by his Knowledge in *Auguries*, declared for the Hill *Tarpeius*. But when they came to conſecrate the *Area* of the Temple of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*, there aroſe another Difficulty. This Hill was already full of Statues and Altars, erected to ſeveral other Gods: and it ſeemed indecent to remove ſo many Deities, to make room for others. However, an Expedient was found out for removing them, without giving them offence. By the Help of *Auguries*, all theſe Gods were conſulted, to know whether they were willing to be removed: and the greateſt Part of them being found willing, they were carried to

70 *Dion. Hal.* and the *Faſti Capitolini*, exactly agree, as to the Triumphs *Tarquin the Elder* had at *Rome*: and they place them in the ſame Order. *Tarquin* triumphed then, 1ſt. Over the *Latins*; 2dly. Over the *Hetrurians*; and, 3dly. Over the *Sabines*. But the Years in which he triumphed, are unfortunately omitted by *Dion. Hal.* and effaced out of the Marble of the *Faſti Capitolini*. The only Date which remains entire, is that of the laſt Triumph, which was over the *Sabines*, and on the Ides of *September*. No Regard ought therefore to be had, either to the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, who makes *Tarquin the Elder* to have triumphed but twice; or to *Livy*, (whom *Macrobius* has followed) who mentions only one Triumph of *Tarquin the Elder*, *viz.* that after his Victory over the *Sabines*.

71 It's certain, *Tarquin the Elder* had at leaſt one Son, and that this Son dying before the King his Father, left him at leaſt two Grandſons. We can't be ſure whether he who is here mentioned, and of whom *Macrobius* and *Aurelius Victor* ſpeak, was a Son of *Tarquin*'s, or only a Grandſon. But it's certain, which ever he was, that he died before *Tarquin the Elder*. It is indiſputable, that this King left no Son behind him, and that his Grandſons, who ſurvived him, muſt have been much younger than this Perſon could have been, after the Death of his Grandfather. We ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of the Grandchildren *Tarquin* left under the Tuition of *Servius Tullius*, immediately.

72 The Hiſtorians of antient *Rome* differ about the Epocha of the Foundation of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. *Livy* and *Tacitus* contend, that *Tarquin the Elder* laid the Foundations of it. *Dion. Hal.* affirms it was done by *Tarquin the Proud*. In order therefore to reconcile the *Greek* Hiſtorian with the *Latin* ones, we muſt not underſtand the latter ſtrictly. They intended to ſay no more, than that *Tarquin the Elder*, after having levelled and prepared the Ground, marked it out for the Building. So that, according to *Dion. Hal. Tarquin the Proud* only finiſhed what his Predeceſſor had begun.

BRITISH MUSEUM

A. *A* **Terminus** *representing* **Hercules** *with his Club, and the Head of the* **Nemœan** *Lion in his Hands.* **B.** *Another* **Terminus** *representing an armed* **Pallas**. **C.** *A third* **Terminus** *with the Head of a* **Mercury**. **D.** *A Fourth* **Terminus** *representing* **Hercules** *in a Lion's Skin*. **E.** *A Fifth* **Terminus** *representing* **Venus**, *or some other Goddess*.

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TARQUIN THE FIRST.

ther Places. The God *Terminus* 73, and the Goddeſs of *Youth* 74, were, as the *Augur* ſaid, the only two, who inſiſted 75 upon not being diſplaced. And accordingly, though the God *Terminus* was nothing but an unſhapen Stone, no Violence was offered to him; but he and the Goddeſs always remained upon the Hill *Capitolinus*; and were encloſed within the Walls of the Temple which was afterwards conſecrated to *Jupiter*, his Wife *Juno*, and his Daughter *Minerva*. All which was doubtleſs nothing but the artful Management of the *Augurs*, to give themſelves a fair Opportunity of flattering the *Romans*. They intimated thereby, that the *Boundaries* of their City ſhould never be removed; and that *Rome* would always preſerve the firſt Vigour of her *Youth*. The *Area* prepared for the Building of the Temple was dedicated 76 by *Navius*, and was from that time ſeparated from all profane Uſes: but continual Infirmities, and at laſt Death, hindered *Tarquin the Elder* from finiſhing this Monument of his Piety.

§. XXVI. BUT *Tarquin*'s Cares were not confined to Religion; his Foreſight extended to his Succeſſor. He was going to leave two Grand-children 77 behind him, who were too young to ſupply his Place. The eldeſt was *L. Tarquinius*, the youngeſt *Arunx*

73 That nothing may be thought wanting in relation to the Worſhip of the God *Terminus*, we ſhall here obſerve, 1ſt, That this God was ſometimes repreſented by a Stone or a Stock of a Tree. Thus *Ovid*,

Termine, ſive lapis, ſive es deſertus in agro
Stipes, ab antiquis tu quoque nomen habes.
Faſt. 2.

And in like manner *Apuleius*; *Vel enim colliculus lapimine conſecratus, vel truncus dolamine effigiatus, vel ceſpes libamine humigatus, vel lapis unguine delibutus.* Afterwards, the *Dii Termini* were repreſented by Stones cut ſquare, or in the Form of a Pyramid, with human Heads on the Tops of them. Theſe imperfect Statues had neither Legs nor Arms, to ſhew, that theſe Divinities were to be always fixed and immovable in the Places in which they were put. 2dly, *Lactantius*, *Inſtit. B.* 1. declares that the God *Terminus* was that famous Stone which *Saturn* devoured inſtead of *Jupiter*; and concludes, that *Men muſt be either Stocks or Stones to worſhip ſuch Deities.* 3dly, It is nevertheleſs more probable, that the Worſhip of the *Dii Termini* was referred to *Jupiter Terminalis*. *Dion. Hal.* tells us, that *Numa* conſecrated the Boundaries of the *Roman* Territory to this God. And 'tis well known, that the *Romans* had nothing more ſacred among them, than the Oath they took *per Jovem Lapidem*. On the Reverſe of a Silver Medal of the Emperor *Auguſtus*, we find a Head of *Jupiter* crowned with Rays, upon a Pedeſtal cut in the Form of an Obelisk. We likewiſe find the Figure of *Jupiter Terminalis* in a Stone, and on a Medal of the *Terentian* Family. 4thly, The Temple erected to this God by *Numa*, was open to the Sky, to ſhew, that the Boundaries ought always to be in the Proprietors Sight, that they might not go beyond them, with Impunity. And the Temple of the God *Terminus* had this Form in *Ovid*'s Time:

Nunc quoque ſe ſupra, ne quid niſi ſidera cernat,
Exiguum templi tecta foramen habent. Faſt. 2.

5thly, The Sacrifices offered to the *Dii Termini* were at firſt only Libations of Wine, Oil, and Milk, and the Firſt-Fruits of their Fruit, and Cakes. It was thought improper to ſhed Blood in the Preſence of the tutelary Gods of Peace. But a Lamb and a Sow were ſacrificed to them ſoon after. 6thly, Sacrifices were offered up to them in the Temple erected at *Rome* to the Honour of the God *Terminus*, as well as upon the *Milliarius Lapis*, which was ſet up at the *ſixth Mile's* End between *Rome* and *Laurentum*; doubtleſs this was the Boundary of the *Roman* Territory on that Side, in *Numa*'s Time. 7thly, In the private Sacrifices that were offered up, on the Boundaries of a private Field, the two neighbouring Proprietors came to the Boundary, dreſſed up the God *Terminus* with Crowns, and made him Preſents:

Te duo diverſa Domini de parte coronant,
Binaque ſerta tibi, binaque liba ferunt.
Ovid. Faſt. 2.

And then they feaſted in common upon the Sacrifices.

Conveniunt celebrantque dapes vicinia ſupplex,
Et cantant laudes Termine ſancte tuas.
Faſt. 2.

8thly, The *Termini* had generally no Inſcriptions: They were remarkable enough by their Figure. Nevertheleſs *Spon* gives us one which he ſaw at *Rome*, in theſe Words:

QUIS QUIS
HOC SUSTULERIT
AUT JUSSERIT,
ULTIMUS SUO-
RUM MORIATUR.

This was then thought one of the moſt horrible Imprecations. The Antients thought nothing more terrible than to ſurvive all their Family, Friends, and Heirs, and not to leave any one behind them, on whom they might depend, for giving them an honourable Burial.

74 The Goddeſs of *Youth* was repreſented under the Figure of a beautiful Woman in the Bloom of Life, in a very rich Dreſs of different Colours, and interwoven with Flowers, to expreſs the Charms of Youth. The young *Romans*, after they laid aſide the *Prætexta*, dedicated their Hair, and the firſt Years of their Manhood, to this Goddeſs; which was the ſame with the Goddeſs *Hebe*.

75 St. *Auſtin*, *De Civit. Dei*, *B.* 4. aſſures us, that *Mars* was one of the Gods who would not be removed; and whom the *Romans* were therefore forced to place within the new Temple. To which he adds, that the Niches in which they ſtood, were ſo dark, that they could ſcarce be ſeen. The Plate annexed ſhews the Reader the Figures of the different ſorts of *Termini*.

76 That is, *Navius*, after he had conſulted the Omens, fixed the Extent of the Ground, and marked out the Plan of the Temple, which was called *effari*, or *ſiſtere templum*.

77 It has been long diſputed, whether the two young *Tarquins*, who ſurvived old King *Tarquin*, and one of whom had the Crown after *Servius Tullius*, were the Sons, or only Grandſons, of *Tarquin the Elder*. And if we form our Judgment of it,

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Arunx Tarquinius, who was ſirnamed *The Proud*, when he came to the Throne, which was not till long after his Grandfather's Death. *Tarquin the Elder* deſpairing therefore of conveying the Crown to either of them, took proper Meaſures for continuing it in his Family at leaſt, in the Perſon of one of his Daughters. He married them to the two Men in *Rome*, that were moſt capable of ſucceeding him. The eldeſt was given to *Servius Tullius*, who had indeed been but lately made a Citizen and a *Patrician*, but whoſe Valour and other Virtues made him moſt worthy of the Choice of the *Romans*. The youngeſt was married to *M. Junius*, the Father of that famous *Brutus*, who afterwards deſtroyed the regal Power and Authority in *Rome*. The Reputation *Junius*'s Birth and Merit gave him, made *Tarquin* think, that *Servius* could not have a more formidable Competitor than him. And thus he provided againſt the Crown's going out of his Family, by making thoſe two Men his Sons-in-law, who were beſt qualified to wear it.

Dion. Hal. B. 3. p. 204.

§. XXVII. WHILE theſe things were doing, the famous *Augur*, *Attius Navius* diſappeared on a ſudden. Both the manner of his Death, and the Author of it, were utterly unknown. Perhaps it was owing to the Jealouſy of his Collegues, or a ſecret Conſpiracy among his Enemies. However, the People murmured at it, and his Reputation among them quickened their Enquiries after his Murderers. As it had been very ſecretly done, many were ſuſpected of the Crime: and the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, *Tarquin*'s Predeceſſor on the Throne, laboured to turn the Suſpicion upon the old King. Theſe Princes ſtill continued to have the ſame Pretenſions they always had, of reigning after *Tarquin*. What made them uneaſy at preſent, was, that they ſaw the wiſe King had taken very proper Meaſures to make the Choice of the *Romans* fall upon one of his Sons-in-law: and *Servius Tullius* was thereby become the principal Object of their Jealouſy. They therefore formed a Deſign of aſſaſſinating him. But conſidering that whilſt *Tarquin* was alive, an Attempt upon the Life of his Son-in-law could not eſcape unpuniſhed; this led the two Princes into a wicked Plot to deſtroy the King himſelf: And the fatal Accident which took off *Navius* ſo ſuddenly, ſeemed to favour their Deſign. The *Romans* were not ignorant that the *Augur* had often oppoſed *Tarquin* in his Undertakings. Beſides, the King had ſhewn but little Concern at the Loſs of the Diviner, and had not been very earneſt in diſcovering his Murderers: Which was enough for theſe ambitious Pretenders to the Throne, to fix upon *Tarquin* the black Calumny of having been the Author of the Crime. They at firſt ſpread the Report only by Inſinuations: but when the Minds of the People were prepoſſeſſed with it, they then at-

only from the Authority of the *Latin* Hiſtorians, and antient Monuments, we ſhall judge wrong. *Livy* indeed, after ſome ſmall doubt, joins with thoſe who think them his own Sons. He acknowledges he was carried away with the Stream. The *Faſti Capitolini* likewiſe ſay, that *Tarquin the Proud* was the Grandſon of *Damaratus*, and conſequently the Son of *Tarquin the Elder*. But what may have deceived the Author of theſe *Faſti*, is this: that the firſt *Tarquin* adopted his Grandſons, and thereby became in ſome Senſe their Father: and conſequently *Damaratus* muſt have been in that Senſe their Grandfather. That *Tarquin the Elder* was their own Father, is what no Man can reaſonably believe. *Dion. Hal.* demonſtrates, paſt all doubt, that they were only the Grand-children of the firſt King *Tarquin:* We will explain the Reaſons with which he confutes the old Hiſtorian *Fabius Pictor*. It muſt be ſuppoſed, ſays he, *Tarquin* the Son of *Damaratus*, did not go from *Tarquinia* with his Wife *Tanaquil*, before he was of a mature Age; ſince he was then capable of bearing the publick Offices of his Country, and only left it out of Reſentment, becauſe he could not obtain them. On this foot, we may reaſonably allow him to have been thirty, when he left *Hetruria:* tho' *Dion. Hal.* contents himſelf with making him twenty-five. His Wife *Tanaquil* muſt likewiſe have been at leaſt twenty, at their Removal; ſince the Hiſtorians repreſent her as at Woman's Eſtate, and a Woman of conſummate Prudence, at that time. And, without doubt, *Tarquin* and his Wife muſt have been at leaſt ten Years at *Rome*, before he could have become ſuch a Favourite with *Ancus*, have made himſelf ſo well known to the *Romans*, and have done Service enough to the State, to deſerve to be declared Tutor to the Children of the dying King, and to obtain the Suffrages of the People for ſucceeding him in the Throne. So that *Tanaquil* muſt have been at leaſt thirty, when her Husband was made King. And as then *Tarquin* was thirty-ſeven or thirty-eight Years upon the Throne, ſhe conſequently muſt have been at leaſt ſixty-eight, when her Husband died. Now *Tarquin* and his Brother *Arunx* were ſo young at their Father's Death, that, in the firſt place, *Tanaquil* herſelf, who was ſo good a Judge of the proper Qualifications for a Crown, did not think of making either of them King, but preferred her Husband's Slave before them; and ſecondly, that even after *Tarquin*'s ſecond Marriage with young *Tullia*, *Livy* himſelf acknowledges they were yet in their Youth, *Celeriter*, ſays he, *adoleſcentem ſua temeritate implevit*. They muſt therefore have been born, when *Tanaquil* was too old to bear Children. Who then could have been their Father, but one of the Sons of *Tarquin the Elder*, who died before him? To ſay, that they were the Sons, or even Grandſons, of *Egerius*, *Tarquin the Elder*'s Brother, who took the Name of *Collatinus*, is to run into a Labyrinth of Difficulties. We have therefore followed *Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus* preferably to *Livy*, and the other *Latin* Authors, who have copied after one another.

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TARQUIN THE FIRST.

tempted to accuſe him before them. It's plain, the Sovereignty of the Kings of *Rome* was then neither abſolute nor independent. The two Princes were eloquent. They exaggerated, in the Speeches they made to an Aſſembly of the People, the Baſeneſs of a Murder committed on the Perſon of an *Augur*, who was conſecrated to the immortal Gods. They demanded Juſtice upon a ſacrilegious Foreigner, who was not ſo much as an *Italian* by Deſcent. Some *Patricians* of their Party favoured their Complaints; and the Populace, who often hate thoſe who govern them, ſuffered themſelves to be carried away with the ſeditious Diſcourſes of the Sons of *Ancus Martius*. In vain did the King appear in Perſon, in the Place of the Aſſembly, to diſperſe the Tumult: They offered Violence to him, and drove him back as an abominable Murderer, who had dipped his Hands in the Blood of a Man dedicated to the Service of the Altars. And *Servius Tullius* was forced to make uſe of all his Intereſt with the People, to appeaſe the Rage of a Populace, zealous for the Honour of their Gods. But at length their Heat abated: the Falſeneſs of the Accuſation was known, and the two Accuſers got nothing among the People, but the ſhameful Character of having calumniated their King. And though their Crime deſerved to be puniſhed, yet *Tarquin* was naturally inclined to Clemency. He pardoned the two Sons of *Ancus*, in conſideration of the good Offices their Father had done him.

§. XXVIII. BUT the Intereſts of Religion made the King more ſevere to a proſtitute *Veſtal*. Some have thought that he was the Inventor of that kind of Puniſhment which was ever after inflicted on ſuch of theſe Prieſteſſes, as diſhonoured their Conſecration: And they add, that *Numa* only commanded that they ſhould be ſtoned. This at leaſt is certain, that the firſt Inſtance we have of this Severity againſt thoſe inceſtuous Virgins, was in *Tarquin*'s Time. The *Veſtal Pinaria* was impudent enough to offer ſacrifice with impure Hands, and a polluted Body: and the King therefore condemned her to be buried alive. As for him, who had diſhonoured her, it is probable the Law was then made, which commanded all ſuch to be whipped to death.

NEVERTHELESS, *Tarquin* did not leſſen his Eſteem for the venerable College of *Veſtals:* on the contrary, he encreaſed the Number of them. He conſidered, that though the four *Veſtals Numa* had inſtituted, might have been enough to keep up the ſacred Fire in his Time; yet that theſe could not now be a ſufficient Number for the different Offices of Religion, which were by this time exceedingly multiplied in *Rome*. *Tarquin* therefore added two new *Veſtals* to the old ones; and their Number was now firſt encreaſed to ſix [78].

§. XXIX. BUT in proportion as *Tarquin* advanced in Age, and drew nearer his End, the Ambition of the Sons of *Ancus Marcius* grew more ſtrong and active. They thought the preſent Inſtant the moſt favourable Opportunity they could have of obtaining the Suffrages of the People whom they had found means to gain over to their Party. *Tarquin* indeed, though then about eighty Years of Age, yet ſeemed likely to live ſome Years longer; but the Pretenders thought his living ſo long made them loſe theſe critical Moments: and they therefore entered into a Plot to take away the old Man's Life. The Artifice they pitched on, for the Execution of their barbarous Parricide, without appearing in it themſelves, was this: They hired two young Men of their Party, whom they engaged to dreſs themſelves like Peaſants, and to carry Hatchets upon their Shoulders, as if they were Wood-cutters. Theſe pretended to have a Quarrel, which grew ſo hot, that they

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Brafs

78 In a Medal of the Empreſs *Lucilia*, we ſee ſix *Veſtals*; one of which holds a *Sympulus*, and another a Veſſel full of Perfumes, and neither of the two is veiled.

ſeemed

Year of *ROME* CLXXIV.

TARQUIN THE FIRST.

ſeemed ready to fight: and this Quarrel, which they ſaid was about ſome Goats, was begun near the King's Palace. A great number of Conſpirators got together about them, under pretence of ending the Diſpute; but it ſtill continued, without any Diminution, till ſuch time as they were got before the Gate of the Palace in which *Tarquin* lived. They went into it, and called out on their Sovereign for Juſtice. Kings muſt certainly then have been very ready to determine ſuch ſorts of Diſputes among the Populace. Immediately the *Lictors* endeavoured to diſperſe the Crowd which followed the two Complainants, their Diſpute and Clamours only encreaſed the more, till the King appeared. And then, as *Tarquin*, (after making them ceaſe their confuſed Declamations) was preparing to give them a ſeparate Hearing, one of the two Diſputants gave him a great Stroke with his Hatchet full on the Head. Upon which the Conſpirators immediately fled, but the two Aſſaſſins were ſeized; and when they were put to the Torture, confeſſed, that they had only lent their Hands to promote the Ambition of the Sons of *Ancus*, and had not engaged themſelves in the Crime, but at their Sollicitations. Thus periſhed one of the greateſt Kings *Rome* had ever ſeen. The *Latin* Hiſtorians have not done Juſtice to his Memory; perhaps, either becauſe the Name of *Tarquin* was odious to them, or becauſe this Prince was of *Corinthian* Extraction: But the *Greek* Writers have been more equitable to him; and it is a great Proof of their Sincerity, that what they ſay of him, is agreeable to what we find in the *Faſti Capitolini*. By which *Faſti* we are likewiſe informed, that *Tarquin* reigned but thirty-ſeven Years; though ſome Hiſtorians make him to have reigned thirty-eight 79.

§. XXX. QUEEN *Tanaquil* had Courage and Wiſdom above her Sex. She did not loſe her Preſence of Mind, even at the ſight of her dying Husband. The Heroine cleared the Palace of the Crowd which filled it, and ordered that no Perſon whatſoever ſhould be admitted within the Gates. Then ſhutting herſelf up with only *Ocriſia* the Mother of *Servius*, and *Servius* himſelf, in the Apartment where the King was expiring, ſhe addreſſed herſelf in the following manner to her generous Son-in-law, whom ſhe deſigned for the Crown. *You ſee here, my Lord, an unexpected Accident robs us of a Prince, who brought you up as his Son, and raiſed you to the higheſt military Honours.* Tarquin *honoured you both with his Alliance and his Affection at the ſame time. And after all, your aſſiſting him with your Counſels has not been a ſufficient Return for the many Favours he heaped upon you. There yet remains ſomething more for you to do, in Teſtimony of your Gratitude; which is, that you aſcend the Throne after him. Should the cruel Poſterity of* Ancus Marcius *ſeize it either by Force or Artifice, what will become of my Grandchildren? What have they not reaſon to fear from the Fury of theſe Parricides? Shelter my Children then, under the Protection of the Throne, if you dare venture to make yourſelf Maſter of it. Don't conſider,* Servius, *the Slavery in which you was born, ſo much as the high Rank to which Valour and Wiſdom have raiſed you. Add your Conſent to that of the Gods, who have promiſed you the Scepter. If you have Courage enough to undertake the Government, the Kingdom is yours.*

AT theſe Words, the Queen opened that Window of the King's Apartment which looked upon the Street, where this ſudden Accident had brought the People together; and with an Air of Aſſurance, *Be under no Concern,* ſaid ſhe to them, *for the Life of the Prince whom you love. The Violence of the Blow he received ſtunned him at firſt, but he is now recovered from his firſt Swoon, and the Wound is not mortal. He requires you, by me, to obey* Servius Tullius, *for a time; and commands that his Son-in-law ſhall fill his Place till he is perfectly recovered. You will ſoon ſee your King appear among you again, and ſhew you his Gratitude for your Zeal. Let your Concern for him be turned into Indignation againſt the cruel Sons of* Ancus, *who were the ſole Authors of this deteſtable Crime.*

THIS wiſe Diſſimulation of *Tanaquil* had all the Effect ſhe expected from it. The King was dead; but her Confidents declared in all Places that he was

79 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree, in ſaying that *Tarquin the Elder* reigned thirty-eight Years: and we have all along ſhewn great regard to the joint Opinion of theſe two Writers. But in the preſent Caſe, ſix Hiſtorians, or Chronologiſts, joined to the Computation of the *Faſti Capitolini*, do more than counterbalance their Authority.

alive, and would ſoon appear again, and adminiſter Juſtice to his People. This ſtruck the guilty Sons of *Ancus* with Terror, and they voluntarily baniſhed themſelves to *Sueſſa*, a City of the *Volſci*. So that their Plot, which would have ſucceeded if the People had ſeen *Tarquin* dead, ſunk to nothing, upon their believing that he was yet alive. Year of *ROME* CLXXIV.

THE ſecond Day after that on which the King was aſſaſſinated, *Servius Tullius* ſate on the Throne, in the Royal Robes, and attended by the *Lictors*, and determined ſeveral Cauſes. But as he, for a long time, pretended only to ſupply *Tarquin*'s Place, whenever any difficult Caſe occurred, he promiſed to report it to the King. As to the wicked Attempt upon the Perſon of the Sovereign, he thought himſelf obliged to enquire into that, and revenge it. He cited the Sons of *Ancus* to appear before his Tribunal; and upon their Non-appearance they were declared infamous, and their Eſtates confiſcated.

IN the mean time *Servius* ſo managed his Affairs, as to gain the Hearts of the *Romans*; and *Tanaquil* aſſiſted him, both with her Intereſt and Advice. He diſtributed large Sums among the pooreſt of the People: But his main Point was to bring over the Senators to his Party. And in order to this, he took Care to preſerve a good Polity in the City, and an exact Diſcipline and Regularity among all Orders of Men, from the firſt Beginning of his Adminiſtration. In ſhort, when he had ſufficiently tried his Talent for Reigning, and the People were accuſtomed to his Government, then the Death of *Tarquin* [80] was publiſhed by great Outcries in his Palace. And *Servius*, upon being voted to be King by the Senate only, appeared in publick with a ſtrong Guard, and with all the Marks of Royalty, without waiting for the Election of the People. So that, as he did not take Poſſeſſion in a legal manner, he rather continued to *Govern Rome*, than begun to *Reign* in it.

80 *Dion. Hal.* indeed ſays, that *Servius Tullius* appointed magnificent Obſequies for his Predeceſſor *Tarquin*: But neither he, nor any other Hiſtorian that I know of, mentions the Place where his Tomb ſtood.

THE
Roman Hiſtory.
BOOK IV.

Year of *ROME* CLXXV.

§. I. HITHERTO the People had choſen to entruſt their Scepter more frequently with Foreigners than with native *Romans:* But there is ſomething yet more ſurprizing in the Elevation of *Servius* to the Royal Dignity. He was not only not born of *Roman* Parents; but, as ſome Authors ſay, nothing was more uncertain than his Deſcent; and as others, in greater Number, affirm his Birth was debaſed by Slavery. The moſt probable Account they give both of his Birth and Education, is as follows.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 206. Liv. B. 1. c. 39. Florus, and *Plutarch.*

WHEN *Tarquin* carried War and Devaſtation into *Latium, Corniculum,* a City pretty near *Tivoli,* had the Courage to reſiſt her haughty Enemies. But being taken and ſacked by the *Romans,* ſome of her Inhabitants were cut off by the Sword, and ſome reduced to Slavery. Among the latter, *Ocriſia,* the Mother of *Servius Tullius,* a Native of *Corniculum,* underwent the ſame Fate with her fellow Citizens. She is ſaid to have been deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious Nobility in her Country: And her Beauty, Extraction, and polite Behaviour, made her taken Notice of in her Misfortunes. The King himſelf took this beautiful Captive, and made a Preſent of her to *Tanaquil* his Wife. Her Husband, named *Tullius,* was, according to ſome, killed at the taking of *Corniculum,* and the young Captive was then big with *Servius Tullius,* of whom ſhe was delivered at *Rome,* in *Tarquin*'s Houſe. And as this Child, add they, was born in Slavery, the Name of *Servius* was added to that of *Tullius,* which he received from his Father, to ſignify his preſent Condition. But others pretend, that *Ocriſia* was but a Girl when ſhe was carried away from *Corniculum,* and that ſhe was afterwards married to one of *Tarquin*'s Clients, and by him had *Servius,* of whom ſhe was delivered in the King's Palace. And laſtly, others raiſe the Birth of *Servius Tullius* ſo high as to give him a God for his Father; who, they ſay, was *Vulcan,* or at leaſt the *Lar*; that is, the Houſhold God of *Tarquin*'s Palace. It is indeed ſomewhat ſurprizing, that no Hiſtorian has ventured to carry his Conjectures ſo far, as to ſuſpect that *Ocriſia*'s Son was alſo the King's Son: Unleſs perhaps it was their Deſign to hint obſcurely at *Tarquin,* by the Name of the *Lar,* or God of the Royal Palace. However, all Hiſtorians agree, that the King of *Rome* had all the Tenderneſs of a Father, for *Servius.* And indeed, nothing can be a better Proof of the Uncertainty the *Romans* were always in, about the real Father of this King, than the Inſcription [1] of the *Faſti Capitolini.* The Names of the Fathers of other Kings are mentioned in them, but that of *Servius*'s is not. And it's certain, that *Tanaquil,* either out of Regard for the Child of a favourite Slave, or out of Affection for the Son of an Husband to whom ſhe behaved her ſelf like a prudent Wife, took a particular Care of the Education of young *Servius.* In order to gain the greater Veneration and Eſteem for this Son of *Ocriſia,* the Queen ſpread the following Report of him, which

1 The Remains we have of the *Faſti Capitolini,* give us the Names of the Fathers both of King *Tarquin the Elder,* who preceded, and of *Tarquin the Proud,* who ſucceeded *Servius Tullius.* They ſpeak of *Tarquin the Elder* thus: *Lucius Tarquinius Damarati filius Priſcus.* Their Account of *Tarquin the Proud,* is this: *L. Tarquinius L. F. Damarati N. Superbus*; that is, *Lucii filius Damarati Nepos.* So that the Father of *Tarquin the Firſt,* and even the Grandfather of *Tarquin the Proud,* at leaſt according to the Opinion of the Author of the *Faſti,* are expreſly named. But they ſay nothing at all of *Servius*'s Father; they only mention *Servius* thus: *Servius Tullius Rex.* And is not this then a Sign that it was uncertain who his Father was?

the credulous People believed. *As little* Servius, ſaid ſhe, *was ſleeping in my Apartment, a ſudden Flame came and ſurrounded his Head. I was ſurprized at the Prodigy, and made my Women take Notice of it: And the Flame, which made a ſort of Crown about the Child's Forehead, continued ſhining till he waked.* With what politick View the wiſe *Tanaquil* laboured to give ſo much Luſtre to the young Slave, is not known. However, the People prognoſticated the future Grandeur of her Ward, from the Fable the Queen had publiſhed of him. Year of *ROME* CLXXV.

THE Education *Servius* received under the Protection of the Throne, as well as his great Qualities of Mind and Heart, made him worthy of it. He aſcended to it thro' a Gradation of military Offices, in which he ſignalized himſelf by his Exploits, and by an uniform wiſe Conduct. Nevertheleſs, *Tanaquil* had no Thoughts of raiſing him to the higheſt Poſt, till after ſhe had had long Experience of him. The firſt Reward his good Conduct merited and gained for him, was the reſcuing himſelf and his Mother out of a State of Slavery. Then ſeveral Employments in the Army were ſucceſſively conferred upon him, in which he always behaved himſelf with Honour. And when he was once become a Citizen of *Rome*, it was not long before he had a Place in the Senate, and was ſeated among the *Patricians*. Yet ſtill *Tanaquil* was not in Haſte to give him an Alliance in the Royal Family: He firſt married an illuſtrious *Roman*, named *Gegania*. The Death of this beloved Wife greatly afflicted and dejected him; and, if we may believe one ſingle antient Writer, it was then, and not in his Infancy, that he was ſurrounded by a ſhining Light, which gave the World great Expectations of his future Grandeur. But theſe Variations in their Accounts of this Prodigy, ſufficiently ſhew the Falſhood of it. *Plutarch de fort. Rom.* *Val. Ant.*

HOWEVER, the King and Queen's Regard for *Servius Tullius* increaſed with his Merit, and his Fame. He ſoon became ſo conſiderable in *Rome*, that *Tarquin* thought it no Diſhonour to his Family to give him one of his Daughters in Marriage. And from that Time the Court ſet no Bounds to the Favours they beſtowed upon him. *Tanaquil* eſpecially, who looked on this Son-in-law as the Hopes of her Family, after the Death of her own Son, led him as it were by the Hand to the Throne. Thro' the Aſſiſtance of her Intereſt and artful Management, he aſcended it, and drew the Admiration of the World upon him, as the greateſt Politician of any of the Kings of *Rome*.

§. II. As then *Servius* thought himſelf indebted to *Fortune* for his Grandeur; ſo the firſt Homage he paid, after he was King, was to this Goddeſs. It is incredible, how many Temples and Altars he erected to her; and under how many different Names he diverſified the Worſhip he paid her. He built a Temple to this Goddeſs near the *Capitol*, under the Name of *Fortuna Primigenia* [2], or *The eldeſt Fortune*: Which might poſſibly be in Acknowledgment of the Favour of the Goddeſs, in procuring him in Marriage *the Eldeſt* Daughter of *Tarquin*, and thereby putting him in a Way of getting Poſſeſſion of the Throne it ſelf. He erected another Temple to *Fortuna Obſequens* [3], or *Obedient Fortune*; to ſhew that Year of *ROME* CLXXVI—CLXXVIII. SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Braſs.

2 The Title of this Temple ran thus, *Fortunæ Primigeniæ*. Several Reaſons have been found out for giving this Name to *Fortune*. *Plutarch* thinks ſhe was ſo called from her having aſſiſted *Rome* and its Founder from their Infancy. Others ſay, it was becauſe *Fortune* or Chance, according to a very bad Philoſophy, preſided at the Formation of the Univerſe. But I think the Conjecture mentioned in the Text, why *Servius* ſhould give the Name of *Fortuna Primigenia*, to one of the Temples he built to *Fortune*, is more reaſonable than either of theſe.

3 This Temple was dedicated *Fortunæ Obſequenti*; and we meet with the ſame Title on one of *Antoninus*'s Medals. Some explain this Expreſſion by that of *Fortunæ indigenti*; that is, who of Poor, becomes, or makes Rich. But the other Interpretation mentioned in the Text is a more natural one. The Temple *Servius* dedicated to *Virgin Fortune*, *Fortunæ Virgini*, was perhaps ſo dedicated on account of his two Daughters, whom he married to the two *Tarquins*. The Reaſons of his other Dedications of Temples or Oratories to *Fortune*, are eaſy to be underſtood.

Year of *ROME* CLXXVI—CLXXVIII.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

he always had her in Pay, and that ſhe obeyed his Orders. He built a Chapel on the Hill *Palatinus*, to *Fortuna Privata*, or *Private Fortune*; in Acknowledgment of the Favours he had received from this Goddeſs, when he was but *a private* Perſon. The Oratories of *Fortuna Virgo*, or *Virgin Fortune*, and of *Fortuna Virilis* [4], or *Manly Fortune*, were alſo Monuments of this King's Piety towards a Divinity who had been ſo favourable to him: And he honoured her likewiſe under the Name of *Fortuna Adverſa*, or *Adverſe Fortune*; which was doubtleſs to prevent her *turning againſt* him.

Plut. B. de fort. Rom.

AND as *Servius Tullius* took *Numa* for his Pattern, and intended to eſtabliſh a good Polity in the City, as the ſecond King of *Rome* had formerly regulated Religion; he alſo reſolved to gain himſelf Reſpect from his People, by the Pretence of having a ſecret Correſpondence with ſome Goddeſs: And, if we may believe him, *Fortune* was his *Egeria*. He ſpread abroad a Report, that ſhe viſited him every Night, and came into his Apartment through a Window.

§. III. NEVERTHELESS, the Beginnings of his Reign were not without Diſturbances and Diſſentions. The Senate did not ſo conſtantly adhere to King *Servius*, as he expected they would. The Faction of the Sons of *Ancus Marcius* had its Protectors among the *Patricians*, who thought it beneath them to be governed by a Man born in Slavery, and one who was by Birth an Enemy to the *Roman* People. Nor were the Murmurs of the Senate without plauſible Pretences. It had hitherto been always cuſtomary in *Rome* not to proceed to the Election of a King till after an *Interregnum*.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 213.

SERVIUS therefore ſeemed to have broken thro' an Order eſtabliſhed ever ſince *Romulus*'s Time. He had made himſelf King of the *Romans* without the Order [5] or Conſent of the People, and barely upon the Pretence of his being Protector and Guardian of the Rights of the Grand-children of *Tarquin the Elder*, who were his Pupils. Which was in ſome meaſure to ſtrike at the antient Conſtitution, and to change the Government from an elective into an hereditary Monarchy. Complaints of this were at firſt dropped, as it were accidentally, in private Aſſemblies: But they at laſt brought on an almoſt general Conſpiracy. The Senators agreed among themſelves [6], to force the new King to lay aſide his Royalty, and to ſtrip him of his Ornaments, the firſt time the Senate ſhould be aſſembled: And, in a Word, their Plot was to eſtabliſh an *Interregnum* in *Rome*, and then to proceed to the free Election of a new King.

BUT *Servius*'s Addreſs ſurmounted this firſt Obſtacle which was raiſed againſt his Elevation. His main Buſineſs, in ſuch preſſing Danger, was to gain over the People to him, and to make uſe of them againſt the Senate. Among his other natural Endowments, one was a ready and lively Eloquence, able to make Impreſſions on a Multitude. Inſtead then of calling the Senate together, he aſſembled the People, and mounting *The Tribune* [7], the uſual Place of haranguing them, with one of the two Grandchildren of the late King on each Side of him, he made the following Speech, as it ſtands in *Dion. Halicarnaſſeus*. *See here, Illuſtrious*

4 The antient Monuments have tranſmitted to us Repreſentations of Fortune, ſometimes in the Figure of a Woman, *Fortuna Muliebris*; ſometimes in that of a Man, *Fortuna Virilis*, or *barbata*; ſometimes with Wings; ſometimes holding a Globe in her Hand; ſometimes leaning or ſtanding upright upon a Wheel, to ſhew her Inſtability: And in Compliance with the impious Prejudices of Paganiſm, which taught that *Fortune* preſided over the Government of the Univerſe, ſhe was repreſented holding a Rudder of a Ship in her right Hand, and a *Cornu copiæ* in her left; as if ſhe had been the Diſpenſer of all good Things. The Sun and Creſcent which were placed over her Head, were deſigned to ſhew her Power over ſublunary Things.

5 From the Time of the *Kings*, the People of *Rome* had a legiſlative Power, when aſſembled in their *Curiæ*. The Form uſed in propoſing Matters to them for their Determinations, was this, *Velitis, Jubeatis, Quirites*; which ſhewed their ſovereign Authority. And the People may be ſaid to have been yet more abſolute in the Affair of electing a King.

6 *Livy* is ſo far from agreeing that the Senators conſpired againſt *Servius Tullius*, that he, on the contrary, aſſures us, that they at firſt conſented to his coming to the Throne, independently of the Suffrages of the People. And this Account is true, and not contrary to *Dion. Hal.* if we only diſtinguiſh the Times.

7 There were two of theſe *Tribunes* at *Rome*. It is certain, there was at leaſt one erected in the Reign of *Servius*: Which poſſibly might be that which ſtood in the *Comitium* of the *Roman* Market-place, or *Forum Romanum*, directly over againſt the *Curia*, or Hall in which the Senate was aſſembled, and which was afterwards adorned with the Heads of the Ships taken from the *Antiates*. It has ſince been called *Roſtra*. From this *Tribune*, which was ſometimes called a Temple, to raiſe the Dignity of it by a religious Name, the *Tribunes*, *Conſuls*, &c. harangued the People.

A. Fortuna Virilis. B. *The reverse of a Medal of* Fauſtina the Younger *with this inscription,* FORTUNÆ. MULIEBRI. C. *The reverse of a Medal of* Commodus, *on which we see a* Fortune *holding an Horse by the Bridle with this inscription,* FORTUNÆ. MANENTI. D.D. *Two other Figures of* Fortune. *The wings and the* Cornu-Copia *denote the inconstancy of this False Goddess in the distribution of her Favours. The two heads issuing out of the* Cornu-Copia, *represent according to some* Jupiter, *and* Juno; *according to others, the* Sun *and* Moon.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Year of ROME CLXXVI—CLXXVIII.
SERVIUS TULLIUS.

uſtrious Romans, *the tender Offspring of one of your greateſt Kings. The are Sight will bring to your Remembrance the Virtues and Victories of their Grandfather. A melancholy Death, and cruel Parricide, robbed you of him, and eft his Poſterity expoſed to the Artifices and Fury of his Aſſaſſins. I alone re-eived a Charge from the dying King to protect theſe helpleſs Children in their In-ancy: and to this I found myſelf pre-engaged, both by the Alliance I had made in* Tarquin's *Family, and the Favours I received from that generous Prince. Having een brought up under his Eye from my Infancy, reſcued from a State of Sla-very, and made his Son-in-law by him; what do I not owe to his Memory, and he Remains of his illuſtrious Blood! It is he himſelf, it is* Tarquin *they again trike at, in the Perſons of his Grandchildren. Their ambitious Rivals are en-deavouring to deſtroy them even in my Arms: and the Scepter I hold, is the only hing which ſtops the Fury of theſe ſeditious Men. If they deprive me of the Crown, you will thereby loſe the only Support of two Children, whom the Remem-brance of* Tarquin *muſt have made dear to you. It is to you, illuſtrious* Romans! *it is to your Protection theſe Children are committed! Be ye their Joint-Guardians with me; or rather, protect them, by ſupporting me in the Throne. Perhaps indeed my perſonal Services might ſay ſomething in my Favour; but I would have you bury them in utter Oblivion, and fix your whole Attention on two young Princes, who muſt inevitably be proſcribed, if I loſe the Crown. And if I do not, my Gratitude to you, Illuſtrious* Romans, *ſhall not fall ſhort of their Favours to me. Having been myſelf in a ſervile Condition, I have experienced the Oppreſſions which the Poor and Little ſuffer from the Power of the Great. It therefore becomes me to ſympathize with you, and to relieve you. You ſhall no longer be ſold to your Creditors for your Debts, and thereby become the Slaves of the Rich; neither ſhall you alone bear the Burden of the publick Taxes, and the more powerful be diſ-charged from it. I will provide a Remedy for both theſe Evils, by Laws. Nor is it juſt, that the Lands which are conquered at the Expence of your Sweat and Blood, ſhould be diſtributed only among the moſt Audacious of the Great; whilſt you continue without a Foot of Land of your own, and are obliged to cultivate the Lands of others for Hire. You have already born the contemptuous Uſage of the Nobility long enough; and ſhall now be freed from it, by the Protection of the Throne, as ſoon as you have eſtabliſhed me in it.*

Year of ROME CLXXIX—CLXXXII.

THIS Harangue of the King was not mere empty Words: he actually kept the Promiſes he made in it, and from that time gained himſelf the Hearts of all his People. A few Days after he made this Speech, *Servius* commanded all thoſe who were in Debt, to ſend him an Account of their Debts, and the Names of their Creditors. The King ordered Compting-Houſes to be opened in the *Forum Romanum*, and there he paid all the Debtors Bills with his own Money. Nor was this all: he publiſhed an Edict, commanding all ſuch as had uſurped the Lands belonging to the Publick, to quit them at an appointed time; and ordered the Citizens of *Rome*, who had no Lands of their own, to petition for them. In a word, he put in Force many of *Romulus*'s and *Numa*'s Laws, which Diſuſe had in effect aboliſhed; and made ſeveral new ones in favour of the People.

§. IV. BUT though the Inclinations of *Servius Tullius* led him more to Works of Peace, and the procuring the Eſtabliſhment of an exact Polity in *Rome*, than to Military Exploits; yet he found himſelf obliged to embark in a long War, which brought much Glory both to the *Roman* People, and the King of *Rome*. The *Veientes*, who had been often ſubdued by *Tarquin the Elder*, as well as the *Hetrurians*, had lately ſhaken off the Yoke. The Deputies *Rome* had ſent to them, to engage them to acknowledge her Sovereignty, had been treated with Scorn. *We entered*, ſaid they, *into no Treaty with the Son of a Slave; nor will we ever ſubmit to* Servius's *Dominion.* Tarquin *is dead, and our Obligations to be ſubject to the* Romans *are dead with him.*

THIS Confidence of the *Veientes* proceeded partly from their natural Pride, and partly from the Hopes they had of being able to turn the Diſſentions between the Senate and King of *Rome*, to their Advantage. They therefore prepared for War, and drew two other *Lucumonies*, *viz.* thoſe of *Cære* and *Tarquinia*, into their Party. But the Confederates were briskly attacked by the *Roman*, and ſubdued by his Valour: and the Conqueror thought it proper to make theſe perfidious Ag-

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 231.

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SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Faſti Capit.

greſſors Examples of Severity. After he had conquered them, he deprived them of their Lands, and transferred the Property of their fine Eſtates, to ſuch of the new Citizens of *Rome*, as had yet no Lands of their own. By this means *Servius Tullius*, being ſupported by his own Glory and the Favour of the People, obtained the Honours of a Triumph, in ſpight of the Hatred of the Senate. He entered *Rome* with the Pomp which *Tarquin* had introduced in Triumphs, on the ſixth of the Calends of *December*, in the hundred and eighty-ſecond Year of the Foundation of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CLXXXIII, CLXXXIV.

§. V. The Senators, being intimidated by the immoveable Attachment of the People to the King, changed their Behaviour towards him, though they did not at all leſſen their Hatred. They affected to appear very well ſatisfied with *Servius*'s Government, and left him in peaceable Poſſeſſion of the Throne. They were convinced, that if they perſiſted in demanding an *Inter-regnum*, and a new Election, the People would take hold of ſo proper a Criſis, and ſettle the Crown upon *Servius*'s Head in a legal manner. They thought the Circumſtance of a Triumph, and the Glory of him who enjoyed it, were ſuch Obſtacles as muſt render their Jealouſy ineffectual at preſent; and they therefore ſuſpended all outward Expreſſions of it, till a more favourable Opportunity ſhould offer.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 216.

BUT the King, by his Penetration, diſcovered the Myſtery of the Senators Policy. He was ſatisfied, that the preſent Calm foreboded him ſome future Storm. *After all*, ſaid he to himſelf, *I ſhall never be able entirely to remove the Pretences of theſe factious Men, as long as* Rome *ſhall be able to reproach me with having aſcended the Throne by any other means than that of the Suffrages of the People. Now therefore, that their Favour ſeems to incline to my Intereſts, let us try to ſupply the Defects of my firſt Riſe to it, by an Election which can never be diſputed.* With theſe Views, he prepared the Minds of the People for his Deſigns, by ſpreading abroad a Report, by his Emiſſaries, that the *Patricians* had conſpired his Death. And indeed ſome of them were ſecretly contriving how to bring back the Sons of *Ancus Marcius*, who had cauſed the late King to be aſſaſſinated. Though they had been interdicted Fire and Water, throughout all the *Roman* Dominions, by an Edict both of *Servius* and the People; yet ſome of the Senators had thoughts of abrogating ſo juſt and venerable a Law. And when the People were full of a juſt Indignation at it, the King for his part appeared no more in publick, but in Mourning; which was to ſhew his Concern at the ſecret Enterprizes of the Senate. By this means the People, whoſe Honour was blended with *Servius*'s Intereſt, ſeemed diſpoſed to do any thing in his Favour.

THE Conjuncture then being favourable, *Servius* made uſe of it, like a skilful Politician. After he had aſſembled the People, he aſcended *The Tribune*, with *Tanaquil*, *Ocriſia*, and the late King's two Grandſons, dreſſed in a negligent manner, and ſpoke thus:

THE *preſent Buſineſs, illuſtrious* Romans, *is not only to ſave Children in their tender Age from Deſtruction, but alſo to guard my Life and your own Glory. The Senate, whom I never offended, have formed wicked Deſigns againſt me, only on account of my Bounties to, and Affection for you. I could not bear to ſee you delivered up to Slavery for Debts, which your Wants obliged you to contract. I have diſpoſſeſſed the unjuſt Poſſeſſors of ſuch Lands as they uſurped in prejudice to your Rights. I have proportioned the publick Taxes to the Income of each Citizen, and endeavoured to bring your Condition as near that of the Rich as poſſible, for fear too great a Diſtance between you and them ſhould make you liable to be oppreſſed by them. Theſe are all my Crimes; and I will now acquaint you with the Plots which ſome ſeditious Men have formed againſt me. The Puniſhment, to which the Murderers of the late King were ſo juſtly ſentenced, is but a weak Barrier againſt the Injuſtice of the Senate. In contempt of the Law you enacted, they intend to reward the Crime of the two barbarous Aſſaſſins with a Crown. The Sons of* Ancus Marcius *have indeed done themſelves Juſtice, by a voluntary Exile: but great Attempts are now making to bring them back to* Rome, *in order to eſtabliſh them on that very Throne which they have ſtained with Blood. The Plot is, to bring them into* Rome *with an armed Force, and at the Head of foreign Troops. The Proofs I have of this new Villany are certain, and the Witneſſes who atteſt it unqueſtionable. I, and the illuſtrious Children which*

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are committed to my Care, are all deſtined to periſh by the Hands of theſe wild Beaſts. The Blood they moſt thirſt after, is indeed that of Kings: as to the Queens, and the Daughters of the two Royal Branches, they have kindly thought fit to content themſelves with only making them Slaves. So that Murder and Slavery are the Fate which the Senate has thought fit to prepare for its Maſters. On your Inclinations therefore, illuſtrious Romans, *depends my Fortune, and that of my Pupils. Speak, Determine. The Judgment you ſhall give, either in favour of the two Aſſaſſins, or a triumphant King, ſhall be to me a Law, to which I will pay Obedience. The only Favour I preſume to beg, by the* Manes *of the late King, by the Tears of his Grandchildren, by the Cries of the venerable Women here preſent, and by the Victories I have gained over your Enemies, is this; that you would not defer pronouncing Sentence between my Enemies and me. If you thereby deprive me of the Crown; you, my dear affectionate Pupils, ſhall leave* Rome, *and go and ſeek for Refuge among other Nations, by whom the Memory of your Grandfather will perhaps be reſpected. As to Glory, I have enjoyed enough. As to Purple, Crown, and* Faſces, *I return them all into your Hands: diſpoſe of them as you think fit. But know this, that the Moment you deprive me of the Throne, I will deprive my ſelf of the Light of the Sun. To you therefore,* Romans, *to you I leave it to determine whether I ſhall live or die.*

HE had ſcarce ended his Speech, when he came down haſtily from *The Tribune*; whilſt Tears flowed from the Eyes of all the People: And as he was going to leave them, the Aſſembly redoubled their Cries; but they were forced to offer Violence to *Servius*, before they could ſtop him. *Stay*, ſaid ſome; *Be our King, Be our King*, cried others: and all encouraged him not to fear any thing from the Plots of his Enemies. Then ſome, whom the King had diſperſed among the People for that Purpoſe, cried with a loud Voice, *Let the Curiæ be aſſembled, and let us elect* Servius *to be King without delay:* and theſe Clamours were followed with an univerſal Applauſe. In the mean time, the Prince, though at the bottom of the whole Intrigue, affected to appear to act only in compliance with the Inclination of the People. *I am exceeding glad*, ſaid he to them, with an Air of Majeſty, *to find you have ſome Gratitude for the good Offices I have often done you: you may*, continued he, with an Appearance of Coldneſs and Indifference, *do juſt as you pleaſe.* He inſtantly appointed a Day for a lawful Aſſembly of the People, when the *Curiæ* ſhould give in their Suffrages; and deſired that the *Roman* Citizens, who were diſperſed about the Country, ſhould likewiſe be ſummoned to the Election. But leſt the Affection the People had for him ſhould abate, *Servius* took care that there ſhould be but a little Space between the Time of his Harangue and the *Comitia.* The People were accordingly aſſembled at the Time appointed: and *Servius* was then elected King with a greater Unanimity than any Sovereign of *Rome* had been before him.

Livy, B 1. *ch.* 46. and *Dion. Hal. B.* 4. *p.* 218.

§. VI. THESE new Formalities added indeed a little Security to *Servius*'s Reign; but they only ſharpened inſtead of abating the Hatred of the Senators againſt their King. They could never be brought to confirm the Election of the People: nor was this the only Oppoſition of this kind which they had been known to make to the Decrees of the *Curiæ*. Theſe two Courts, which divided the City into two Parties, ſcarce ever acted in concert; their different Intereſts led them different Ways. *Servius* therefore, who gave himſelf up entirely to the People's Party, had always reaſon to be apprehenſive of the Faction of the *Patricians*. And he ſeems in this Occaſion to have deliberated ſeriouſly with himſelf, whether he ſhould not renounce the Dignity the People had but juſt conferred upon him; in the perplexity which aroſe from his Fear and Uneaſineſs, he had recourſe to *Tanaquil*. This Heroine, after having ſpent many Years in great Glory, was indeed now drawing very near her End: but ſtill continuing prudent and courageous to the laſt, ſhe ſaid enough to her Son-in-law, to remove his Apprehenſions, and to confirm him in the Reſolution of maintaining himſelf upon the Throne. She ſeems only to have lived long enough to get a Promiſe and an Oath from *Servius*, concerning an Affair of ſuch Importance to her Family; and when ſhe had obtained them, died ſatisfied. The Memory of this great Queen has been religiouſly preſerved by Hiſtorians: and *Servius* omitted nothing that could contribute towards tranſmitting the Remembrance of her to Poſterity. In order to immortalize her domeſtick

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Plut. de Fortit. Rom.

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Plin. de Nat. Hiſt. B. 8.

domeſtick Virtues, Virtues in which the true Glory of Women does indeed properly conſiſt, he hung up her Diſtaff [8] in the Temple of *Hercules*.

SERVIUS being thus determined to continue on the Throne, he made it his whole Buſineſs to add new Luſtre to his own Glory, and to that of the *Roman* People: And the *Hetrurians*, who were grown once more rebellious, furniſhed him with Matter for a new Triumph. He fought them, and ſo far ſubdued them, as to make them lay down their Arms. So that he obtained, by a Decree of the People, the Honour of entering *Rome* in Triumph a ſecond time; which he did, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, on the eighth of the Calends of *June*, in the hundred and eighty-ſixth Year of *Rome*.

§. VII. THE Interval of Reſt which *Servius* enjoyed after this Victory, he dedicated to the enlarging and adorning of *Rome*. Its Inhabitants were now ſo greatly multiplied, that the King reſolved to enlarge the Compaſs of the City, and to carry its Walls round all the Hills which overlooked it. And for this he had the Example of all his Predeceſſors, each of which had made ſome new Additions to it. *Romulus*, who at firſt incloſed only the Hill *Palatinus* with Walls and Ditches, afterwards added the Hill *Tarpeius*, when *Titus Tatius* and his *Sabines* choſe to become Citizens of *Rome*. *Numa* extended the City yet farther, and joined the Hill *Quirinalis* [9] to it, on which a Temple had been erected to *Romulus*, under the Name of *Quirinus*. *Tullus Hoſtilius*, when he had removed the *Albans* to *Rome*, after he had deſtroyed their City *Alba*, incloſed the Hill *Cælius* within its Bounds. In *Ancus Marcius*'s Time, the Hill *Janiculus*, on the other Side of the *Tyber*, was joined to the City, by a wooden Bridge. *Tarquin the Firſt* indeed contented himſelf with building with fine Stones, in Part at leaſt, the Walls of *Rome*; without enlarging its Incloſure. But *Servius Tullius* was not ſatisfied with finiſhing the Work his immediate Predeceſſor had begun; he likewiſe incloſed the Hills *Eſquilinus* [10] and *Viminalis* [11] within the new Walls which he built. So that *Rome* began from this time to bear the Name of *Septicollis*, that is, a City which conſiſted of *ſeven Hills*.

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AND as *Servius Tullius* enlarged the City of *Rome* itſelf, ſo he likewiſe did that Space of Ground which the *Romans* called *Pomœrium* [12]. It was an empty Space, either on the Inſide of the City-Wall, between that and the Houſes

8 *Plutarch* in this contradicts *Pliny*. The former, in his *Roman Queſtions*, makes this Diſtaff to belong to another *Tanaquil*, and not to the Wife of *Tarquin the Elder*. It was, according to him, the Diſtaff of one *Tanaquil*, who was the Wife of a Son of *Tarquin the Elder*. But *Pliny* ſeems to have the greateſt Probability on his Side. In the firſt place, he quotes *Varro* in his Favour; and it is well known how learned he was in the *Roman* Antiquities. And *Plutarch* acknowledges, that the *Tanaquil* whoſe Diſtaff was hung up, was alſo called *Caja Cæcilia*. Now, according to *Feſtus*, the *Tanaquil*, who at *Rome* took the Name of *Caia Cæcilia*, was the Wife, and not the Daughter-in-law of *Tarquin the Elder*. *Feſtus*'s Words are theſe: *Caia Cæcilia appellata eſt ut Romam venit, quæ antea Tanaquil vocata erat uxor Tarquinii Priſci Regis Romanorum.* To which we may add, that we know of no Author but *Plutarch*, who has ſaid any *Tanaquil* was the Wife of one of *Tarquin*'s Sons. Nor ought we to omit a Circumſtance which *Pliny* mentions. The *Tanaquil*, ſays he, whoſe Diſtaff was hung up, had ſpun a Robe for *Servius Tullius* with her own Hands. What other *Tanaquil*, but the Wife of *Tarquin*, would have ſhewn ſo much Care and maternal Affection for *Servius Tullius*, as Queen *Tanaquil* did, who looked on him as her Son, and married him to her Daughter?

9 The Hill *Quirinalis* is often called by antient Authors *Agonius*, *Agonalis*, and *Mons Collinus*; and ſometimes *Mons Salutaris*. And from the time that *Conſtantine the Firſt* removed to *Rome* from *Alexandria*, the equeſtrian Statues of *Alexander the Great* on his Horſe *Bucephalus*, it was called *Mons Cabal-*

linus, or *Cabalus*: as it to this day bears the Name of *Monte Cavallo*. *Dion. Hal.* and *Strabo* ſay, that *Romulus* and *Tatius* made it a Part of *Rome*. But the Teſtimony of the greater number of Writers, and the vaſt Extent of the Hill itſelf, incline us to believe, that the *Sabines* only dwelt on a Part of it, which was then like one of the Suburbs of *Rome*.

10 Some think the Hill *Eſquilinus* was ſo called from the *Latin* Word *Excubiæ*, becauſe *Romulus*, who ſuſpected *Tatius*'s Fidelity, poſted *a Centinel* on it. And this Etymology, forced as it is, ſeems to have been adopted by *Ovid*:

Adde quod excubias ubi Rex Romanus agebat,
Qui nunc Eſquilius nomina collis habet.

Faſt. B. 3.

But others give us a more natural Derivation of it from the *Latin* Word *Quiſquiliæ*; becauſe it was the Place appointed to receive all the Filth and dead Carcaſſes of *Rome*. Others pretend, that it was only called *Eſquilinus*, from the time that *Tatius* began *to cultivate* it: So that *Mons Eſquilinus* is, according to them, the ſame thing as *Mons Excultus*. *Var. B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* and *Feſt. de Verbor. Signif.*

11 The *Oſiers* and *Beaches* which grew about this Hill, gave it the Name of *Mons Viminalis*, and *Collis Fagutalis*. It was formerly ſeparated from the Hill *Quirinalis* by a little Valley which was afterwards filled up, and the two Hills were made one.

12 I find Authors greatly differ about what we are to underſtand by the Word *Pomœrium*. Was it a Way within or without the City, which ran all round it? Or was it not two Ways, which

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uſes of the City, or rather on the Out-ſide of the City Wall, between that d the Houſes of the Suburbs; or perhaps both. This *Pomœrium* was made ſa- d by Religion: Which was often a Pretence to ſerve political Ends. It was deed of Uſe, in the Defence and Preſervation of the Walls, to have a Space Ground left empty on each Side of them, and not covered with private Houſes. order to induce a great Number of *Romans* to ſettle upon the two Hills he had wly incloſed, *Servius* built his Palace on the Hill *Eſquilinus*. So that ſeveral tizens, either for their Convenience, or to make their Court, came and inha- ed this new Quarter of the City.

§. VIII. THE Increaſe of the People, and of the City, required a new Divi- n of the *Tribes*. *Romulus* had indeed at firſt divided *Rome* only into *three* [13] rts, from whence came the Word *Tribe*; but *Servius* now added a fourth *ibe* to the original three, without changing their ancient Name. Thoſe of *omulus*'s Diviſion were called, *The Tribe of the Rhamnenſes*, or *Tribus Pala-* *Liv. B. 1. c. 43.* *Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 219.* *na* [14]; *The Tribe of the Tatienſes*, or *Tribus Suburana*; and *The Tribe of the ceres*, or *Tribus Collina*. The fourth, which *Servius* eſtabliſhed at this time, ok the Name of *Tribus Eſquilina*. The publick Impoſts and Taxes for the State re raiſed by laying a certain Sum on every *Tribe*; and from hence the pub- k Subſidies laid upon the *Romans* were called *Tributes*, and *Contributions*. nce likewiſe comes the Name of *Tribune*, which was at firſt applied only to oſe who commanded the *Tribes* in War; but was afterwards given to ſeveral rts of Magiſtrates, who had great Authority in the Commonwealth.

THE Law which obliged the Inhabitants of each *Tribe* to continue in that in hich they ſhould be born, after this new Diviſion, produced great Order and egularity in levying the *Roman* Militia, and the publick Taxes. Every one was rolled for the War only in his own *Tribe*; and paid to the Taxes only in roportion to the general Sum laid upon it. Beſides, the publick Officers, by his means, knew the Habitations of every Citizen. And that neither the Num-

went quite round the Walls of the City, the one within, the other without them? *Livy* is of this lat- Opinion; and I think it the moſt probable, not- hſtanding that the other *Greek* and *Latin* Authors erally underſtand no more by the Word, than e Space of Ground which ran along by the Walls, her within or without them. *Livy* expreſly men- ns two Ways round the Walls; and other Au- ors only mention one Space of Ground without Walls of *Rome*, but not excluſive of another hin them. So that the City had, moſt probably, o *Pomœria*; one within, and another without Walls. At leaſt, this Opinion has one expreſs ſtimony for it, and nothing appears to contradict

13 *Livy* pretends that the *Roman Tribes* were ſo led from the *Tributes* or Taxes which were le- d in the ſeveral Quarters or *Tribes* of *Rome*. t *Varro* is of a different Opinion. He is ſo far m thinking the *Tribes* had that Name from the *ibutes* they paid, as to believe, on the contrary, t the *Tributes* or Taxes were ſo called from the *ibes* which paid them. Whence then had the *Ro- n Tribes* their Names? They had them, ſays he, m the numeral Word, *tres*, *trium*, *tribus*, be- uſe *Romulus* divided *Rome* into *three* Parts or uarters.

14 The *Tribes* of *Rome*, by *Servius Tullus*'s Re- lation, were in Number four. They took their mes from the four principal Quarters of the Ci- *Varro* calls the *Tribus Suburana* the firſt, the *ibus Eſquilina* the ſecond, the *Tribus Collina*, the rd, and the *Tribus Palatina* the fourth. But *Dion. al.* on the contrary, places them according to the der of Time, in which each Quarter was taken hin the Compaſs of the City. So that according him, the *Tribus Palatina* is the firſt. This *Tribe* ntained the Hill *Palatinus*, the *Capitol*, the *Fo- m Romanum*, and alſo the Hills *Aventinus* and *niculus*, which were afterwards included within *Pomœrium*. It was alſo, in After-times, ex- nded farther on both Sides the *Tyber*, Weſtward and Southward, in Proportion as the City was extended towards thoſe Quarters. The ſecond *Tribe*, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Suburana*, which contained all the Space of Ground from the *Aventinus* to the *Eſquiliæ*; that is, the Hill *Cœlius*, and the two Valleys which were at the Foot of it. In one of theſe Valleys was the Quarter of the *Carinæ*, which was ſurrounded with Houſes, whoſe Roofs were built like the Bottoms of *Ships* turned upſide down; and from thence the Place had this Name. The richeſt *Romans*, ſuch as *Pompey* and *Tully*, had their Palaces in it; and *Virgil* ſeems to ſay as much of it, in his 8th Book,

——Paſſimque armenta videbant
Romanoque foro, & lautis mugire Carinis.

In the other of theſe Valleys ſtood the Village of *Subura*, which gave the Tribe its Name. The antient Inſcriptions ſhew us that this Village was antiently called *Pagus Sucuſanus*. And thus *Varro* ſpeaks of it: *Suburam Junius ſcribit, ab eo quod fuerit ſub antiqua urbe, cui teſtimonium poteſt eſſe, quod ſubeſt ei loco qui terreus murus vocatur. Sed ego a pago potius Sucuſano puto Sucuſam: nunc ſcribitur tertia littera C non B, Pagus Sucuſanus, quod ſuccurrit Carinis.* This *Tribe* received ſeveral Augmentations, in Proportion as *Rome* ſpread Eaſtward and Southward. The third Tribe, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Collina*, which then contained the Hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis*; and it was afterwards enlarged with *the Hill of the Gardens*, and the Ground that was added to the City Northward. *Tertiæ regionis colles ob quinque Deorum Fana appellati, equis nobiles duo colles, Viminalis a Jove Viminis, quod ibi ara fuit ejus, aut quod vimineta fuerunt, collis Quirinalis ubi Quirini fanum, aut a Curetibus, qui cum T. Tatio Curibus venerunt Romam, quod ibi habuerunt caſtra.* Var. B. 4. de Ling. Lat. The fourth Tribe, according to *Dion. Hal.* was the *Tribus Eſquilina*, which contained the Quarter of the *Eſquiliæ*.

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ber of Burials, nor of Births, nor of ſuch as had lately taken the *Toga Virilis*, (or *Manly Gown*,) might for the future be unknown, *Servius* made a Law, that upon every Death a Piece of Money ſhould be paid to the Temple of the Goddeſs *Libitina* [15]; another upon every Birth to the Temple of *Lucina* [16]; and another to the Temple of *Youth* [17], as ſoon as any Perſon was paſſed the State of Childhood By theſe different Pieces of Money, which were carefully preſerved, the *Romans* annually reckoned the Number of their Citizens in general, and in particular of ſuch as were able to bear Arms.

Braſs. *Braſs* *Braſs*

AND though no Regard was had to Slaves at *Rome*, yet the King extended his Care even to them. He ordered little wooden Oratories to be erected in all the Croſs-ways of the ſeveral Quarters of the City, and dedicated them to the Dii *Compitales*, that is, *The Gods of the Croſs-ways*, who were the ſame with the *Lares*. And *Servius* commanded that Slaves only ſhould be Prieſts to theſe Gods [18], which he doubtleſs did, in order thereby to do Honour to his own firſt Condition.

15 The Office of the Goddeſs *Libitina*, was to preſide at Funerals. According to *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, ſome confound her with *Proſerpine*; but the ſame Author adds, that the moſt learned among the *Romans* did not diſtinguiſh her from *Venus*. From the Time of *Servius*, every Head of a Family carried a Piece of Money to her Temple, immediately after any one was dead in his Houſe. By this means it was eaſy to know how many Perſons died in *Rome* in a Year. Round this Temple, and in a Part of the City called *Libitina*, lived thoſe who furniſhed all Neceſſaries for Funerals. People applied themſelves for this Purpoſe to thoſe Sorts of Men who were called in *Rome*, *Libitinarii*; and whoſe Office it was, according to *Servius*'s Regulation, to receive the Piece of Money, and to provide every thing neceſſary for the Proceſſion. The Buſineſs of thoſe who were called *Pollinctores*, was to waſh and perfume the dead Bodies. Theſe were hired by, and were a ſort of Domeſticks to, the *Libitinarii*. Thus the ſame Goddeſs which gave Life, preſided over Death, to ſhew, ſays *Plutarch*, that we are never born but to die. They, who had the Charge of the Treaſure of the Temple of *Libitina*, took care to enter the Produce or Amount of every Year in a Book of Accounts which *Suetonius*, *ch.* 39. calls *Ratio Libitinæ*; and *Euſebius*, *Chron. ad Ann.* 2093. gives it the Name of *Ephemeris*. And hence come the Phraſes, *venire in rationem Libitinæ*, *in Ephemeridem referri*, inſtead of the Verb *mori*. The Word *Libitina* it ſelf had alſo different Significations. Sometimes it ſignified Death,

> *Non omnis moriar, multaque pars mei*
> *Vitabit Libitinam*———— Horace.

Sometimes it ſignified the Bed on which the Corps was carried to the Place of Burial, *Sidon. Ep.* 11. 8. *Acron in Val*; and ſometimes it imported the Expences of the Burial, the Funeral Pomp, and the laſt Duties which were paid to the Dead.

16 In order to know exactly the Number of the Children which ſhould be born in *Rome*, *Servius* commanded that a Piece of Money ſhould be carried to the Temple of the Goddeſs *Lucina*, upon every Birth. *Lucina* was one of the Names of *Juno*, who was invoked when Women were in Labour. In a Medal of *Fauſtina the Younger*, we ſee a *Juno* holding a Child wrapt up in Swadling-cloths on her left Arm, and with a Child on each Side of her. On a Medal of *Lucilia*, we have a *Juno Lucina* holding a Flower, or, as others, a Whip, the Symbol of Fruitfulneſs and eaſy Labours. Such were the ſuperſtitious Prejudices of the *Roman* Women, that they ſuffered the *Luperci* (who ran about the City with Whips in their Hands) to laſh them, in order thereby to obtain a happy Delivery. Thus *Ovid*,

> *Nupta quid expectas? Non tu pollentibus herbis,*
> *Nec prece, nec magico carmine, mater eris.*
> *Excipe fœcundæ patienter verbera dextræ:*
> *Jam ſocer optati nomen habebit avi.* Faſt. 2.

Some Authors have thought, that the Church of *Rome*, which now bears the Title of *St. Laurence in Lucina*, was formerly a Temple dedicated to *Juno Lucina*.

17 This Goddeſs was called *Juventus*, or rather *Juventas*. When any one came to be ſeventeen Years of Age, or took the *Toga virilis*, he was obliged to carry a Piece of Money to the Goddeſs *Juventas*'s Box. By this means, the Number of thoſe who were able to bear Arms was exactly known. Men commenced Soldiers at ſeventeen. On the Reverſe of a Medal, ſtruck in Honour of *Marcus Aurelius*, when he was only *Cæſar*, is the Goddeſs of *Youth*, before a portable Altar, holding a *Patera* in her left Hand.

18 We here aſcribe the Inſtitution of the *Compitalitia*, or Feſtival of the *Dii Compitales*, inſtituted in Honour of the *Lares*, to *Servius*; tho' ſome carry it higher, and aſcribe it to *Tarquin the Elder*. It's true, the Accident which afterwards gave Occaſion to the Honour done to the *Dii Lares* by the Slaves, happened in the Reign of *Servius*'s Predeceſſor in the Throne: And yet it can ſcarce be denied, that the *Compitalitia* was firſt thought on by *Servius*. Beſides that *Dion. Hal.* ſays as much, *B.* 4. *Antiq. Rom.* *Pliny*, *B.* 36. *c.* 2. ſays it expreſly, in theſe Words: *Ita Servium natum, qui regno ſucceſſit. Inde in regia puer ocubanti, caput arſiſſe viſum, creditumque Laris familiaris filium, ob id compitalitia Ludos primus Laribus inſtituiſſe.*

Year of *ROME* CLXXXVII, —CXC.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Silver

But however that be, it's certain theſe domeſtick Gods of the *Romans* [19] had their own particular Feſtival, which was celebrated a little [20] after that of the *Saturnalia*. Then the Slaves came and offered theſe Gods, their Protectors, Cakes, which they collected in the Neighbourhood: and this Feſtival was ſolemnized [21] with a great deal of Magnificence. The Maſters gave their Slaves reſt from all their Labours, on this Day; and by this Act of Humanity endeared them to their Service.

§. IX. THAT likewiſe an equal Order might be eſtabliſhed throughout all the *Roman* State, *Servius* applied himſelf to regulating the Country in the ſame manner as he had done the City. Though the Lands of the *Romans* were well cultivated, yet they had but few Villages in their Diſtricts. The Houſes in the Country were all ſingle, and at a diſtance from one another, every Man having built his own Houſe upon his own Lands. So that the Peaſants had no fixed Places to which they belonged, and whither they might have Recourſe for Juſtice and Protection: And Religion, which is the Bond of Polity, ſuffered by this general Diſperſion of Families, which were ſcattered all over the Country, and had no manner of Relation to, or Dependence upon, one another. *Servius* therefore corrected this Diſorder. He divided [22] the whole *Roman* Territory into fifteen *Tribes*,

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Venonius Ap. Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 220.

19 The *Lares* were thought by the Pagans to be the tutelar Gods of Publick Places, of Croſs-ways, of Houſes, of Roads, and of Fields. So that they were honoured under different Titles and Repreſentations, according to the Difference of the Places which were put under their Protection. The domeſtick *Lares*, or *Familiares*, who guarded Houſes, were antiently repreſented under the Figure of a Dog, the Symbol of Fidelity; as we learn from *Plautus*, in his *Aulularia*. And for the ſame Reaſon *Plutarch* aſſures us, *Quæſt. Rom.* 50. that the Images of the *Dii Lares* were always covered with the Skin of a Dog, and had the Figure of this domeſtick Animal ſtanding by them. Thus in a Medal of the *Cæſian* Family, we ſee two of theſe *Lares* with a Dog at their Feet. Over them is the Head of a *Vulcan*, which repreſents the Hearth, the Care of which was committed to the domeſtick *Lares*, according to *Ovid*;

At canis ante pedes Saxo fabricatus eodem
Stabat, quæ ſtandi cum Lare cauſa fuit.
Servat uterque domum, domino quoque fidus uterq;
Pervigilantque Lares, pervigilatque canis.
Faſt. 2.

An antient Stone has this Inſcription; LARIBUS. PRO SALUTE. ET. INCOLUMITATE DOMUS. QUADRIVORII. The Offerings made to theſe Gods were Incenſe, Wine, and Flowers; and ſometimes a Hog was ſacrificed in Honour to them.

Si thure placaris & horna
Fruge Lares, avidaque Porca. Horace.

The Croſs-Ways, and High Roads, had likewiſe their own *Lares*; and ſo had Cities too, as appears by this antient Inſcription, *Lares civitatis Puteolorum*. Hence the different Epithets given them, of *Lares Publici*, *Lares Rurales*, and *Lares Viales*; whoſe different Offices *Ovid* gives us a particular Account of, in his 2d Book of *Faſti*. Thoſe who were called *Lares Permarini*, were plainly appointed to take care of Shipping. Beſides which *Feſtus* ſpeaks of another Sort of *Lares*, whom he calls *Hoſtilii*, *quod ab his hoſtes arceri putabant*. And there was yet another Sort of *Lares*, called *Grundiles*, which *Romulus* ſet up in Memory of the Sow that farrowed thirty Pigs at once.

20 Tho' this Feſtival of the *Compitalitia* was celebrated in *January*; yet the Day of it was not fixed: it belonged to the *Prætor* to appoint it.

Et nunquam certis redeuntia feſta diebus,
Cum ſua per vicos compita quiſque colit.
Auſon. Id. 7. l. 25.

21 In the Celebration of this Feſtival, every Slave ſet up his Poſt in the Croſs-ways, and hung as many Images upon it, as there were free Perſons in the Family to which he belonged. And when the Slaves had obtained their Liberty, they hung up their Chains to the *Dii Lares*.

22 If the Paſſage in *Dion. Hal.* which anſwers to this in our Hiſtory, be to be underſtood in the Senſe *Beſſarion* fixes upon it, we muſt ſay the Country belonging to the *Romans* was divided into thirty-one *Tribes*, and not into fifteen. The Senſe of *Beſſarion*'s Tranſlation is this. Venonius *reports, that* Servius Tullius *divided the Country into thirty-one Tribes; ſo that if we add the four City-Tribes to them, the Number of the Whole will be thirty-five, which Number continues to this Day.* But it unluckily falls out, that this is an uncertain Interpretation of the Text, and would miſlead the Reader. It will indeed hereafter appear, that the Number of the *Tribes* was encreaſed afterwards, and came at laſt to thirty-five. But with reſpect to *Servius Tullius*, it is more probable, that he only divided the Country, as it was in his Time, into fifteen *Tribes*; and conſequently, that the *City-Tribes* and Country-ones together, were then but nineteen in all. And the Reader need only have Recourſe to *Livy* and *Florus*, to ſatisfy himſelf, that this is not purely an arbitrary Suppoſition. They both aſſure us, that ſome new *Tribes* were added to the old ones in the two hundred and fifty-eighth Year of *Rome*: and that then the whole Number of them was but twenty-one. And therefore it cannot be true, as ſome pretend, that there were ſeventeen rural *Tribes*, which, added to the four *City-Tribes*, made the Number of the whole twenty-one, ſo early as in the Time of *Servius*.

which,

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which, with the four *Tribes* in the City, made the whole Number of them nineteen: And by this wiſe Inſtitution, he provided for the Safety of the Husbandmen. Before his Time, as oft as an Enemy made any Inroads into the *Roman* Territory, theſe ſingle Houſes being entirely defenceleſs, their Inhabitants were expoſed to Plunder and Captivity. He therefore commanded, that there ſhould be at leaſt one Place of Refuge in every *Tribe*, which ſhould be ſituated on a ſteep Hill, and be ſtrong enough for the Peaſants to ſecure their Effects and Perſons in it, upon ſudden Alarms. And this was the Origin of Villages in *Italy*; each of which had its own particular Temple, its tutelary God, and its Magiſtrates. The Feſtival of theſe rural Gods [23] was annually celebrated by Sacrifices common to the whole *Tribe:* and the Concourſe of People at it was exceeding great. And therefore *Servius* ſettled the Order and Ceremonies which ſhould be obſerved at it, by Laws which ſubſiſted ever after. He commanded that at theſe annual Aſemblies in the Town, to which every Perſon in the *Tribe*, without Exception, was to repair, every one ſhould pay a particular Piece of Money for himſelf. The Men, Women, Boys, and Girls, were all obliged to pay this Piece of Money into the Hands of the Prieſt of the Town; which Money was different, according to the Age and Sex of the Perſon that paid it. After this, theſe Pieces were reckoned up, and thereby an exact Computation was made, how many Men, Women, and Children there were in each *Tribe:* And, according to this Computation, the *Militia* and the Taxes of the Countrey were levied.

Year of ROME CXCV, CXCVI.

§. X. In the mean time, the Grandchildren of *Tarquin* advanced in Years. *Servius* had indeed brought up theſe dear Wards with all the Care and Tenderneſs of a Father: and he now had thoughts of ſecuring their Fidelity to him, by allying them to his Family and Perſon by a double Marriage. His Wife *Tarquinia* had brought him only two Daughters, and their Manners and Inclinations were very different. The elder *Tullia* was naturally of a good-natured and tractable Diſpoſition, was upright of Heart, and had a Taſte for Virtue. Having always behaved herſelf like a dutiful Child, ſhe continued to have an immoveable Affection for the King her Father, after ſhe was married. Though ſhe was not utterly unaffected with the Charms of Grandeur, yet ſhe had always a greater Love for her Duty. Her Ambition, which was often rouzed by her Husband's Earneſtneſs to obtain the Throne, always kept itſelf within the Bounds of Reſpect and Equity. On the contrary, the younger *Tullia*, her Siſter, was born with a furious Inclination to Vice. She was haughty and imperious, and loved to govern, for no other Reaſon but to make herſelf feared. And as all her Paſſions were upon the Extremes, her Ambition had no Bounds. She had no Sentiments of Humanity in her to ſoften the Barbarity of her Heart. And in ſhort, if ſhe did not carry her Incontinence to notorious Exceſſes, it was her Pride only that ſet any Bounds to her violent Love of Pleaſure.

On the other Hand, the two young Princes, Grandchildren to the late King, were as unlike one another in their Affections and Diſpoſitions, as each of them was like one of the Daughters of King *Servius*. *Tarquin*, the eldeſt, had ſomething unaccountably ſavage and turbulent in his Nature. You might read his great Opinion of himſelf, and the Contempt he had for all the reſt of Mankind, in his Forehead. He was tranſported with violent Deſires of Glory, but ſeemed never perfectly to enjoy the Pleaſures of it, unleſs he had acquired it by ſome Crime. He made Honour to conſiſt, not in the Eſteem which Virtue procures, but in the Superiority which the higheſt Station gives one Man over others. And he therefore ſighed after the Throne, without troubling himſelf about thoſe good Qualities, which make Men worthy of it. His Brother *Arunx* ſeemed more inclined to content himſelf with the ſweet Enjoyments of a private Life, than to burden himſelf with the painful Cares of Government. But the Tranquillity of his Mind did not ſo much proceed from a Want of

23 Theſe Feſtivals were called *Paganalia*, and were celebrated in *January*, when all the Labours of the Countrymen for that Year were over. It is true this Feſtival is not ſet down in the antient *Roman* Calendar; but that might be, becauſe it was not celebrated in the City. *Ovid*, as well as *Dion. Hal.* makes mention of them, in the firſt Book of his *Faſti*.

Pagus agat feſtum, pagum luſtrate coloni,
Et date Paganis annua liba focis.

Weakneſs of Genius, as from the Indolence of a lazy and timorous Diſpoſition. He was naturally peaceable, without being ſtupid; and by a Refinement of Self-Love, he ſtifled in its Birth every Wiſh that had the leaſt Tincture of Ambition. Years of *ROME* CXCV, CXCVI.

SERVIUS had ſtudied the Inclinations of his two Pupils, and knew the Character of his two Daughters. And in order therefore to match them properly, he thought it neceſſary to give his elder Daughter to *Tarquin*, and the younger to *Arunx*. He, by this means, not only married them according to their Ages, but hoped, that the elder *Tullia*'s ſweet Diſpoſition would temper *Tarquin*'s Impetuoſity; and the younger *Tullia*'s Vivacity rouze the Indolence of *Arunx*. Accordingly, the wiſe King's Project ſucceeded for a while; but in time, all theſe juſt Meaſures were diſconcerted by thoſe violent Paſſions of the Great, Incontinence and Ambition. We ſhall in a few Years ſee the inceſtuous Combination of a cruel Woman, with an ambitious Man, prove fatal to *Servius*; who, tho' he foreſaw the Conſequences of it, yet could not avoid them. SERVIUS TULLIUS.

§. XI. WHILST the Royal Family was rejoicing in this double Marriage, the *Hetrurians* were making Preparations for a new War with the *Romans*. The twelve *Lucumonies* had not yet engaged with *Servius*, in a national Body. The *Veientes* indeed firſt, and after them the Inhabitants of *Cære* and *Tarquinia*, had been conquered; and the King had triumphed over them twice: but now all *Hetruria* roſe up together, to ſhake off the *Roman* Yoke. Nevertheleſs, as the Hiſtorians have been more careful to give us an Account of *Servius Tullius*'s political Virtues, than of his Battels; we only know that he fought ſeveral, but always with the ſame Nation, *viz.* with the *Hetrurians*, and always with Succeſs: till at length theſe inveterate Enemies of the *Roman* Name were forced to ſubmit to the Will of their Conqueror. Being tired out with a War, in which they had always been unſucceſsful, they aſſembled a general Council of the Deputies of all the *Lucumonies*, as they had done in *Tarquin*'s Time: and the Reſolutions which were taken in it, were to ſubmit to *Servius* on the ſame Conditions, on which they had ſubmitted to his Predeceſſor. All *Hetruria* therefore joined in ſending Embaſſadors to *Rome*, who by their Supplications prevailed on the *Romans* to re-eſtabliſh them in their Rights, and preſerve the antient Government of their Country, only reſerving to themſelves the Sovereignty over the Conquered. As for the firſt Aggreſſors, they continued ſtill to be deprived of their Eſtates, which had been taken from them, and diſtributed among the Citizens of *Rome:* where a War, which brought ſo much Glory to the King, and had been carried on between whiles, for twenty Years, was crowned with a third Triumph, which the People decreed for *Servius Tullius*. We know the Day on which he triumphed, but know not either the Month or Year. It was on the third of the *Nones*..... But the Injuries of Time have robbed us of the reſt of this *Epocha*; it being entirely effaced out of the Marble on which it was recorded. Years of *ROME* CXCVII— CXCIX. *Faſti Capitol.*

§. XII. *SERVIUS* being thus diſengaged from the Trouble of a long and difficult War, returned immediately to the Purſuit of the political Schemes he had formed. It was about this time [24] that he put in execution that Maſter-piece of Policy, which *Rome* received and made uſe of ever after, and which eſtabliſhed a perpetual Order and Regularity in all the Members of the State, with reſpect to Wars, the Publick Revenues, and the Suffrages of the *Comitia*. This Inſtitution, which was of ſuch great Uſe to the *Romans*, was called *Cenſus*; and the Magiſtrates who preſided over it, after the *Kings*, and ſome of the *Conſuls*, were called *Cenſores* [25]. But the Word *Cenſus* did not originally ſignify, as it is generally underſtood to do, Years of *ROME* CC—CCIV.

[24] It ſeems to me probable, that *Servius Tullius* did not eſtabliſh the *Cenſus*, or general Survey of the Romans, till after he had entirely finiſhed his War with the *Hetrurians*. The Reaſons which conduce me of it, are theſe: 1ſt, *Livy* does not ſpeak of the *Roman Cenſus*, till after *Servius*'s War with the *Hetrurians*. Nevertheleſs, as this War was renewed three times, and *Livy* does not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh theſe three different Renewals of the War with the *Hetrurians*, his Teſtimony is not deciſive. 2dly, I conſidered that, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Servius* kept only four *Luſtra*, which were renewed every five Years; and that theſe *Luſtra* were made at the ſame time as the Survey. From whence I concluded, that *Servius* lived but a little more than twenty Years, after he inſtituted the firſt *Cenſus*. And I have therefore placed this firſt *Cenſus* about twenty Years before his Death.

[25] In the time of the *Kings*, and the firſt *Conſuls*, there were no *Cenſors* at *Rome*. They did not begin till the three hundred and tenth Year of *Rome*. Then the *Conſuls* diſcharged themſelves of the Trouble, of taking care of making an Eſtimate of all the Eſtates of the Citizens, and created Magiſtrates for that Purpoſe, under the Name of *Cenſors*. We ſhall ſay more of them in a proper Place.

Years of *ROME* CC—CCIV.

SERVIUS TULLIUS.

an Enumeration or muſtering of all the Subjects of the *Roman* State; it at firſt only imported an Eſtimate or Valuation of Eſtates. The *Romans* had indeed been, from the Time of *Romulus* to their ſixth King, utterly ignorant of the private Poſſeſſions of their People. So that the publick Supplies were raiſed by Taxes equally laid upon all the People, at ſo much a Head, without any Diſtinction of Rich and Poor. Whence it likewiſe followed, that when Levies were raiſed for the War, the Rich and the Poor were all equally obliged to take the Field, according to the Order of the *Tribe*. And as thoſe who then ſerved in the Army, did it at their own Expence, and neither received Advance-Money nor Pay, it from hence often happened, that thoſe of the poorer ſort were not able to bear the Burden of a Campaign, and ſupport the Expence of it. Beſides, as the moſt indigent of the People ſaw themſelves burdened with the ſame Taxes as the Rich paid; they therefore pretended to an equal Authority in the *Comitia*. So that, the Elections of Kings and Magiſtrates, the Deciſion of Affairs of Peace and War, and the Judgment of Criminals, were given up into the Hands of a vile Populace, who were eaſy to be corrupted, and had nothing to loſe.

ALL theſe Inconveniences in the Government of *Rome*, *Servius Tullius* ſaw, and took proper Meaſures to provide againſt them. Whether he was the Inventor of the Law, which eſtabliſhed Order and Diſtinction among the *Roman* Subjects, or whether he borrowed it from the *Greeks*, is uncertain: it is at leaſt plain, that *Solon* had done the ſame thing at *Athens*, which *Servius* was now doing at *Rome*. The King began with enacting a Law, all the Conſequences of which were not foreſeen by the Publick. It required all the Citizens of *Rome* to bring in an Account in Writing, of their own Names and Ages, and of thoſe of their Fathers, Wives, and Children. It commanded every Head of a Family to deliver in upon Oath the Value of his Effects, upon a juſt Computation; and to add to it the Place of his Reſidence, whether in the City or Country: and this, upon pain of ſuffering a ſevere Puniſhment, if they diſobeyed. Whoever did not bring in an Account of his Effects, was to have them confiſcated to the Uſe of the Publick; and the Man himſelf was firſt to be beaten with Rods, and then ſet up to publick Sale, and reduced to Slavery.

Ariſt. & Plut. in Vit. Solon.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 221.

BY theſe particular Accounts, which might be pretty well relied on, and which all the Inhabitants, both of City and Country, gave him, *Servius* undertook to divide thoſe who were richeſt from ſuch as were only in moderate Circumſtances; and theſe latter, from ſuch as were poor. His View, in this Diviſion, was to make the greateſt Part of the Burden of the publick Taxes fall on thoſe who were in the beſt Circumſtances, and to eaſe thoſe of it, who were not in a Condition to bear it: Whilſt, on the other hand, he propoſed to make the Rich amends, for the heavy Taxes which would be laid upon them, by Honours and Prerogatives. So that every Inconvenience being balanced with ſome Advantage, he hoped that the Rich would make no ſcruple of ſacrificing a Part of their Riches to the new Diſtinctions they were to receive; and that the Poor would readily give up that Equality of Rank, for their Intereſt, which had hitherto confounded them and the Rich together. Nor was the wiſe King deceived in his Expectations; for no body ſo much as murmured at theſe Regulations. The manner in which he divided the whole Multitude of his Citizens, whether in *Rome*, or the Country-*Tribes*, was this.

§. XIII. *SERVIUS* divided all the *Roman* People into ſix *Claſſes*: and as all the Soldiery was to be raiſed out of them, he appointed them offenſive and defenſive Arms, according to their Dignity and Pre-eminence. The firſt *Claſs* conſiſted of thoſe, whoſe Eſtates in Land and Effects were worth at leaſt an hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs [26], according to the *Latin* Way of computing, or ten thouſand *Drachmæ*, according to the *Greek*; that is, five thouſand *French Livres*, [or three hundred fourteen Pounds, eleven Shillings and eight Pence * *Engliſh*.] This would have been no conſiderable Sum in our Time; but it was ſo in a riſing City

* *Arbuthnot.*

26 Antient Authors differ about the Eſtate it was neceſſary to have, in order to be admitted into this firſt Claſs. *Pliny*, *B.* 33. *Nat. Hiſt.* ſays, a Man muſt have been worth 110000 *Aſſes* of Braſs, and *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 7. 125000. We have followed *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* who agree in the Sum, this one reckons after the *Latin* manner, and the other after the *Greek*. The *As* of Braſs weighed a Pound, which conſiſted of 12 Ounces.

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which was yet a Stranger to Commerce. This first *Claſs* was ſub-divided into fourſcore *Centuries*, or Companies of Foot, conſiſting of an hundred Men each; forty of which Companies were made up of young Men; that is, of ſuch as were from ſeventeen to forty-five Years of Age, who alone were obliged to take the Field, and make War abroad: and the other forty Companies of the ſame Claſs were old Men; that is, ſuch as were paſt forty-five: whoſe only Duty was to defend the City in caſe of an Attack. The Mark of Diſtinction given to this Body of Infantry, which conſiſted of the Richeſt of the *Romans*, was their Armour, which was an oval Buckler after the *Greek* Faſhion, an Helmet, and a Cuiraſs, and *Cuiſſes* of Braſs; and their Weapons were a ſhort Javelin and a Sword. To theſe fourſcore *Centuries* of Foot, *Servius* joined eighteen *Centuries* of *Roman* Knights, who never fought but on Horſeback. Till this ſixth King of *Rome*'s Time, the *Romans* had had but ſix *Centuries* of Knights [27]. *Romulus* had inſtituted only three, and *Tarquin the Firſt* had doubled them. But *Servius* added twelve new *Centuries* to the *Roman* Horſe, and appointed that this conſiderable Body ſhould be at the Head of the Claſs of the Rich: becauſe, doubtleſs, the Eſtates of theſe Knights exceeded the Sum neceſſary for being admitted into this firſt *Claſs*. But tho' they were rich, yet the Publick ſupplied them with Horſes: and a Tax was laid on Widows, who were exempt from all other Contributions, for maintaining their Horſes. So that this firſt *Claſs*, including Infantry and Cavalry together, conſiſted of ninety-eight *Centuries*, that is, nine thouſand eight hundred Men.

*Tubero Cit. ab Aul.Gel.B.*10.

Livy, B. 1.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. *ibid.*

l. s. d. 235, 18, 9. *Arbuthnot.*

THE ſecond *Claſs* comprehended thoſe *Romans*, whoſe Eſtates were valued at leaſt at 75000 *Aſſes* of Braſs, or 7600 *Drachmæ*. It was divided into twenty *Centuries* of Soldiers, all Foot; and no Horſe were added to them. Ten of theſe *Centuries* were young Men, and ten old. And to them were joined two other [28] *Centuries* of Carpenters, Locksſmiths, and other Artificers for the Engines of War; ſo that the ſecond *Claſs* contained in all twenty-two *Centuries*. Thoſe of this *Claſs* had almoſt the ſame Armour with thoſe of the former; the only Difference was, that they had no Cuiraſs, and had a ſquare Buckler inſtead of an oval one. Their Weapons were the ſame, *viz.* the little Javelin and the Sword.

l. s. d. 157, 5, 10. *Arbuthnot.*

IN the third *Claſs* were thoſe, who were eſteemed worth at leaſt 50000 *Aſſes*, or, which amounts to the ſame, 5000 *Drachmæ*. Theſe wore no Armour but the Helmet and ſquare Buckler; but they fought as the others did, with the ſhort Javelin and Sword.

l. s. d. 78, 12, 11. *Arbuthnot.*

THE fourth *Claſs* conſiſted of ſuch as were thought worth at leaſt 25000 *Aſſes*, or 2500 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into twenty *Centuries*, old and young; and in this *Claſs* were included two other [29] *Centuries* of Trumpets and Drums; that is, they furniſhed the whole Army with them. The Soldiers of this *Claſs* had no defenſive Arms but a ſquare Buckler; their offenſive ones were the Sword [30] and Javelin.

27 I don't think the three hundred Horſe, which *Romulus* took for his Guard, and called *Celeres*, ought to be included in theſe ſix *Centuries* of *Roman* Horſe. *Numa* had ſuppreſſed them; but the other Kings had re-eſtabliſhed them: and they were looked on as Troops belonging to the King's Houſhold. There were other Horſe in the *Roman* Armies, beſides theſe *Celeres*. The true *Roman* Knights were perpetual, and had their Horſes given them by the Publick, as a Mark of Diſtinction.

28 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* diſagree with regard to the Artificers. The one places them in the firſt Claſs, the other in the ſecond. But *Dion. Hal.* ſeems to have moſt Reaſon on his Side. There were never reckoned more than ninety-eight *Centuries* in the firſt Claſs; whereas they muſt have been an hundred, if theſe two *Centuries* of Workmen were added to them.

29 I here differ from *Livy*. This Author places theſe military Muſicians only in the firſt Claſs; whereas I have followed *Dion. Hal.* and put them in the fourth. The *Greek* Hiſtorian ſeems to me a better Guide than the *Latin* one, in any of his Enumerations relating to the *Roman Cenſus*. And another Difference between theſe two Authors, is this; that *Livy* adds to theſe two *Centuries* of Drums and Trumpets, a third conſiſting of thoſe whom he calls *Accenſi*. And it is a Queſtion, who were meant by that Word, and what their Functions were. According to *Sextus Pompeius*, they were Men who were always ready to ſupply the vacant Places in any of the *Centuries*, and were a ſort of Recruits, conſiſting of ſuch Perſons, as were ambitious of being incorporated into one or other of the Claſſes. But, according to *Varro*, the Word *Accenſi* ſignifies Men choſen out to be *Aid-de-Camps* to the Generals and *Tribunes*, to diſperſe their Orders through the Army. And, which Opinion ſoever of the two we follow, it is ſcarce probable, that they ſhould have made a ſeparate *Century*: and therefore *Dion. Hal.* makes no mention of any ſuch *Century*.

30 Inſtead of the Sword, *Livy* gives this fourth Claſs the *Verutum*, a ſort of Javelin, which, according to *Polybius*, was three Cubits long. It was ſquare, and pretty much like a Spit.

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In the fifth *Claſs* were included thoſe whoſe whole Subſtance did not amount to more than 12500 * *Aſſes*, or 1250 *Drachmæ*. They were divided into thirty *Centuries*, fifteen old, and fifteen young. They were not ſuffered to wear any Armour, and their only Weapons were Slings and Darts.

THE ſixth *Claſs* comprehended all thoſe who were neither born to any Eſtate, nor were worth ſo much as the Soldiers of the fifth *Claſs*. They were a great while exempted both from paying Taxes, and going to the War. The Number of them was ſo great, as to exceed any of the other Claſſes.

By this Enumeration it is clear that the *Roman* People were, in *Servius*'s Time, divided into an hundred and ninety three *Centuries*, reckoning the whole ſixth *Claſs* as but one *Century*. In ſhort, after many Enquiries, it appeared, that the Number of Men who were capable of bearing Arms amounted to eighty four thouſand, [31] ſeven hundred. But then it muſt be obſerved, that according to this Calculation, the *Centuries*, eſpecially thoſe of the five inferior *Claſſes*, muſt have contained more than an hundred Men each.

§. XIV. THE wiſe King drew all the Advantages from theſe Regulations, which he had expected from them. The firſt *Claſs* being the moſt numerous, at leaſt as to the Number of *Centuries* in it, from thence were taken the greateſt Number of Soldiers, and the greateſt Supplies of Money for the publick Uſe.

THE Levies for the Army were no longer raiſed by *Tribes*; nor were the Taxes laid as formerly, at ſo much a Head, without Diſtinction: all was levied by *Centuries*. When, for inſtance, an Army of 20000 Men, or a Million of Money, was wanted for the War, every *Century* furniſhed its *Quantum* both of Men and Money. So that the firſt *Claſs*, which had more *Centuries*, though fewer Men in it, than all the other *Claſſes* taken together, furniſhed out more Men and Money for the publick Uſe, than all the reſt of the *Roman* State. And by this means, the *Roman* Armies conſiſted for the moſt part of the rich Citizens of *Rome*; who having Lands and Effects to preſerve, their Intereſt made them the more brave in Engagements; and their Riches enabled them eaſily to bear the Expence of a Campaign, for which they had no other Recompence, but the Eſteem which naturally attends Valour. Hence it is, that every *Roman* is ſaid to have been born a Soldier: becauſe he came into the World under an Obligation to ſerve in the Army at the Age of ſeventeen, if the Lot fell upon him, in his *Century*.

HOWEVER, it was but juſt that the King ſhould make the firſt *Claſs* amends for the Weight he laid upon it: and therefore *Servius* gave it almoſt the whole Authority in publick Affairs. To his Time, the important Affairs of the State had been determined by the People in the *Comitia*, that is, in Aſſemblies to which all the *Curiæ* were ſummoned. Every Citizen had a Right of Suffrage in them, and every one in reality gave his Vote. So that the Mob often prevailed in them, becauſe the moſt numerous Part of the People. But *Servius* changed theſe *Comitia* by *Curiæ*, into *Comitia* by *Centuries*: in which the Majority was not reckoned by ſingle Perſons, but by *Centuries*, how few ſoever there might be in a *Century*. And conſequently, as the firſt *Claſs* was divided into more *Centuries* than all the reſt of the State, almoſt all Deciſions muſt therefore be made by that *Claſs* only. But if this *Claſs* of the Rich, who were firſt called into the Place [32] where they gave their Votes, diſagreed among themſelves, then the ſecond, the third, and ſo on to the other *Claſſes*, were called to vote, according to

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Livy, B. 1. ch. 43.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 223. and Eutrop.

* 39, 6, 5 ½. *Aul. Gel. B. 16.*

31 I here again prefer *Dion. Hal.*'s Authority to *Livy*'s. The latter makes the Number of Men to be in all only 80000. But he had no Authority for it but hear-ſay: Whereas the *Greek* Hiſtorian quotes the antient Tables of the *Cenſors*, in his Favour. This is indeed a great Number of fighting Men for a riſing City; and yet all that innumerable Populace, who were not rich enough to be incorporated in one of the five Claſſes, is not comprehended in this Calculation.

32 It is proper to explain here, once for all, the manner in which the *Romans* gave their Suffrages in the *Comitia*, in the firſt Ages of *Rome*. When the Aſſembly had been ſummoned by the Head of the Republick, whether *Conſul* or *Dictator*, &c. and the Day had been fixed for it, ſome time before; if the *Augur* brought no Obſtruction to their meeting from Religion, the People met in the *Campus Martius* for the *Comitia* by *Centuries*; or in the *Forum Romanum* for the *Comitia* by *Curiæ*. There the *Conſul* aſcended *The Tribune*, and from thence ſtated the Affair to the People; in which they were deſired to give their Votes. After this, the *Claſſes*, according to their Order, or the *Curiæ* by Lot, were brought into a Place encloſed with Stakes, like a Sheepfold. Inſomuch that it was ſometimes

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to their Order. Though it never once happened, that even the fourth *Claſs* was ever called in to vote. The Affair was almoſt always determined by the 98 *Centuries* of the firſt *Claſs*, which were more in Number by three, than the *Centuries* of all the other Claſſes taken together. So that by this good Order *Servius* brought the Affairs of the publick to be determined by the Judgment of the moſt conſiderable Citizens; who were doubtleſs much better able to judge of them than a Populace, who never know much of what they are about, and are ſeldom capable of any Sentiments or Impreſſions of Equity and Honour.

§. XV. AND now that the State was thus prudently divided into different Orders of Men, this Regulation well deſerved to be ſolemnized by ſome publick Act of Religion, that it might be the more reſpected, and the more laſting. The King therefore publiſhed an Edict, commanding all the Citizens who were comprehended in the new *Cenſus*, to repair to the *Campus Martius*, on a Day appointed, upon pain of Death. And the *Roman* Knights [33] had Orders to come thither on Horſeback, and under Arms. The Foot marched thither by *Claſſes*, with the new Arms which had been diſtributed among them. So that all the Forces of *Rome* appeared early in the Morning in that vaſt Plain, which *Acca Laurentia* is ſaid to have given to the *Roman* People, and which *Romulus* had conſecrated to *Mars*. It lay cloſe by *Rome*, between the City and the *Tyber*. There the *Centuries* were drawn up in Order of Battle, according to *Servius*'s new Diviſion of the People; and then three Victims crowned with Flowers, and adorned with Garlands, were led with great State through all the Ranks. Theſe were a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar-Pig, [34] perfect Males, to ſhew the maſculine Courage of the *Roman* People. They were offered up in Sacrifice to *Mars*, and the whole Ceremony was called * *Luſtrum*; moſt probably from the Name of the Goddeſs *Lua* [35], whom *Servius* honoured in a particular manner, and to whom he had dedicated a Temple. She was invoked in all Expiations, and when People had ſettled their Accounts, and paid their Debts. So then becauſe

* *A luendo*, *Tacit. Annal. B.* 15.

ſometimes called *Ovile*, tho' more frequently *Septum*. They went into it one by one, through a very narrow Paſſage, between two Rails; and this Paſſage was called *Pons*, or *the Bridge*. At the Door of this incloſed Place, ſtood a Perſon to take every Man's Vote: Which Votes, for the firſt 619 Years of *Rome*, were always given by Word of Mouth, in the Words *Uti Rogas*, for the affirmative; and *Antiquo* for the Negative. But in order to underſtand the Meaning of theſe Words, it muſt be ſuppoſed that the *Comitia* were aſſembled for three Things: 1ſt. For the making of ſome Law. 2dly. To paſs Judgment on a Citizen accuſed of ſome capital Crime, concerning which he had appealed to the People. And, 3dly. To elect Magiſtrates. When the Buſineſs was that of paſſing a Law, or judging a Criminal, the *Conſul*, in an Harangue he made to the People, before they went into the *Septum*, explained to them the Reaſons for and againſt that Law, and the Proofs for and againſt the Criminal. And then concluded either for the making or rejecting that Law; and either for condemning or abſolving the accuſed: And this Concluſion of his Speech was called *Rogatio*. So that the Words *Uti Rogas* ſignified, *Let it be as you have determined*; and the Word *Antiquo* imported, *I annul or refuſe to accept of what the Conſul asks.* In the Election of Magiſtrates, the People only repeated the Name of him for whom they voted, at the Gate of the *Septum*, and then went into it. Whilſt the Scribes marked down the Number of Votes for and againſt; which were afterwards reckoned up, and according to the Majority of them, the Law was accepted or refuſed, the Accuſed was condemned or abſolved, and the Candidates for the Magiſtracy obtained or loſt it. But afterwards the People did not give their Votes by Word of Mouth, but by little Tables of Wood, on which were written the Letters *U. R.* for *Uti Rogas*, and *A.* for *Antiquo*. One of theſe they gave to Perſons who ſtood at the Gate of the Voting-Place, and gathered them into Baskets, and counted the Numbers of them. In the Election of Magiſtrates, every Voter had as many of theſe little Tables given him as there were Candidates, and the Names of the Candidates were written on them. Then every one delivered up that, at the Gate of the Voting-Place, on which was written the Name of the Candidate for whom he voted; and the Candidate who had moſt Ballots ſucceeded. The other Forms obſerved in the *Comitia*, will be ſpoken of in their proper Place.

33 The *Roman* Knights were the firſt in Rank in the *Comitia*, being always at the Head of the firſt *Claſs*. They voted firſt, and conſequently went firſt into the Voting-Place.

34 This Sacrifice of the *Roman Luſtrum* was called in the Pontifical Law, *Suovetaurilia:* A Word which comprehends the three Sorts of Animals which were offered up in the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum*; *Su* ſignifying a Pig, *Ove* a Ram, and *Taurilia* a Bull. It may indeed be imagined that it was a Sheep which was then offered up, becauſe the Word *Ove* ſeems to ſignify as much. But beſides that it is known to have been always a Ram, the Word *Ove* is here a general Term, which includes the Male of the Species. The Name of *Solitaurilia* was likewiſe given to this Sacrifice, becauſe, ſays *Feſtus*, only ſuch Males were offered up in it as had not been cut, *Solida animalia.*

35 *Juſtus Lipſius*, in his *Commentaries on Tacitus*, has brought this Goddeſs to Light again, who had been loſt thro' the Ignorance of Editors. *Tacitus* ſays, that *Servius Tullius* dedicated an Altar to the Goddeſs *Lua*. But the Editors, neither underſtanding the Word, nor knowing who the Goddeſs was, changed the Word *Lua*, of their own Heads, into *Luna*, and gave us to underſtand that the King built a Temple to *the Moon*. But *Lua* was the Goddeſs to whom the Sacrifice of the *Luſtrum* was offered; or at leaſt, ſhe, being the Goddeſs of Expiations, was moſt concerned in it. From hence the *Luſtrum* had its Name, as *Lua* took hers from the Verb *Luo*.

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every one on that Day paid his Proportion of the Tax laid on his *Century*, therefore the whole Ceremony was called *Luſtrum* [36]. This Feſtival returned only once in five Years, becauſe it always followed, and was the Cloſe of the *Cenſus*, or Valuation of the Effects of every *Roman*. *Servius* enjoined, that every five Years, a new Eſtimate ſhould be taken of the Eſtates of all Families, and the People numbered anew. He thought that in this Space of Time there might be Alterations enough in the Fortunes of private Perſons, to entitle ſome to be raiſed to an higher *Claſs*, and to reduce others to a lower one. And from that Time [37], the *Romans* began to compute Time by *Luſtra*, as the *Greeks* did by *Olympiads*. Nevertheleſs, the *Luſtra* were not always afterwards regularly enough obſerved, at the Time appointed by the Inſtitutor of them; and ſometimes the *Luſtrum* was deferred, tho' the *Cenſus* had been regularly made in the fifth Year. All that was inviolably obſerved concerning it was this, that the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum* was always performed [38] in the *Campus Martius*.

Pliny, *B.* 83. *Caſſiodor. B.* 7.

It is likewiſe not improbable, that *Servius Tullius* at this Time coined the firſt Money which appear'd at *Rome*. All agree, that the *Romans* had never ſeen any ſtamped Money, before their ſixth King, or at leaſt none ſtamped by publick Authority, and to be uſed in Trade. Before *Servius*'s Time Lead and Braſs were taken in Payments only by Weight [39]; for as to Gold and Silver, they were not made into Money till long after. The Circumſtance of the Animals then, which were the Victims offered up in the Sacrifice of the *Luſtrum*, might perhaps lead the King to ſtamp the Impreſſion of an Ox, Ram, and Boar [40], on Pieces of Braſs of a certain Weight; in order thereby to facilitate the Payment of the Taxes, and ſave the Trouble of continually having Recourſe to the Scales. It's certain, this Money was called *Pecunia*, from the Word *Pecus*, [which ſignifies *Cattle*;] and the Impreſſions on theſe Pieces made the *Romans* give the general Name of *Pecunia* to all the Money they then had: A Name which continued to be given to all Coins, when the Impreſſions on them were changed into nobler Figures.

§. XVI. The Government of the City being thus eſtabliſhed in ſo regular a manner, the next thing was to guard againſt Inconveniences from the great Concourſe of People, which ſo wiſe an Eſtabliſhment might naturally draw, from all Parts of *Italy*. Hitherto all Strangers had been indiſcriminately admitted to the Privilege of Citizens, whom either the Glory of the *Romans*, or their own Intereſt, had engaged to come and reſide at *Rome*. And the Addition which

36 *Varro* derives this Word from the Verb *luere*, which ſignifies to *expiate*, *cleanſe*, or *purify*: Perhaps either for the Reaſon given in the Body of the Hiſtory, or becauſe the Sacrifice which was offered up in the *Luſtrum*, ſerved to *expiate* the Miſtakes that might have been made in the Valuation of Peoples Effects, and the Enumeration which had been given in. Certainly the Origin which *Livy* gives to the Word *Luſtrum*, is unintelligible. His Words are: *Idque conditum luſtrum, quia in cenſendo finis factus eſt.* It is paſt all Doubt, that the *Luſtrum* was not ſo called, becauſe it was the laſt Act of the *Roman Cenſus*.

37 It is true the *Romans* reckoned their Ages by *Luſtra*. I have already lived, ſaid a Man, ſo many *Luſtra*. But after all, it is not a ſure Way to ſet down the Years of an Hiſtory by *Luſtra*. It often happened that the *Luſtrum* did not immediately follow the *Cenſus*, which was taken every five Years. This *Livy* declares, *B.* 3. in theſe Words: *Cenſus actus eo anno. Luſtrum propter Capitolium captum & Conſulem occiſum condi religioſum erat.* So that we don't find there were any *Luſtra* at *Rome* without *Cenſus*'s, but there were ſometimes *Cenſus*'s without *Luſtra*. We likewiſe find, that the *Cenſus* of the *Romans* was not taken exactly every five Years.

38 We are not to think that the *Cenſus* of the People, and the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum*, which was the Cloſe of it, were always performed in the ſame Place. It generally happened, that the *Cenſus* was made within the Walls of the City, in that Part of the *Forum*, which was called *Comitium*. But as for the *Luſtrum*, we don't find any Inſtance of its being performed any where but in the *Campus Martius*, which was without the City. The great Army which was purified by the Ceremony of the *Luſtrum*, could meet no where but in a vaſt Plain.

39 That Braſs was the firſt Metal uſed in Trade at *Rome*, no one doubts. And it is certain Lead-Money was current there. Beſides what *Plautus* ſays of it in his Comedy called *Trinummus*, there is a Leaden Medal in the Cabinet belonging to the Jeſuits at *Paris*, which learned Men judge to be truly antique.

40 The moſt antient Money the *Romans* had was ſtamped with nothing but the three Animals which were offered up in the Sacrifice of the *Luſtrum*. We can find no other Figures upon it, but thoſe of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar; other more noble Animals, ſuch as the Horſe and Dog, were not ſtamped upon it, according to *Plutarch*, whoſe Words are theſe: Βοῦν ἢ πρόβατον, ἢ σῦν ἐπικόψαντες τῶν νομισμάτων τοῖς παλαιοτάτοις. Is there not then Room to conjecture from hence, that the Animals ſacrificed in the firſt *Luſtrum*, led *Servius Tullius* (who cauſed the firſt Money the *Romans* ever had to be coined) to give it the Impreſſion of a Bull, a Ram, and a Boar, and no other Animals? In later Times we ſee other Animals enough on the Reverſes of Medals: Which often were either Beaſts offered to the Gods in ſome Sacrifice, or ſuch Beaſts as were ſhewn to the People in publick Sports.

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was lately made to the Extent of the City, was another Inducement to many to come and people the Hills, which were lately incloſed. *Servius* therefore conſidered that his Predeceſſors had been too laviſh in honouring Strangers with the Titles of *Roman* Citizens, which now began to be highly reputable. He likewiſe remembered his former ſervile Condition, and had Compaſſion for thoſe whom the Misfortunes of an unſucceſsful War had reduced to Slavery. Generally ſpeaking indeed, the Slaves of that Time were often Men well born in their own Country, whom the Fate of War had made Priſoners, and who had been expoſed to publick Sale. The King therefore thought that ſuch of theſe unfortunate Men as by their long and faithful Services to their Maſters had deſerved their Freedom, were much more worthy of being made *Roman* Citizens, than Vagabonds, who are often ſeditious and untractable. And for this Reaſon, he gave the *Freed-Men* their Choice, either to return into their own Countries, or to continue at *Rome*. Such as choſe to continue, he divided into four *Tribes*, and ſettled them within the City; and tho' they were diſtinguiſhed from the *Plebeians* by Name, inaſmuch as they continued ſtill to be called *Freed-Men*, yet they enjoyed all the ſame Privileges which the Right of Citizenſhip gave other Citizens. But the *Patricians* were offended at this Regard which the King ſhewed for ſuch mean People, who had but lately ſhaken off their Fetters. The Truth is, the Senate continued yet to be but ill affected to *Servius Tullius*, whoſe Inclinations always led him to favour the People: And they therefore talked againſt *Servius*'s Goodneſs to the *Freed-Men*, more out of Malice, than from any reaſonable Motives. The Senators were delighted to have an Opportunity of mixing with their Murmurs, malicious Stories of the contemptible Condition from which this Prince had been raiſed, before he came to the Throne: And therefore the King, in order to ſilence theſe Complaints, aſſembled the Senate, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner.

IF *Nature has made any Diſtinction between Slaves, and ſuch as are born free, we ought indeed to obſerve the Order ſhe has eſtabliſhed, and to divide thoſe from the reſt of Mankind whom ſhe has ſeparated from them: But if the placing ſome in a State inferior to others, be owing to Fortune only; does it not become your Wiſdom to rectify the capricious Determinations of a blind Goddeſs? Has this* Fortune, *who now inſpires you with ſo much Contempt for Men taken in War, promiſed you that your Happineſs ſhall be perpetual? Are you ſure you and your Children ſhall uninterruptedly enjoy this Proſperity which renders you ſo haughty? Brave and illuſtrious Nations have been often known to experience the Viciſſitudes of the Fortune of War. Such as have played the Tyrant over thoſe they had conquered, have been themſelves reduced to undergo Tyranny and Oppreſſion from them in their turn. How many Inſtances of theſe unexpected Revolutions have we in* Greece, *and the barbarous Nations? But to return to our* Romans; *how inconſiſtent are their Proceedings, when they grant Liberty to thoſe very Men, whom they refuſe the Right of Citizenſhip? If your Slaves were vicious, why did you ſet them free? And if they were Men of Probity, why are they not to be incorporated with our Citizens? We ought to judge of and eſteem Men, by the Rules of Equity and Truth, and not by the Frowns of inconſtant Fortune. You have hitherto admitted to be Citizens, all ſuch Perſons of the neighbouring Nations as the Love of our Laws has drawn to your City. And have you enquired whether their Birth was not blemiſhed by the Slavery which their Fathers underwent? Why then are you carried away with thoſe Reflections to the Diſadvantage of your Slaves, which have no Weight with you againſt Fugitives who are utter Strangers? In ſhort, if we muſt compleat the peopling of* Rome, *let us fill it with ſuch as have for the moſt part breathed its Air from their Infancy, ſuch as Education has already made entirely* Roman, *and whoſe Probity has ſhewn them worthy of recovering their Liberty. The publick Intereſt invites you to this, and it is the private Intereſt of every noble Family, that it ſhould be done. The more of your* Freedmen *you ſee made Citizens of* Rome, *and incorporated in our* Comitia, *the greater Credit and Influence will you have there. They will not be able in Gratitude to refuſe you their Suffrages; and your Authority will encreaſe in proportion to the Number of your new Clients.*

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 226.

A Diſcourſe ſo full of Reaſon, made an Impreſſion on the Senators. They paſſed

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passed *Servius*'s Institution into a Law, which continued in Force from [illegible] Time, even down to the *Emperors*, notwithstanding the many Changes the *Republick* took delight in making, in the antient Government as it was under the *Kings*. And by this wholesome Establishment, the Manners of the Slaves were regulated and improved. All Families saw them animated with fresh Zeal for the Service of their Masters. They were now attached to it by the double Hope, of not only being set at liberty, but likewise of becoming Citizens of *Rome*.

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§. XVII. THUS were all the different Bodies of the State reformed by the Care of this wise King. He had tempered the Authority of the Senate, established Order among the People, and encouraged the Slaves to Virtue. And now, who could think it possible! *Servius* undertook to reform even the regal Power it self. His Equity, which was the main Spring and Foundation of all his Conduct, led him to act contrary to his Interests, and to sacrifice one half of the royal Authority to the publick Good. His Predecessors had reserved to themselves the Cognizance of all Affairs, both publick and private. Few Processes, either in civil or criminal Cases, were determined by any body but the *Kings*. *Servius* therefore considered, that in that vast multitude of Causes which he was obliged to hear it was impossible for him to take all the Care that was necessary, in discussing the Rights of the Parties. Besides, he found himself overburthened with the Weight of Foreign Negotiations, and the Affairs of War, either with Enemies, or Rebels. It is true, the Senate and People bore a Part in the Determination of publick Affairs; but it was the King's Business to examine into them, prepare them for their Hearing, and conduct them. After he had done this, he reported them ready drawn up in Form to the Senate and People, who confirmed or rejected them by their Votes. So that, properly speaking, the whole Weight of the Government lay upon the King. *Servius Tullius* therefore, who found himself overwhelmed with it, not so much to avoid Trouble, as the Danger of hasty Determinations, reserved only Affairs of State to himself, and committed the Cognizance of ordinary Suits to the Senate. It's true he laid down a Form of Proceedings to the Judges he had chosen, and prepared a sort of *Code* for them. But he absolutely transferred the Care of judging of private Causes from his own to other Hands. Though at the same time he was not ignorant, that a King, who is not entirely independent, can scarce ever recover the Rights and Prerogatives of his Crown, when he has once deprived himself of them; especially if the Body, with whom he entrusts them, pretends to a sort of Equality with him. But *Servius*, without Hesitation, preferred the publick Interest to his own.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 228.

§. XVIII. EVERY thing was now regulated both in City and Country, throughout the whole *Roman* State. All that remained, was to determine what sort of Dependence the conquered Nations were to have on the Government of *Rome*. Upon every Succession to the Crown, some one at least of the Nations who had been subdued, shook off the Yoke of its Conquerors. By the Treaties of Peace that *Romans* had hitherto made with the Nations they had conquered, they had left them the Liberty of enjoying still their own Laws. So that the Sovereignty *Rome* pretended to have over them, seems to have been only an empty Title which they ventured to despise, whenever they had Confidence enough in their own Forces to renew the War. The *Latins* especially, and the *Sabines* had been often vanquished, but never brought into Subjection. The Time was not come for putting their Country upon the same Establishment as the Lands of the *Roman* State. But *Servius* found out an Expedient to secure their Fidelity for the future. He had found means to cultivate a Friendship with them, through his whole Reign; insomuch that when the *Hetrurians* revolted, no one City of the *Latins* or *Sabines* declared for the Rebels. In order therefore to continue them in these good Dispositions, the King thought it necessary to attach them to the *Romans* by such social Ties as should be strengthened by Religion.

IT appears by *Servius Tullius*'s whole Conduct, that this great Politician had well considered the Manners and Government of the *Greeks*. He knew that *Amphiction* [41] had formerly united the Cities of *Greece*, which before his Time had [illegible]

41 All agree, says *Pausanias in Phoc.* that *Amphiction* established a general Diet at *Delphos*, consisting of the different Nations of *Greece*. This National Assembly of the united *Greeks* was called [illegible]

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een independent of one another, into one Republican Body, under the Direction f a Council, conſiſting of Deputies from all the united Cities; and that this ody was become formidable to the *Barbarians*, by whom the *Greeks* were ſur- ounded. Neither was he ignorant, that the *Ionians*, who went from *Greece* into *Aſia*, nd the *Dorians*, their Neighbours, had joined themſelves into one Body for their utual Defence. Theſe two united Nations had agreed to meet every Year to deli- erate about their common Intereſts; and fixed the Place of their Aſſemblies to one Year, at *Gnidus* [42] in *Doria*, and another, at *Epheſus* in *Ionia*. And in order invite their People to this uſeful Congreſs, each Nation erected two Temples, ne at *Epheſus*, in Honour of *Diana*, and the other at *Gnidus*, in Honour of *pollo*. Theſe annual Solemnities were accompanied with Sports, Shews, and a iſtribution of Prizes to the beſt Poets and moſt skilful Muſicians. The Deſign of em was to draw the Citizens of the confederated Cities, by Curioſity, to ſerious eliberations.

THE Scheme which *Servius* formed was very like this. He reſolved to have a nctuary built, which ſhould be a general *Rendezvous* for the Inhabitants both of e *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities. *Rome* had gained a Superiority over them; and to note it, he propoſed to erect this Building on the *Roman* Lands, and almoſt the Gate of the City. When he had formed the Plan of this new Un- rtaking, he ſummoned the *Latin* and *Sabine* Cities, to ſend their Deputies to *me*, to conſult about an Affair of Importance. They came, were admitted into e Senate, and he addreſſed himſelf to them thus.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 230.

YOU *are not ignorant that Concord is the Foundation of publick Felicity, as well great States as private Cities. Nothing can be more deſtructive to any Body itick, than to ſee the Members of it refuſing one another that Aſſiſtance which y have a Right mutually to expect. Since our Union we make but one People. ur Safety is ours, and our Grandeur tends to your Glory and Tranquillity. If therefore we ſtrengthen an Union which can never be too cloſe, we ſhall make our Empire great; and ſhall no longer fear any of the Attempts of our Neighbours. We cannot indeed at preſent complain of any Breaches of this Union: But have we as much reaſon to congratulate one another upon having given any ſenſible Proofs of a perfect Correſpondence? The Power of* Rome *is indeed ſupported with Dignity by your Cantons: it is even reſpected. But that is not enough; it ought likewiſe to be loved. Let us therefore unite our Hearts, as we have done our Countries. Let common Gods, and common Altars call us together by Intervals; and let the Blood of Victims be made uſe of to cement a good Intelligence between us, which may laſt as long as* Rome.

AFTER this, the King gave a particular Account of his Deſign: which was, to ild a Temple in Honour to *Diana*, at which the *Latins* and *Sabines* ſhould et every Year, and both join with the *Romans* in offering Sacrifice to the God- who was worſhipped at *Epheſus*; that this Feſtival ſhould be followed by a uncil, in which all the Diſputes which had happened between the Cities ſhould micably determined; that there proper Meaſures [43] ſhould be taken to purſue r common Intereſts: and laſtly, that the Populace ſhould be drawn thither by ir, at which every one might furniſh himſelf with what he wanted. The *La-* had yet ſome Remains of their antient Ruſticity. They were not to be drawn he Solemnity by the Charms of Poetry, Muſick, or Theatrical Entertainments, ch the politer *Greeks* affected. The common Neceſſaries of Life had greater

the Name of its Founder, *The Amphictiones*. But Account of *Pauſanias* does not agree with the ion of *Androtion*. He aſſures us in his *Attick ry*, that the *Cantons* of *Greece* aſſembled at *os* before *Amphiction*'s Time; and that he was the Reſtorer of this Confederacy, or rather States-General.

Dion. Hal. and *Herodotus* give the City of *s* the Name of *Triopia*. The latter ſays a deal of the Temple of *Apollo* in that City, is now called *Capo-Chio*.

It may perhaps be objected, that I have here the *Sabines* with the *Latins*. It is true, *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* ſpeak only of the *Latins*, in that Union of the *Romans* with other Nations, which was confirmed and eſtabliſhed by the Aſſemblies in the Temple of *Diana*: and yet I have added the *Sabines*; but not merely upon Conjecture. Beſides that *Livy* often comprehends the *Sabines* under the general Name of *Latins*; it will hereafter appear, that according to the Hiſtorians, the *Sabines* likewiſe partook of the Sacrifices of the Temple of *Diana*, and were preſent at the Aſſemblies held in it. They were therefore in the Confederacy, as well as the *Latins*.

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Allurements for them, than all the Charms of the Liberal Arts. A Fair therefore better ſuited their Taſte than publick Sports.

THIS Deſign of the King, when thus explained, appeared to be ſo rational and wiſe, that it met with no Oppoſition. Only the Deputies added to it, that the Temple to be built ſhould be an inviolable *Aſylum* for the united Nations; and that all their Cities ſhould contribute towards the Expence of building it. They left it to the King, to chuſe a proper Place for it, and to draw up proper Regulations to be obſerved, that every thing might be regular and orderly in theſe annual Aſſemblies. The Place pitched on, was the Hill *Aventinus*: Hither the Confederate Nations were to reſort, and here the Temple was to be built. This Hill overlooked *Rome*, and was ſo near it, that it would have been encloſed within it, as well as the other ſeven, if Superſtition had not prevented it. It was by no means thought proper, that a Hill on which *Remus* had had ill Omens, ſhould be made a Part of *Romulus*'s City. On the top of this Hill *Aventinus* there was a vaſt Plain, eighteen [44] *Stadia* in Circumference: and in this Plain *Servius* choſe to erect his intended Structure, as near the *Tyber* as he could. This Temple did not indeed equal that of *Epheſus* in Riches and Magnificence. But it may be obſerved of it, that in the Aſſemblies which were held in it, thoſe great Deſigns began firſt to be formed, which gradually prepared *Rome* for the Conqueſt of the Univerſe. In ſhort, the Temple was finiſhed, and the Aſſemblies were annually held there. The Laws which were to be obſerved in them, as well with reſpect to their Sacrifices as their Deliberations, were engraven on a Pillar of Braſs. And they were yet to be ſeen in *Auguſtus*'s Time, in *Old Latin*, written in the Characters of the antient *Greeks*. So true is it, that the *Latin* Tongue [45] borrowed a great deal from the *Greeks* and *Trojans*, who had often founded Colonies in *Italy*.

§. XIX. BUT theſe Acts of Religion which united the *Latins* and *Sabines* with *Rome*, did not always keep theſe two Nations free from Jealouſy. They envied the Capital of the Confederacy the Superiority ſhe had aſſumed. The *Sabines* eſpecially hoped that the Dominion which *Rome* then enjoyed, would ſome time or other be removed to one of their Cities: And of this they had the following Preſage. There happened to be calved in the Territory of the *Sabines* a Cow-Calf of a ſurpriſing Bigneſs; and upon conſulting the *Augurs* about it, (which was never failed to be done on any extraordinary Event) they anſwered, that whoever ſhould offer up that prodigious Animal to *Diana*, of the Hill *Aventinus*, ſhould make his Native City the Miſtreſs of all the Cities in *Italy*. But *Antro*, which was the Name of the *Sabine* who owned the Calf, divulged the *Augur*'s Anſwer, and thereby his own Expectations were

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fruſtrated. He led his Victim to the Temple of *Diana*, near *Rome*, and was already preparing to offer it up in Sacrifice; when *Cornelius* the Prieſt, or, as others, the Guardian of the Temple, having been informed of the Prediction, made uſe of an Artifice to elude the *Augury*. *What*, ſays he to the *Sabine*, *dare you ſacrifice ſo fine a Victim to the Goddeſs, without firſt purifying your ſelf in the Water of the River? It runs along at the Foot of the Hill.* Upon this, *Antro*, that he might not be wanting in any Ceremony which was appointed, goes down to the River, and waſhes himſelf in it. But in the mean time, *Cornelius* taking the Advantage of his Abſence, ſlays the Victim, and thereby confirms *Rome* in the Poſſeſſion of her Dominion over *Italy*, and deſtroys the Hopes of the *Sabines*. The Horns of this monſtrous Beaſt are ſaid to have been hung up in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*; and it

44 *Dion. Hal.* contradicts himſelf about the Number of *Stadia* he gives the Hill *Aventinus* in Circumference. *B.* 3. he ſays it was eighteen, and *B.* 10. he reduces them to twelve. We muſt therefore ſuppoſe there is an Error, in one Place or the other: And it would be very difficult to rectify the Hiſtorian's Miſtake now, becauſe the Hill *Aventinus* is almoſt entirely levelled.

45 What is here ſaid, after *Dion. Hal.* of the Conformity of the *Greek* Letters with thoſe of antient *Rome*, is confirmed by the Teſtimony of *Pliny*, in theſe Words: *Veteres Græcas fuiſſe eaſdem pene quæ nunc ſunt, indicio erit Delphica Tabula antiqui æris, quæ eſt hodie in palatio, dono Principum Minervæ dicata, in Bibliotheca cum Inſcriptione ta* B. 7.

NAYCIKPATEC TIC M NOY AΘENAIOC
KOPAI KAI AΘENAI ANEΘEKEN.

This Inſcription is tranſmitted to us by Dr. *Hu* in his *Notes upon* Dionyſius Halicarnaſſeus: A the only Queſtion that remains, is, whether it ſh thus in the antient Manuſcripts. In the mean ti it's certain the Words of this Inſcription give imperfect a Senſe, that *Father Hardouin* would admit of it. He chuſes to correct it almoſt in ſame manner as *Scaliger* does. Ναυσικράτης Τιτ Αθηναιος ἀνέθηκεν.

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ery credible, that this Monument gave Occaſion to the inventing [46] the Fable we ave mentioned.

§. XX. BUT now *Servius Tullius* grew old. He had already ſeen three *Luſtra* aſt, ſince their Inſtitution, and was not far from the fourth, which he ſaw com- leated before he died. The Ambition of the eldeſt *Tarquin* revived, in propor- on as the King advanced in Years. He had already ſhewn ſome Marks of an un- iet and factious Spirit. When *Servius* diſtributed the Lands, which had yet o Owners, among the People, and diſpoſſeſſed thoſe *Patricians* of them, who ad uſurped them, his eldeſt Son-in-law made his court to the Senate, by joining ith them in oppoſition to his Father-in-law's Deſigns. And the more *Servius* la- oured to gain the Affections of the People, the more induſtrious *Tarquin* was, gain over the Nobility to himſelf. So that, as the King and his Son-in-law ere engaged in different Parties, there could not be a very good Underſtanding etween them.

TULLIA, Tarquin's Wife, ſometimes checked the Raſhneſs and Fury of her usband. But all ſhe could gain by her Moderation, her Complaiſance, and her ears, was only to prevent the Diviſions of the Royal Family from breaking out into pen Acts of Violence and criminal Attempts. It was a wiſe Diſpoſition of Provi- nce, for the Happineſs of the *Romans*, and the Preſervation of *Servius*, that a wiſe d diſcreet Woman ſhould temper *Tarquin*'s natural Fierceneſs. As for *the Younger ullia*, ſhe was a domeſtick Fury, always obſtinately bent upon diſturbing the uiet of her Husband. Had her Vivacity indeed confined it ſelf barely to wakening *Arunx*'s Indolence, it had been blameleſs. It was natural enough for er to rouze the unactive Temper of her Husband, in order to gain the Affections the People, and the Great, who would certainly have declared for him after *ervius*'s Death, and excluded his Brother. But *Arunx* placed all his Happineſs in private Life, or at leaſt waited for the Crown, without the leaſt Impatience or oncern about it; Whilſt his Wife preſſed him even to villanous Attempts, to aſten his Riſe to the Throne. She was perhaps the maddeſt and moſt cruel Fury of Woman the World ever ſaw. In her Tranſports, ſhe would loudly lament her Fate, in being tied to a peaceable Husband. She was always lamenting without meaſure, and ithout diſcretion, that ſhe had neither continued a Maid, nor was yet a Widow. ſomuch that her Complaints were publickly known, and reached *Tarquin*'s Ears. e, from the natural Similitude of their Manners and Sentiments, took great plea- re in his Siſter's Converſation; and her Beauty was another Charm, which made im frequently viſit her. But after all, Proximity of Blood kept his Love for ſome ime within the Bounds of Friendſhip. Nevertheleſs, *the Younger Tullia* judged, *Tarquin*'s Aſſiduity in coming to her, that ſhe was ſomething more to him than bare Amuſement; and therefore took him aſide, and beſpoke him thus: *May I, y Lord, open to you, without danger, the inmoſt Receſſes of my Heart, and de- nd upon your keeping an inviolable Secret?* Upon which, the Prince promiſing very thing ſhe deſired, and confirming theſe Promiſes by Oaths; ſhe added: *Why, y Lord, do you defer reigning ſo long? Can you reproach yourſelf with an ob- ure Birth? or have you Reaſon to fear any Rivals, whoſe Pretenſions to the rown will be more regarded than your own? Your Anceſtors wore a Crown at* Co- nth, *and your Grandfather was honoured with one at* Rome. *Nor does it only long to you by Right of Inheritance, it is likewiſe due to your perſonal Quali- es. What Courage! what Penetration of Mind! what a noble Greatneſs of oul! Ah! would to God* Arunx..... *But what do I ſay? Effeminacy is by o means comparable to Courage, or Imbecillity to Valour. And I make no doubt, ut you would already have put the Crown upon your own Head, if a Woman, whom ſcorn to own for my Siſter, had not ſuſpended your Reſolutions, and weakened our Courage. Let her periſh then, ſince ſhe oppoſes your Advancement. The* Hy- nen, *my Lord, I ſay the* Hymen *who matched me to* Arunx, *was a blind God. Why did he not unite two Hearts, whom the ſame noble Sentiments had formed r one another? But the Sword and Poiſon may provide us with a Remedy for*

Livy, B. 1. ch. 47. and Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 231.

[46] The Number of the Hiſtorians who relate the dventure of the prodigious Cow, is not always very certain Proof of the Fact they atteſt. *Livy* nd *Valerius Maximus* are often credulous. *Plutarch* is indeed a more judicious Author; tho' he gives into the vulgar Opinion in this Caſe. But *Dion. Hal.* has ſuppreſſed this frivolous Event.

the

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the unſuitable Matches Chance has made. Let us therefore make uſe of them, to unite us, and to gain a Kingdom. Crimes are no longer ſuch 47, *when a Sceptre is the Fruit of them. Yes, my Lord, your Air, your Behaviour, and your Courage, make you worthy both of the Throne, and of my tendereſt Affection.*

BUT bold and impudent as *Tullia* was, ſhe could not pronounce theſe laſt Words without bluſhing. Theſe Remains of Modeſty therefore made her the more beautiful, and ſhe ſoon yielded to *Tarquin*'s Embraces. The private Conference ended in anticipating the Pleaſures of that inceſtuous Marriage, for which they paved the Way, by the moſt enormous Iniquities.

§. XXI. IN the mean time, *Servius Tullius* was in pain about the Choice of a Succeſſor. He knew the People would follow his Inclinations, and that the Seeds he ſhould ſow in his Life-time, would bring forth Fruit after his Death. Beſides, it was time to incline the People to favour his Sons-in-law: but *Tarquin* was unworthy of the Crown, and *Arunx* ſeemed incapable of it.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 240.

IN this Irreſolution, the King is ſaid to have had thoughts of committing the Government entirely into the Hands of the People, and of making *Rome* a Republick. And in fact, he ſeems to have ſettled every thing upon the Foot of the Republicks in *Greece*. However, the Crimes of his eldeſt Pupil and younger Daughter, compleated the Averſion he already had for *Tarquin*. The Conſequences of the ſcandalous Intercourſe which the latter kept up with *the Younger Tullia*, were the Aſſaſſinations 48 of *Arunx* and *the Elder Tullia*. The one was murdered by his Wife, the other by her Husband. We may likewiſe infer, from the manner in which one of the Hiſtorians 49 expreſſes himſelf, that *Tullia* and *Tarquin* became ſo unnatural a Mother, and ſo barbarous a Father, as to take away the Lives of their own Children, which he had had by his Wife, and ſhe by her Husband.

Livy, B. 1. ch. 46.

By this means the way was paved for the Marriage of *Tullia* and *Tarquin*: and tho' the *Romans* murmured at it, Ambition and Love ſtopped the Ears of the two Parties concerned. They were the only Perſons who were unaffected with the publick Clamours. They were even bold enough to ask the Conſent of King *Servius* and Queen *Tarquinia*; who, tho' they did not give it, yet continued ſilent. Old Age, and the Remains of Affection for a guilty Daughter, drew Indulgence from a Father and Mother, whoſe whole Hopes of Poſterity now depended upon her. *Tarquin* and *Tullia* therefore thought nothing unlawful for them, which they had no Reaſon to apprehend would be puniſhed by the Laws.

Livy, B. 1. ch. 47. and Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 234.

§. XXII. BUT theſe criminal Nuptials were only the firſt Step towards a yet greater Iniquity. The Union of the two Monſters threatned the *Romans* with nothing but Ruin. The Ambition of the new-married Couple firſt ſhewed it ſelf in their

47 *Euripides* puts this deteſtable Maxim in the Mouth of *Eteocles*. The *Greek* Paſſage taken from the Piece called *The* Phœnician *Women*, is thus render'd by *Tully* in the firſt Book of his *Offices*. *Nam ſi violandum eſt jus, regnandi gratia violandum eſt, aliis rebus pietatem colas.*

48 *Dion. Hal.* accuſes the antient Annaliſt *Fabius* of Error and Negligence, as to the Time of the Death of *Arunx*. He is miſtaken, ſays the *Greek* Author, in ſuppoſing that *Arunx* was *Tarquin the Elder's* own Son, and in ſaying that his Mother *Tanaquil* took care of this young Prince's Funeral. *Tarquin the Elder* was at leaſt twenty-five Years old, when he came from *Hetruria* to *Rome*, ſince he was old enough to aſpire at publick Honours. And if we ſuppoſe, that he came not to *Rome* in the firſt Year of *Ancus Marcius*, as *Gellius* pretends, but in the eighth, according to *Licinius*; we muſt neceſſarily ſay, that *Tarquin* died eighty Years old: for he ſpent ſeventeen Years in *Ancus*'s Service, whom he ſucceeded; and he reigned himſelf thirty-eight. Beſides, Hiſtorians agree, that *Tanaquil* could not be leſs than twenty, when ſhe came from *Hetruria*, and ſettled at *Rome*, with her Husband. She was therefore ſeventy-five when *Tarquin* died. Now, according to this Account, *Arunx* muſt have been at leaſt twenty-five, ſuppoſing it to be true that *Tanaquil* bore him when ſhe was fifty; and his Brother *Lucius* muſt have been about twenty-ſeven. So that we muſt either give the lie to almoſt all the Hiſtorians, who ſay they were both very young when *Servius Tullius* aſcended the Throne; or we muſt ſuppoſe *Tanaquil* to have been a moſt unnatural Mother, and a very ſilly Woman, to deprive her own Children of a Crown which belonged to them, in order to put it upon the Head of a Stranger, to their Prejudice. Beſides, would *Arunx* and his Brother *Tarquin* themſelves have ſuffered ſuch crying Injuſtice? It muſt therefore be true, that theſe two Princes were the Grandchildren, and not the Children of *Tarquin*. As to *Fabius*'s ſaying that *Tanaquil* took care to bury *Arunx*, it is a Fact which cannot be proved. She was ſeventy-five Years old when *Servius* was declared King; and he had now reigned above forty Years: So that ſhe muſt have been near an hundred and fifteen, if we ſuppoſe, contrary to all Truth, that ſhe ſurviv'd *Arunx*.

49 This Hiſtorian is *Livy*, whoſe Words ſeem not only to ſignify, that *Tarquin* murdered his Wife, and *Tullia* her Husband; but alſo, that they each of them *made a clear Houſe*, and ridded themſelves of all their Children, if we tranſlate him literally. His Words are, *Prope continuatis funeribus, cum domos vacuas novo matrimonio feciſſent.* But *Dion. Hal.* ſays nothing of the Maſſacre of the Children. So that the Reader is at liberty to judge of it as he pleaſes.

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ntrigues againſt the King. They declared publickly, that the Crown belonged o them; that *Servius* was an Uſurper; that having been only appointed Tutor to is Pupils, he had made himſelf Maſter of the fineſt Part of their Inheritance; hat he could never have aſcended the Throne, had he not been ſupported by he Rights of the two Children, whom he had not ſuffered to take Poſſeſſion of thoſe ights, even when they were above forty Years old; and that it was high time for n old Man, who was but little able to ſupport the Weight of publick Affairs, o give Place to a Prince who was of a mature Age. And theſe Pretences had a ir Shew enough to impoſe upon the *Romans*. *Tarquin* firſt got the Senate over to is Intereſts, whom *Servius* had taken great Pleaſure in humbling, throughout his hole Reign. Then by diſtributing Money, he gained that mean Populace, which he King had thought too poor to deſerve to be included in any of the five Claſſes e had inſtituted.

THESE Tranſactions were too publick not to be known by *Servius*. And n order to prevent the Effects of them, without a publick Diſturbance, he ad frequent Conferences with his Son-in law and his Daughter, in private. *The rown*, ſaid he to them, *was never yet hereditary in* Rome. Tarquin, *who wore , had no Right to tranſmit it to his Grand-children. The People have always iven it to whom they pleaſed; and from them I received it. And you may in ur Turn obtain it of them, after my Death, and merit their Suffrages, if you ehave your ſelves regularly and well, and do not ſuffer your Conduct to be ſtained ith any Reproaches of Ingratitude to a faithful Guardian and a good Father.*

BUT *Tarquin* and *Tullia* loved violent Meaſures, and to make a Noiſe. They eſpiſed the wiſe Counſels of the King, and purſued their own ambitious Scheme. hey declared they were reſolved to lay their Pretenſions before the Senate, and bmit to its Judgment. So that the Affair became a formal Proceſs, which the ing was obliged to defend againſt his Son-in-law and his own Daughter; and the auſe was of great Importance. It concerned the dethroning a Prince who had go-rned *Rome* forty two or forty three Years, had made her victorious, and had regulated nd improved her Polity by wiſe Laws. *Servius* therefore aſſembled the Senate, and ſpoke firſt. *The factious Plots of* Tarquin *to take away the Crown from me, are*, ſaid he, *unknown neither to you, nor me. I therefore come to demand he may give an Account of his unworthy Proceedings, in your Preſence. What perſonal Injury have I me him, or what Complaint has he to make of my publick Adminiſtration? Speak, rince, explain your ſelf. We are now before the Judges you your ſelf have choſen.*

MY Pretenſions then, replied *Tarquin, are very reaſonable, and I cannot but hope he utmoſt Juſtice will be done me, at the Tribunal before which I have brought hem. King* Tarquin, *whom I repreſent, merited the Crown by the Services he d the* Romans. *All Nations, both* Greek *and Barbarian, whoſe Government has n monarchical, have tranſmitted the Father's Scepter to his Children. The hrone is therefore an Inheritance, the Right to which devolved upon me; but you vaded it. And by what Means did you aſcend it? You deſpiſed the Law of the* terregnum; *and neglected the Suffrages of the Senate. You bought the Votes of e People; and you ſettled your ſelf in your uſurped Authority, only by promiſing u would, ſome time or other, reſtore it to your Pupils. And have you kept your ord, which you formerly gave the credulous Populace? There was indeed a Time hen it was very proper to ſuffer you to give Law to the City. I and my Brother were young; and you held a Place which ought to have been reſtored to us, henever we ſhould arrive at a ſufficient Maturity of Age to govern. Don't u then, to this Day, unjuſtly detain a Scepter from me, which I am able to ield? Had you reſigned it into my Hands ten Years ago, you would have gained glorious Reputation for Probity among the People, and merited eternal Acknowgments at my Hands. But your Delays bring Diſhonour to your ſelf, and free from the Gratitude, I ſhould otherwiſe owe you, for the Benefits I have received.*

IN Anſwer to this, *Servius* thought it more to the Purpoſe to ſhew the Weakſs of *Tarquin*'s Reaſoning, than to make any Reply to his Invectives; and he thereſpoke to this Effect: *Unfortunate Pupil, what would have become of you, thout my Care! I was not inveſted with the Royal Authority, ſo much under an ligation of preſerving it for you, as with a View to ſecure your Life againſt two powerful Adverſaries who threatned it. The Sons of* Ancus *had the*

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ſame imaginary Right to the Throne, when I aſcended it, as you now pretend to have. And if their Pretenſions had been hearkened to, would they not have cut off every the leaſt Shoot of the Stock of the Tarquins? *But* Rome *did not favour their Pretenſions, becauſe ſhe thought them unreaſonable. Will ſhe then yield to your criminal Deſires? Yes; thoſe Princes were more nearly related than you, to the King they repreſented. They are allowed to be* Ancus's *own Sons; whereas you are only* Tarquin's *Grandſon. If it be abſolutely neceſſary then that the* Roman *Scepter deſcend from Father to Son, recall the Murderers of the King your Grandfather, and place them on it. At leaſt, let their Children fill my Place, and give up the Claim you pretend to have to their Inheritance. But what am I ſaying? The* Greeks *and* Barbarians *have their Laws, and we have ours. With them the Crown is hereditary; with us it is elective. The People beſtowed it upon me, as they had given it to* Tarquin. *We were both Foreigners; and I have the ſame Right to keep it for my ſelf, and exclude you, as your Grandfather had to detain it, in Prejudice to the Sons of his Predeceſſor. Either don't build on a Foundation which would make your Grandfather an unlawful King, or give up the Royalty to thoſe whoſe Rights are before yours. Take your Choice, either to lay aſide all Hopes of Reigning, till after I am dead, or to ſubmit, from this Inſtant, to obey a Race who are ſtained with your Grandfather's Blood. If we believe you, I uſurped the Throne by unjuſt Means. Let us therefore,* Tarquin, *go up to the Fountain-head, and enquire of the People. It was they gave me the Crown; they therefore ought to vindicate the Juſtice of their own Choice. They have it yet in their Power to take the Scepter from me, and give it to you, if they pleaſe. Let us then try our Fate in the* Comitia, *and come to a Sort of new Election, wherein the People ſhall determine the Diſpute between you and me, as between two Competitors for the Throne. I honour the Senate, but I diſapprove of the Conſpiracies which have been formed in it, againſt Juſtice, as well as againſt me. What have I done to deſerve the Hatred of the Senators; or rather, what have I not done, to merit their Affection? Have I not deprived my ſelf of the Right of judging in private Cauſes, in Favour of them? If to have preſerved the People from being vexed and oppreſſed by them, be ſufficient to cauſe their Diſpleaſure, let them look out for ſome other King, who will trample all the Laws of Equity under Foot, and authorize Oppreſſion.*

§. XXIII. AFTER *Servius* had ſpoken in this Manner, he diſmiſſed the Senate, and appointed an Aſſembly of the People, which was proclaimed by Heralds, all over the City. The *Forum Romanum* was ſoon filled with Auditors, and the King harangued them from *The Tribune*, and gained all their Affections. He began with an Account of his Exploits in War: He gave them the Particulars of the Battles he had fought, the Victories he had won, and the Triumphs he had obtained. And then paſſed on to the wholſome Inſtitutions of which he had been the Author. The People repeated their Applauſes, upon the Mention of every Action of *Servius*; and were a great while in Suſpenſe, not knowing to what this long Preamble tended. Till, after an exact Enumeration of all the Benefits for which the Publick was indebted to his Government, he fell at laſt upon *Tarquin*. *A new Competitor for the Throne,* ſaid he, *offers himſelf to you, and comes to diſpute with me the Remains of a Reign which I have dedicated to the Happineſs of the Publick. If the Hardſhips of a tyrannical Adminiſtration have given you a Diſtaſte to me, or if the Virtues of* Tarquin *have made him more worthy to reign, reſume the Crown which I received from you. I don't think my ſelf at liberty to place it in any Hands but yours, and to you therefore I reſtore it. In Vain does* Tarquin *demand it as his Right by Inheritance, and thereby endeavour to rob you of the Right of diſpoſing of it by your Votes. Nevertheleſs, if you take it from me, to adorn him with it, I ſhall indeed reſpect in Him, the Work of your Hands; but will my ſelf retire and linger away the inglorious Remains of my Life, in the Privacy and Solitude to which you will have reduced me.*

AT theſe Words, the People cried out, *Let* Servius *reign; let him continue to make the* Romans *happy*. And amidſt their confuſed Noiſes, theſe Words were likewiſe heard, *Let* Tarquin *periſh, let him die, let us murder him!* This Language therefore frightened him, and he retired to his Houſe in great Haſte: Whilſt the King was conducted back to his Palace with the Acclamations of the People.

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§. XXIV. THE ill Succeſs of this Enterprize ſeems to have a little cooled *Tarquin's* ecipitate and ardent Deſires of reigning: But his Ambition made him act a new art. Being convinced that he could not eaſily arrive at the Throne, if the ing his Father-in-law did not open him the Way to it, he undertook to regain s Favour. Careſſes, Submiſſions, and Proteſtations of a ſincere Regard and Af-ction, were all made uſe of by *Tarquin* and *Tullia*. Accordingly the King, who dged of other Mens Probity by his own, and ſtill continued to have the Affection a Father for his Daughter, was ſincerely reconciled to his Son-in-law. Tranquil-y appeared to reign in the Royal Family; and the Senate it ſelf ſeemed not to have e ſame Impatience for raiſing *Tarquin* to the Throne. So that *Servius* was lulled to an agreeable Security. Whilſt the cruel *Tullia* thought ſhe found *Tarquin* as nſenſible and ſtupid as *Arunx*, and by her Diſcourſes with him rouzed the Fury f her Husband. She beſet him Day and Night, and was ever importuning him ith her Complaints. *Have we then*, ſaid ſhe, *begun our Union by Murders and Parricides, to leave the Buſineſs, for which we were guilty of theſe Crimes, nfiniſhed? Had I been content not to have aſpired to the Crown till af-er the Death of my Father*; Arunx, *even the daſtardly* Arunx, *could have ſatiſ-ed my Deſires. When I preferred you to him, I thought I ſhould have found in ou a Man of Spirit, a true* Tarquin, *and one who was more capable of invading he Throne, than of idly languiſhing away his Days in the Expectation of it. No; ſhall no longer love you as an Husband, till I can ſalute you King. Dare any hing; attempt every thing. There is no Reaſon,* Tarquin, *for you to be affrighted t the Danger of putting this Deſign in Execution. There is no Neceſſity for you o croſs the Seas, to come back from* Corinth *to* Rome, *and to merit an Election y long and painful Services, in order to ſettle your ſelf upon the Throne. The oyal Palace yet reſounds with the Name of* Tarquin, *and thoſe Walls will al-ways preſerve the Memory of him. Could* Tanaquil *then by her Counſels give the Crown to two Kings, and ſhall not* Tullia *be able to put it upon the Head of her Husband? Go, Coward! return to* Corinth, *or* Tarquinia. *Thou haſt, I find, the ame Blood in thy Veins as thy weak Brother, and neither of you have inherited he Bravery of the King your Grandfather.*

THESE importunate Sollicitations of an imperious Woman emboldened *Tar-uin* to attempt every thing. He ſoon appeared taking Steps to form a Party. e went from Houſe to Houſe to beg Votes. He opened his own to all the oung Nobility of *Rome*, and made it a Rendezvous of Pleaſure for them. He ained over to him thoſe new Senators, whom his Grandfather had added [50] to thoſe of the old Inſtitution, and who were the leaſt conſiderable for their Birth of ny in the Senate. He preſſed upon them the Gratitude they owed him, for the enefits they had received from his Family. And when he had formed his Party, e thought of a Stratagem, which ſurprized the People by its Novelty, and ſucceeded y the Boldneſs of its Execution.

THE greateſt Part of the Inhabitants of *Rome* had Lands in the Country, which hey kept in their own Hands. So that in the Time of Harveſt the City was al-moſt utterly deſerted by the moſt conſiderable of its Citizens. This therefore was he Criſis which *Tarquin* ſeized, to ſtrike the Blow he intended. He knew that is Father-in-law's Intereſt was chiefly among the moſt flouriſhing Citizens: And e therefore took Advantage of the Abſence of his Father-in-law's Friends, put on

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 240.

50 We have already ſaid that *Tarquin the Firſt* ad introduced an hundred new Senators into the enate, and that they were called *Patres Minorum entium*. It now remains that we enquire into the eaſon of this Denomination. I at firſt thought hey were ſo called, becauſe they were taken out of hoſe who had been brought to *Rome* from the lit-le neighbouring Nations, after the Deſtruction of heir Cities. But this Opinion I afterwards found ot to be well grounded. The true Account of it s, I believe, this: In order to underſtand it, we muſt ſuppoſe what *Dion. Hal.* relates, *Antiq. B.* 3. namely, That *Tarquin the Elder* when he added an undred new Senators to the two hundred which had been created in *Romulus*'s Life-time, choſe them out of the *Plebeian* Families. And from hence, without doubt, came the Name of *Minorum Gentium*; which is as much as to ſay, *The lower People*, or, *People of meaner Families*. Indeed the firſt two hundred Senators had been choſen by *Romulus* and *T. Tatius* only out of the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*, and moſt noble *Sabines*. On the contrary, *Tarquin the Firſt*, when he added an hundred new Senators to the two hundred of the firſt Creation, choſe them out of the People, without Regard to their Nobility. Hence the Surname of *Senatores Minorum Gentium*, which was given them as a Nick-name, and was never authorized by any publick Edict. They had in reality the ſame Authority and Regard in the Senate, as the other Senators, and their Children were deemed *Patricians*.

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the Royal Robes, and cauſed *Faſces* to be carried before him by ſome of his Domeſticks. He was followed by a great Number of his Party, who had Swords under their Robes; and with this Train he croſſed the *Forum Romanum*. When he came to the Gate of the Temple [51] where the Senate aſſembled, he ſent Expreſſes to all the Senators, commanding them, in King *Tarquin*'s Name, to repair immediately to the Senate. Then he went up the Steps which lead to the Hall of the Aſſemblies, where he found the Senators of his own Party already ſeated, he having given them Notice beforehand, to be early there. From thence he went on with a grave Pace, and ſeating himſelf on the royal Throne, perſonally exhorted thoſe of his Faction to ſtand out reſolutely againſt the vain Oppoſitions of an old Man. After him, the young Men who favoured him did their Part to encourage thoſe who were more fearful: And in the mean time, the reſt of the Senators made all the Haſte they could, to the Place to which they were ſummoned. The greateſt Part of them thought *Servius* was dead, ſince *Tarquin* already aſſumed the Name, the Place, and the Functions of King. And no one durſt keep away from the Aſſembly, for fear his Abſence, in the Beginning of a Reign, ſhould be thought criminal. When therefore the Aſſembly was formed, *Tarquin* repeated the Invectives they had ſo often heard him make againſt his Father-in-law, and even reviled him. *He is a Slave*, ſaid he, *who owes his Fortune to my Grandfather's Liberality. He is an Intruder, who has poſſeſſed himſelf of my Right, merely by the Suffrages of a mercenary People, without any Authority from the Senate, or firſt admitting of an* Interregnum. *Since which, he has maintained himſelf in it, by the Favour of a Populace as vile as himſelf; for whoſe ſake only, he inſtituted the* Claſſes *ſo much boaſted of, which have produced no Advantage, but that of ſacrificing the Intereſts of the moſt wealthy to thoſe of the moſt indigent.*

WHILE he was yet ſpeaking, *Servius Tullius* appeared. He had been informed of the Part his Son-in-law was acting in the Senate, and immediately ran thither with ſcarce any Attendants, and with more Boldneſs than Diſcretion. As ſoon as ever he ſet his Eyes on *Tarquin* in the Throne, he cried out at a diſtance, and with a loud Voice, *What has made thee ſo audacious, as to aſſemble the Senate, and take Poſſeſſion of my Throne, while I am alive? What has made thee aſſume theſe Marks of my Dignity? Thy Iniquity*, Servius, replied *Tarquin, thy Uſurpation has forced me to it. I have at laſt done myſelf the Juſtice, which thou haſt ſo often refuſed me. I here fill the Place of my Grandfather. Is it not rather due to me, than to a vile Slave, who has already ruled too long over his Maſters?* This threw the old King into a Tranſport of Paſſion, which made him raſhly give way to the Motions of his Courage, without conſidering his Strength. He came near the Throne, to throw *Tarquin* down from it; which raiſed a great Out-cry in the Aſſembly. The People crowded into the Senate-Houſe, and none durſt part the two Rivals. *Tarquin* therefore, who was moſt ſtrong and vigorous, coming down from his Seat, ſeized the old Man by the Waſte, and hurrying him through the Hall, threw him down from the Top of the Steps into the *Forum*. The King, who was grievouſly wounded, and covered with the Blood he had loſt, raiſed himſelf up with ſome difficulty, but ſaw none but his Enemies about him: All his Friends, and almoſt all the People, had deſerted him; only two or three Perſons, either of his own Followers, or of the People, touched with Compaſſion, lent him their Arms to lead him to his Palace. And as they were dragging him on ſlowly, and with difficulty, the cruel *Tullia* appeared in the *Forum*. She came haſtily in her Chariot, upon the firſt Report ſhe had heard of what paſſed in the Senate. She found her Husband on the Top of the Steps of the

[51] Is it true, that the Senate did as early as this, aſſemble in a Temple, or rather, that the Place of their aſſembling was called a Temple? I know a Law was afterwards made, which forbad the Senate to aſſemble in a prophane Place, that its Edicts might be made venerable by Religion. But as for my ſelf, I believe this Law was made only to renew the antient Cuſtom of holding the Senate only in a conſecrated Place. Indeed, from the Time of the firſt *Kings* of *Rome*, the Place where the Senate aſſembled was called *Curia*. *Tullus Hoſtilius* built a Place for the Senate under this Name; it was called, *Curia Hoſtilia*. But every Body knows, the Word *Curia* ſignified among the *Romans* a parochial Temple, of which *Romulus* appointed thirty, when he divided the City into thirty *Curiæ*. However, it is at leaſt certain, that the Place where *Servius* was abuſed by *Tarquin*, had the Name of *Curia*, and that its principal Gate opened upon the *Forum Romanum*, and joined to the Place of the *Comitia*.

Hall [52], and being tranſported with Joy at it, was the firſt who ſaluted him King. Upon this, the Senators of *Tarquin*'s Party followed her Example; and all proclaimed him King of *Rome*. Nor was this enough for an unnatural Daughter. She took her Husband aſide, and ſuggeſted to him the Thought of not leaving the Work of ſo glorious a Day imperfect. *You will never be independent, never be ſafe,* ſays ſhe, *as long as the Uſurper of your Rights hath any Breath left in his Body. Tullia* deſired her Parricide might be compleated; and ſhe was obeyed. *Tarquin* inſtantly diſpatched ſome of his Domeſticks, who took away the Remains of the unfortunate *Servius*'s Life. His Body they left extended upon the Place, and it lay quite croſs a very narrow Street, which was till that time called *The Street Cyprius* [53], or *The good Street*; but the following Event changed its Name.

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SERVIUS TULLIUS.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 242.

As ſoon as Orders were given for the Parricide, the ambitious *Tullia* got again into her Chariot, as it were in Triumph. She returned to her Houſe through *The Street Cyprius*; and as ſhe was paſſing, the Coachman who drove her, ſaw a Body lay ſtretched out upon the Ground, ſwimming in Blood, and yet panting. At this Sight he pulled in his Horſes Bridle, and made a difficulty of going forwards. Upon which, *Why don't you go on?* cries *Tullia* to the Coachman; *what ſtops you?* The Coachman turned about to the Princeſs, but could only anſwer her by his Tears. *I ſay again,* cried ſhe, *what ſtops you? Alas! Madam,* replied the Coachman, *it is the Body of the King your Father.* At theſe Words *Tullia* became furious, and catching up the Stool which was in the Chariot, and threatning to ſtrike the Coachman with it; *Go on,* ſaid ſhe to him, *and don't be afraid of treading a dead Corpſe under your Horſes Feet.* The Coachman obeyed; and the Blood of the Father dyed the Wheels of the Chariot, and flew upon the Clothes of the inhuman Daughter. And from hence the Street, which before was called *The good Street,* was afterwards called *The wicked Street.*

§. XXV. SUCH was the deplorable End of the moſt glorious Reign *Rome* ever ſaw. *Servius* left it uncertain, whether he was greater in War or in Peace. He ſubdued all his Enemies, and never made it his Buſineſs to create new ones: Equity was indeed the Soul of all his Undertakings. He did not refer his Conqueſts to his own Glory: He rated the Value of them only by their Tendency to the publick Good. One Triumph did not make him ambitious of obtaining another. He loved to ſee his Neighbours in Peace about him, and to have them fear his Arms, and regulate their Reſpect to him by that Fear: He made *Rome* more formidable, by twenty Years of Peace, than his Predeceſſors had done by many Battels, and the ſacking of an hundred Cities. All the Members of the *Roman* State, which before were divided, were by his Care united; and the Ties which bound them together, gave Vigour and Strength to the whole Body. He introduced Order in the *Militia* and publick Revenues; he rectified the Confuſion of the Aſſemblies of the People; he extended the Juriſdiction of the Senate, and yet limited its Authority. He diſtinguiſhed the Rich, only in order to make them bear the heavieſt Burdens; and he diſcharged the Poor from them, only to keep them contented, and without murmuring, in their Inferiority. He was beloved by his People even to Adoration, was eſteemed by the *Patricians,* and, in truth, had no Enemies except in his own Family. But a Fury diſturbed the Quiet of it. In ſhort, he received his Death from thoſe Hands which ought to have taken part in his Glory, and promoted his Security. He died at ſeventy-four Years of Age, after he had reigned forty-four Years [54].

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 219.

THE

[52] What I have in another Place called a Temple, I here call a Hall; becauſe both Names are proper for the Place where the Senate aſſembled. And we muſt likewiſe obſerve, that *Livy* and *Dion.* don't exactly agree about the Story above recited. The *Greek* Hiſtorian, whom I have followed, ſays *Tullia* found her Husband upon the Steps of the Senate-Houſe. But the *Latin* Hiſtorian ſays ſhe made him go out of the Senate, and ſaluted him King in the *Forum*; and that *Tarquin* ſent her after him.

[53] We are not to imagine *The Street Cyprius* took its Name from the Iſland of *Cyprus*. The Word *Cyprus*, ſays *Varro*, *de ling. Lat.* is an old *Sabine* Word, which ſignifies *good*, or *happy*. The *Sabines*, adds he, had inhabited this Quarter of the City, and had given this Street the Name of *The good*, or *happy* Street, *Cyprius Vicus*. Thus *Dion. Hal.* who tranſlates the *Latin* Words into *Greek*, ſays this Street was called, ὁ ἀγαθὸς ὄλβιος; that is, *The happy Street*.

[54] All Hiſtorians don't agree how many Years *Servius Tullius* reigned. *Euſebius*, *Caſſiodorus*, *Meſſala*, and *Aurelius Victor*, give him only thirty-four Years Reign: and the ten Years they take from him, they allow to *Tarquin the Proud*. So that the *Roman* Chronology in general does not ſuffer by it. We have followed *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* who make

Year of *ROME* CCXV—CCXIX.

TARQUIN THE SECOND.

THE diſconſolate State into which the Death of ſo good a King threw the *Romans*, is not to be imagined. *Tarquin*, who was the Cauſe of it, would not ſuffer his Obſequies to be performed with the uſual Pomp; or permit his Body to be carried through the Streets of the City, dreſſed in the royal Robes. *Tarquinia* alone, who was inconſolable at the Loſs of ſo dear an Husband, conveyed him by Night to his Tomb, without any Attendance except a few faithful Friends. And when ſhe returned to her Palace, ſhe was ſo affected with the Remembrance of the tragical Scenes which had paſſed in her Family, that ſhe died of Grief the Night following. Some indeed make her her own Executioner; others make her Death as a new Crime of the abominable *Tullia*. But be that as it will, *Rome* was certainly deprived of a faultleſs King, who could have no one Reproach juſtly thrown upon him, except that of having neglected the Law relating to *Interregnums*. And his Virtues made the *Romans* very ample amends for the Non-obſervance of this beloved Cuſtom. Inſomuch that the great Veneration the People had for *Servius* after his Death, ſeems to have placed him among the Gods. The Slaves annually celebrated his Feſtival in the Temple of *Diana Aventina*, on the Day he loſt his Life. 'Tis alſo ſaid, a wooden Statue of him, which ſtood in one of the Temples he had erected to *Fortune*, alone eſcaped a Fire which burnt down the whole Building. It was likewiſe remarked in *Rome*, that the Statues of this Prince and of *Numa*, which were preſerved in the *Capitol*, had each a Ring on one Finger; a Symbol which Antiquity had not given the other Kings: Which was doubtleſs to ſhew, that theſe two Princes had been famous Law-givers, and great Politicians.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 243.

Pliny, B. 33.

Years of *ROME* CCXX—CCXXI.

TARQUIN THE SECOND.

§. XXVI. WITH *Servius* ended the good Kings and happy Reigns at *Rome*. Had his Succeſſor been ever ſo virtuous, he would have found it difficult to have made the *Romans* amends for the Loſs they had ſuffered. And what Deſpair then muſt have enſued, when they ſaw themſelves in the Hands of a brutal Man, who had no Rule to walk by but his Ambition, and knew no Laws but his own capricious Humour! They gave him the Name of *Superbus*, or *The Proud*, as ſoon as he had invaded the Throne: which is ſaid to have been done, becauſe he would not ſuffer Obſequies ſuitable to the Rank of his Father-in-law, to be performed And indeed the *Latins* had at that time affixed to the Word *Superbus*, the two Ideas of *a proud and arrogant*, and of *a cruel and inhuman* Perſon; which was exactly the Character of the new Tyrant. *Tarquin the Proud* had no other Title to the Crown, but the Violence of which he had juſt been guilty. He deſpiſed the Law of the *Interregnums*, with the Neglect of which he had ſo often reproached his Father-in-law; and never ſo much as cauſed himſelf to be elected King by the Suffrages of the People, or even accepted as King by the Senate. His Invaſion was to him a ſufficient Title, without any of the Formalities which were requiſite to the obtaining the Throne in a lawful manner. So that he overturned all the antient Cuſtoms, and was indebted for the high Station he filled, only to Force, Artifice, Impiety, and a Subverſion of the Laws. He did not make uſe of the Arts of Inſinuation to eſtabliſh and preſerve himſelf in it; as the wiſe *Servius* had done: nor did he aſcend *The Tribune*, and harangue the People, or ſo much as put a plauſible Colour on his Uſurpation. A Man of a proud and haughty Spirit was above theſe Condeſcenſions. *Tarquin* would have loſt a great deal of the Pleaſure he had in being King, if he had been made ſo by any but criminal Means. He therefore began with making himſelf feared, without concerning himſelf about the Love of his People. He firſt choſe him a Guard, conſiſting partly of Foreigners, and partly of *Roman* Citizens, who were all abandoned Men, fit for putting any thing in execution, which their Maſter ſhould direct. Theſe ſtood Centinels before his Palace, Day and Night, and he never ſtirred out without a ſtrong Guard with him. It may even be ſaid, he made his Houſe his Priſon. The new King kept up no Intercourſe with his People, as his Predeceſſors had done, nor heard the Complaints or Repreſentations of his Subjects. He never appeared in publick at any ſtated Times; but then only, when he was leaſt expected. Almoſt all References of

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 244.

Servius to have continued forty-four Years upon the Throne. When theſe two Hiſtorians agree, their Authority is of very great Weight. And if it were true, as is ſaid, that the *Faſti Capitolini* agreed with them in this, it would put the Matter paſt all diſpute. However, *Solinus* has followed the Opinion we embrace.

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TARQUIN THE SECOND.

ffairs of State to the Senate, or the lawful Aſſemblies of the People, were laid ide. The Fate of the State was determined ſolely by the King, and ſuch of his avourites to whom he thought fit to communicate his Secrets. And even his onfidence was ſomewhat formidable to his Friends: he always accompanied it ith a ſurly Air and ſevere Threatnings. They never found him in Tranquillity, r in a chearful Diſpoſition. He was always gloomy, and never affable or gra-ious: So that he made them pay very dear for the Honour he did them in per-itting them to approach him.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 245.

A kind of Government therefore, to which the *Romans* had hitherto been ſo ttle accuſtomed, could not but raiſe frequent Murmurs among the People. They omplained, that the Uſurper made himſelf the ſole Judge of War and Peace, of reaties and Alliances. And as they did not yet dread him ſo much as he was to be readed, Fear did not at once take away all Freedom of Diſcourſe. But they ſoon ound themſelves under a Neceſſity of concealing their Tears, and groaning in ecret, without daring to communicate their Grief. All the City was full of In-ormers. They crept into the Houſes of the Great, firſt encouraged their Com-plaints by their own, and then acquainted the King with all that had been ſaid and one. So that nothing was talked of but Complaints brought to Court againſt he *Patricians*, for capital Crimes. Sometimes it was for having ſpoken ill of the reſent Government, ſometimes for having complained of the Death of the late ing, and ſometimes for having compared the preſent Adminiſtration with for-er ones. In all theſe Cauſes *Tarquin* made himſelf the ſole Judge, tho' the only intereſted Perſon; and exerciſed an arbitrary Severity in his Judgments, without egarding even the uſual Forms of Juſtice. Some were condemned to Death, thers to Baniſhment; and all that were accuſed were ſure to have their Eſtates confiſcated to the King's Uſe. To be rich was Guilt enough to draw upon them criminal Accuſation, the leaſt ill Conſequence of which, was to be deprived of heir Eſtates. *M. Junius*, the Father of the famous *Brutus*, was a memorable In-ance of the Avarice of the cruel *Tarquin*. He was deſcended from ſome of the moſt illuſtrious Nobility in *Rome*; and could trace his Deſcent from one of *Æneas*'s Companions. His Nobility was ſupported by an ample Patrimony; and theſe were the Conſiderations which led *Tarquin the Elder* to give him his youngeſt Daughter in Marriage, who was Aunt to *Tarquin the Proud*. This venerable old an lived in great Honour among the *Patricians*. His whole Attention was taken up with the Education of his two Sons, whom he inſtructed in all the Exerciſes roper to form both Body and Mind. And *Junius* particularly, who was after-wards called *Brutus*, perfectly anſwered the Expectations and Care of his Father. he covetous *Tarquin* therefore undertook to uſurp the Eſtate of the Father, and murder his two Sons. But *Brutus* ſaved his Life, and ſo wiſely counterfeited adneſs, that it was not thought worth while to cut him off. As for *Junius* the ther, and his other Son, *Tarquin* cauſed them to be privately aſſaſſinated, and ſſeſſed himſelf of the wealthy Inheritance of an Orphan, who was thought to fallen mad.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 264.

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Livy, B. 1. ibid.

SUCH ill Treatments, with which the moſt illuſtrious Families were at firſt op-eſſed, made a great Number of the Senators go into voluntarily Exile, and ſeek r that Peace and Security in other Places, which they could no longer find at *ome*. *Tarquin* was not at all concerned at their Departure: he even promo-d his own political Views by their Removal. The reſt of the Senators which mained in the City, were ſo few in Number, and ſo low in Character, that the nate fell of itſelf into Contempt. It was the Flower of the Senate, who had-luntarily baniſhed themſelves: and *Tarquin* gave himſelf no trouble about filling the vacant Places. The fewer *Patricians* there were in *Rome*, the eaſier he ought it would be for him to exerciſe his Tyranny without Controul. The nators of his own Faction expected indeed that their Intereſt at leaſt ſhould advanced in his Reign; but in vain. The hundred *Plebeians* whom *Tarquin e Elder* had raiſed from their inferior Station, to place them in the Senate, ex-rienced, as well as the reſt, that they had adhered to the wrong Party. The new ing deprived them all, without Diſtinction, of the Share they had in the publick ffairs; and ſtruck the ſame Terror into them as into the moſt noble and antient the Senators. Only as they had not the ſame Greatneſs of Mind as the *Patri-*

cians

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TARQUIN THE SECOND. *Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 245.*

cians of the first Institution, they could more easily confine themselves to Silence; but they felt how little Dependence they ought to have had on an ungrateful Prince.

IN the mean time, the People triumphed at the Senate's being made contemptible. They hoped that *Tarquin*, following his Predecessor's Example, would court them the more, the more he endeavoured to debase the Senators. In short, said they, the royal Authority can no longer subsist, than while the King can secure one of the two Parties, of which the City consists, and which govern the State. But the People were deceived in their Expectations. The Storm fell upon the *Plebeians* in their Turn. *Tarquin* abolished the Laws his Predecessor had made in favour of the People. Not a Word was said in *Rome*, of the *Census* of the Citizens, of their Division into different *Classes*, of their Distribution by *Centuries*, or of the *Roman Lustrum*. All were equally taxed at so much a Head, without Distinction of Rich and Poor. From the first Tribute *Tarquin* laid on the People, all, to the very poorest, were obliged to pay 100 *Asses* of Brass. This was exhausting the poor Populace, who in *Servius*'s Time were not obliged to contribute at all towards the publick Supplies. Soon after this, an Edict was published, forbidding all Assemblies of the People, either in City or Country. This was one of the suspicious Tyrant's Precautions to prevent Plots against his Government; but it at the same time deprived the People of one of their chief Diversions. The Inhabitants of *Rome* loved to go out of the City, to be present at the Festivals of the neighbouring Villages: and to rob them of these little Entertainments, was to affect them in a very tender Part. Besides, *Tarquin* had his Emissaries in all Parts of the City, who watched the Words and Behaviour of every Citizen; and the worst Construction was put upon every thing. So that the *Romans*, after they had lost their Freedom of Speech, thought themselves now reduced to a State of real Slavery.

§. XXVII. ALL Minds, both of the Senate and the People, were exceedingly exasperated against the King. Nevertheless, the mutual Hatred of the common Citizens and the *Patricians* was so inveterate, that each rejoiced in their turn over the Calamities the other suffered. But *Tarquin* was very sensible, that all the Orders of the State could not possibly be long oppressed, without uniting together against the Oppressor. For want therefore of the Friendship of the *Romans*, which he either despised, or despaired of gaining, he resolved to bring the Foreigners into his Interest. The *Latins*, as being the neareſt Neighbours to the *Roman* State, were the People upon which he cast his Eyes. They were already allied to *Rome*, and King *Servius* had strengthned that Alliance. *Tarquin the Proud* added a personal Union to the publick one between the *Latins* and *Romans*. He had had five Children by his Wife *Tullia*, four Sons and one Daughter. The Princess was now marriageable; and he gave her in Marriage to the Man of the greatest Interest among the *Latins*. His Name was *Octavius* 55 *Mamilius*; and he resided at *Tybur*. He was of noble Extraction; for he is said to have been descended from *Telegonus*, the Son of *Ulysses* and *Circe*. And his personal Merit made him universally esteemed among the *Latins*. *Mamilius* had the Reputation of being a Man of Valour, and Experience in War; and was a General who, upon Occasion, would have headed an Army with Honour. Such was the Son-in-law which *Tarquin* preferred to the many illustrious Citizens of *Rome*, whom he was afraid to bring into so near an Alliance with him. He knew by himself, how much a Father-in-law might suffer by an ambitious Son-in-law.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 246. and *Livy, B. 1. ibid.*

55 The Question here is, whether *Mamilius*'s *Prænomen* was *Octavius* or *Octavus*. It is indeed of no great Consequence, but Criticism does often employ it self about Trifles. *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* call him *Octavius*. Their Authority is considerable; but scarce sufficient to hinder *Sigonius*'s Doubt about the *Prænomen Octavius*, from being a reasonable one. It was, says he, scarce ever customary among the *Romans*, to take the Name of a Family for a *Prænomen*. Now every body knows the *Prænomen Octavius* was the Name of the *Octavian* Family, from which *Augustus* descended. So that *Mamilius* must then have had the Names of two different Families, *viz.* of the *Mamilian* and *Octavian*. *Sigonius* therefore concludes, the *Prænomen Octavius* ought to be changed into *Octavus*. And indeed nothing was more common than to give Children the *Prænomina* of *Quintus*, *Sextus*, *Septimus*, *&c.* according to the Order of their Birth. Might not therefore *Mamilius* have had the *Prænomen* of *Octavus*, because he was his Father's *eighth* Child? And yet after all, ought Reasoning to prevail against the Authority of Historians, who were better informed in the Customs of the *Romans*, than *Sigonius*? Besides, *Mamilius* was not a *Roman*, but a *Latin*; and we shall hereafter find another *Latin*, who had the Name of a Family for his *Prænomen*: it is *Herdonius*, whose *Prænomen* was *Turnus*.

THUS

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TARQUIN THE SECOND.

THE Indignation of the *Romans* was increaſed by *Tarquin*'s having choſen a Foreigner for his Son-in-law: But he let them murmur, and employed all his Thoughts to draw the beſt Advantages he could from this new Alliance. *Mamilius* indeed did his utmoſt to bring a great Number of the Chief Men of his Country into his Father-in-law's Intereſt; and his Sollicitations ſucceeded. But the King had like to have deſtroyed all *Mamilius* had done in his Favour, by his haughty Airs. The Affair, as related by the Hiſtorians, tho' with ſome Diverſity, was this.

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 50. *Dion. Hal. B.* 4. *p.* 247.

§. XXVIII. *TARQUIN* had ſent Invitations to the *Latins* to come to an Aſſembly of their Nation, on a Day appointed by himſelf. The Place of their Aſſembly was the little City of *Ferentinum*, in *Latium*. There was a Temple dedicated to *Flora*, otherwiſe called *Ferentina*, and a ſacred Grove, in which the Deputies of the *Latin* Cities were to meet. Accordingly, the Regard People had for *Tarquin*, chiefly on *Mamilius*'s Account, was ſuch, that no one Perſon failed of coming. The Aſſembly was formed early in the Morning of the Day appointed, and the Deputies took their Places in the ſacred Grove. But they waited long for the King of *Rome*. Several tedious Hours paſſed, but *Tarquin* did not appear. This made them firſt murmur, and then they grew impatient; and at length, towards the Cloſe of the Day, *Turnus Herdonius* took this Opportunity to inveigh againſt *The Proud Tarquin*. *Herdonius* had long harboured a ſecret Hatred againſt the King of *Rome*. He was known jealous of his Rival *Mamilius*, and had been very angry at the Preference given to him, by marrying him to the King's Daughter. It is true, *Herdonius* forgot himſelf: He was only a private Citizen of *Aricia* [56], but bold, enterprizing, factious, and at the ſame time eloquent, and able to carry all before him in publick Councils. He had likewiſe got himſelf a Reputation in the Army, and his Courage was extolled. With theſe Diſpoſitions of Mind and Heart, he undertook to make *Tarquin* odious to the *Latins*.

Livy, ibid.

I am not at all ſurprized, ſaid he to the Aſſembly, *that* Rome *has given* Tarquin *the Surname of* Proud. *What Haughtineſs, what Arrogance is this, to cauſe the moſt venerable Perſons in all* Latium *to be aſſembled, and not to appear himſelf! Has he a Mind to put the Patience of the* Latins *to the Teſt, and try how far our Deference for him will carry us? Doubtleſs he means to judge, by our Weakneſs in bearing his Contempts, of the Eaſe wherewith he may make himſelf Maſter of our Country. Can it be doubted, by any who conſider the Steps that have been taken in his Favour, whether he has it in his View to ſubdue us? And ſhall* Tarquin *then be ſuffered to uſurp over us an abſolute Authority? If his Adminiſtration had been tolerable in the City, the Government of which he has invaded by Parricide, there would yet be Reaſon for us to conſider whether we ſhould ſubmit to a foreign Yoke. But if his People groan under the Burden of his Tyranny, if he has filled* Rome *with Mourning, and all our Country with proſcribed Fugitives, can we expect a more favourable Treatment? Let us then avoid, by ſome noble Effort, the Slavery to which he would reduce us. Let us return to our Cities, and make the ambitious Tyrant know, that the* Latins *have too much Spirit to be awed by his haughty and imperious Airs.*

THIS Harangue made ſome Impreſſion upon the *Latins:* But *Mamilius* appeaſed them. He aſcribed *Tarquin*'s Delays to the Importance of the Affairs which detained him at *Rome*; and at length prevailed, with Difficulty, to have the Council adjourned to the next Day.

TARQUIN then appeared in the Aſſembly; but he was forced to be put in mind of making ſome Sort of Excuſe to the *Latins*, for his Delays. *I was engaged*, ſaid he very coldly, *in making up ſome Differences which had happened between a Father and his Son. Of all Buſineſs*, replies *Herdonius, that is the*

[56] *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* differ about the City in which *Herdonius* was born. The *Greek* Hiſtorian ſays it was at *Corioli*; the *Latin* one at *Aricia*. I prefer *Livy*'s Opinion. The City of *Corioli* was in the Diſtrict of the *Volſci*, who, tho' in *Latium*, tho' in its utmoſt Extent, yet were not then a Part of the Body Politick of the *Latins*, nor were they ever ſummoned to the *Latin* Aſſemblies, at which nevertheleſs *Herdonius* was preſent. On the contrary, *Aricia* was in the Confederacy. *Dion. Hal.* muſt therefore have been miſtaken in making *Herdonius* a Citizen of *Corioli*. I have added, that *Herdonius* was but a private Citizen of *Aricia*. I obſerved, that no Author extols his Birth, tho' all the Hiſtorians celebrate that of *Mamilius*. Beſides, *Dion. Hal.* ſays *Herdonius* would have been aſhamed to have named his Great Grandfather.

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TARQUIN THE SECOND. *Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 247.*

ſooneſt diſpatched. The one is eaſily brought to ſhew his paternal Tenderneſs, the other his Submiſſion. This Beginning did not pleaſe *Tarquin*, who never loved to be contradicted. But he concealed his Reſentment for the preſent, and came to the Buſineſs for which the Aſſembly was convened.

KING Tarquin *my Grandfather*, ſaid he to the *Latins, compelled you by Force of Arms to yield to him the Command of your Troops. He had the Power of leading them into the Field, whenever he pleaſed. The Right of commanding your Armies then, has deſcended to me with the Blood of my Anceſtors. I am come now to demand the Reſtitution of it. Though my Right ſufficiently ſpeaks for me, I deſire to have it confirmed by you. This will be a Favour on your Parts, which will deſerve my Acknowledgments. The Preſervation of your Privileges, the Security of your Cities under my Protection, and the Defence of the whole Nation againſt the Irruptions of your Neighbours, ſhall convince you, that an Alliance made with the Grandſon, will not be leſs advantageous to you, than the Treaty made with his Grandfather.*

THESE Words were ſpoken with an haughty Air, and were followed by a profound Silence in the Aſſembly. *Herdonius* was the firſt who broke it. He came from his Place, and ſtanding in the Middle of the Circle of the Deputies, ſpoke thus:

TO ſee Tarquin *here in the higheſt Seat, to ſee him uſurp a Right of calling our Aſſemblies together, and of preſiding in them, is to ſee a publick Attempt made upon the Liberty of the* Latins. *And does he alſo pretend to make himſelf Maſter of our Country by the ſame Violence with which he invaded the* Roman *State? His Diſcourſe already ſhews us what he intends. If we believe him, he has an hereditary Right over us. What! Was it a Condition in the Treaties we made with his Grandfather, that we ſhould be ſubject to his Poſterity? Is it not the Height of Injuſtice, to demand, as his Right by Inheritance, the voluntary and temporary Donation we made to his Grandfather? He now makes uſe of the ſame Pretence of hereditary Right againſt us, which he has improved to the Ruin of* Rome. Latins! *your Slavery is as certain as that of the* Romans. *And will it be leſs ſevere? Their Lives, their Eſtates and Houſes have been taken from them, by Murders, by Extortion, by Baniſhments. Will Strangers find* Tarquin *a leſs cruel and leſs covetous Maſter than his own Subjects? Judge of the Fate which is in Reſerve for you, by the Calamities of* Rome.

§. XXIX. THIS daring Diſcourſe diſconcerted even the proud *Tarquin*. He was ruffled by the Boldneſs of the Orator, and deſired the Aſſembly might ſit again the next Day, when he promiſed to anſwer *Herdonius*'s Invectives. In the mean time the King of *Rome* conſulted his Friends, who furniſhed him with ſeveral Expedients for regaining the Affections of the *Latins*. But he himſelf found out one which was agreeable to his own Temper. This was to deſtroy by an horrid Calumny, the Adverſary who had inſulted him, and at the ſame time to make his Villany Matter of Merit with the *Latins*. The Method he took for ſucceeding in his Deſign was this.

HERDONIUS had come to the Aſſembly attended with a great Number of Domeſticks. *Tarquin* corrupted ſome of theſe vile mercenary Wretches with his Money; and engaged them to hide a great Quantity of Swords, and all Sorts of Arms, in their Maſter's Baggage. The Deſign of this Stratagem was to make his Adverſary's Fidelity to his Country ſuſpected. The next Day therefore *Tarquin* entered the Council with an Air of Confidence, which made it believed he would, from being accuſed, turn Accuſer. In ſhort, he ſpoke thus: *What I have to ſay in my Defence, is ſo convincing, that I don't refuſe to accept of my Adverſary himſelf to be Judge of it. One Word is ſufficient to deſtroy the Invectives* Herdonius *ventured Yeſterday to utter againſt me. He attempted to become my Son-in-law. This is the Subſtance of my Anſwer to the Calumnies he has thrown upon me. If I was ſuch a Perſon as he would have repreſented me to be, would he have ſought for an Alliance with me? Of what new Crime have I been guilty, ſince I thought fit to reject his Suit? If my Adverſary had had no Views but thoſe of Equity, his Accuſation then ſhould have preceded the fruitleſs Attempts he made to obtain my Daughter. Yes,* Herdonius, *your Jealouſy, turned into Fury, is the true Source of all your Reproaches. But what am I ſaying? I am, Illuſtrious* Latins,

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atins, *losing that Time in an unneceſſary Defence, which I ſhould employ for he Preſervation of your Lives. They are threatened by the ſecret Plots of a per-dious Citizen. Who would have believed it? The barbarous* Herdonius *has form-d a Deſign of making this Aſſembly fatal to you, by the Murder of the Deputies f which it conſiſts. And when he ſhall have cut off the Chiefs who preſide over he Cities of your State, he then deſigns to erect a Throne for himſelf, and give Law om it as Sovereign. I don't ſay this upon bare Conjectures. I have certain roofs of the Accuſation I bring. One of the Conſpirators has diſcloſed to me he Secret, and for a Proof of it, aſſures me there are Arms hid in* Herdonius's *aggage. Let it therefore be ſearched, that you may all be convinced of the fatal ttempt that was deſigned againſt your Lives, and the common Liberty.*

THE Accuſation was of great Importance; all were perſonally concerned in it, nd every Man was afraid for himſelf. But *Herdonius*, who did not queſtion but he Roguery would appear, was not at all frightened. He took his Accuſer at his Word, and deſired his Bundles might be ſearched. He readily condemned himſelf o ſuffer Death, if any other Arms were found in his Baggage, but ſuch as a Sol-ier uſually carried when he travelled. And then he demanded, that if he was ound innocent, his Accuſer ſhould ſubmit to the ſame Puniſhment which he as ready to undergo. Accordingly, the Propoſal was accepted on both Sides. he Search was made, and Bundles of Arms were found packed up in *Herdo-ius*'s Baggage. Then the innocent Man was immediately ſeized, and loaded with hains: And the Arms which were found were brought into the Aſſembly. The inds of the Deputies were diſordered with Rage and Indignation, and therefore, *Liv. B.1.c.51.* ithout further Examination, or hearing the Defence of the Accuſed, they imme-iately condemned the unfortunate *Herdonius* to be drowned. He was faſtened to n Hurdle loaded with Stones, and inſtantly thrown into the Baſon at the Head of he Spring of *Ferentinum*. This was a new Puniſhment among the *Latins*, who ecame cruel by the wicked Direction and Knavery of the Tyrant of *Rome*.

§. XXX. BUT the Death of an Enemy was not the only Advantage *Tarquin* drew rom his Villany. The chief Men of the Country looked on him as their Deli-verer. They heaped Praiſes upon him in the Aſſembly, and all *Latium* reſounded with his Name. The *Latins* were no longer in a Condition to refuſe him any thing: Upon barely asking for them, they granted the King of *Rome* the ſame Rights which his Grandfather had been obliged to extort from them by Force of Arms. The Trea-y with *Tarquin the Elder* was renewed, and *Tarquin the Proud* was declared Gene-al of the *Latin* Armies. And the Conditions of the new Alliance were engraven on Pillars, after it had been made ſacred by mutual Oaths. Nor did *Tarquin* ſtop here. e carried his Negotiations beyond the Countries which were united by the Aſ-mbly of the Goddeſs *Ferentina*. He endeavoured likewiſe to enter into Alliance ith the *Volſci*, and the *Hernici*; and the latter he found diſpoſed to favour him. ll the *Hernici* entered into a League with him, on the ſame Terms as the other *atins*. But among the *Volſci*, only two of their Cantons, *viz.* thoſe of *Ece-æ* [57], and *Antium* [58], joined themſelves to him. The reſt continued independent. he Author therefore of ſo many Alliances, wanted nothing farther, than to keep e confederate Nations firm to his Intereſt, and in Union among themſelves. or which Purpoſe he erected a new Temple to *Jupiter Latialis*, which was placed the middle of the confederate People, upon a Hill [59] which over-looked the ity of *Alba*, before it was deſtroyed. There the Diets of the united Cantons ere to aſſemble; and theſe Aſſemblies were called *Latia*. The 27th of *April* was e Day appointed for their annual Meeting, and was called *Feriæ Latinæ*. The *Ro-ans* came ever after to this Aſſembly, and, as the principal Members of the Alli-

57 The City of *Ecetræ* was conſiderable among *Volſci*. It was ſituated upon an hilly Ground. o Footſteps of it are now remaining.

58 The *Antiates* inhabited the Territory of *An-m*; a maritime City, the Capital of the *Volſci*, a y's Journey from *Oſtia*, very near *Nettuno*, ac-rding to ſome; and according to others, very ar *Antio Rovinato*. It ſtood upon the Point of a ck. *La Torre d' Anzo*, and *Capo d' Anzo*, yet eſerve the Name of this antient City. *Fortune* d a famous Temple in it.

59 It ought to be obſerved, that the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*, where the Aſſemblies of the *Latin* Cantons were held from *Tarquin*'s Time, was very near the Temple of *Ferentinum*, or *Flora*, where the *Latins* formerly held their Diets. The latter was at the Foot of the Hill of *Alba*, the former on the Top of it. In Proceſs of Time this Temple of *Jupiter Latialis* became ſo venerable among the *Romans*, that no *Conſul* ever went into the Field, or the Provinces, without firſt viſiting it, and calling an Aſſembly of the *Latins*.

ance,

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ance, presided at the Sacrifices and Deliberations. This Diet consisted of forty seven Deputies, who formed this *Latin* [60] Association, which was always the best Part of the Strength of the *Romans*, and contributed more than all the rest of *Italy*, to the Conquest of the Universe. Such was the Fruit *Tarquin* reaped from a Crime which was for the present successful; but which we shall see Heaven hereafter revenge in its own time!

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§. XXXI. WITH this Assistance of the *Latins*, whom the King of *Rome* had made his Allies, he thought himself in a Condition to carry the War into the Country of the rest of the *Volsci*. They were a fierce and independent Nation, who braved the *Romans*, and scorned to enter into the Confederacy which so many other *Latin* Cities had made with them. If we believe some Historians [61], *Tarquin* was the first King of *Rome* who made War upon the *Volsci*. But however that be, it is certain they were some of the most obstinate Enemies the *Romans* met with in *Italy*. Two hundred Years were scarce sufficient either to subdue or destroy them.

BUT in order to this great Undertaking, *Tarquin* did not form his Army as his Predecessors had done, or raise it upon the Foot of the Division *Servius Tullius* [62] had made of the *Roman* Soldiery into *Centuries*. He chose out but a very small Number among the *Romans*, and enlisted only such as he had least Reason to distrust. Under this General, the *Roman* [63] *Legions* were no longer made up of *Romans* only; nor did the Allies make a separate Body as formerly. *Tarquin* was too odious to his own Subjects, to comply with the antient Custom. He suspected the Fidelity of his *Romans*, and therefore chose to mix and blend his Friends the *Latins* in the same *Legions* with them. This Project was put in Execution at the Place where the *Latin* Assemblies were held, which was the general *Rendezvous* of all the *Roman* and auxiliary Forces. There *Tarquin* incorporated the *Latins* and *Romans* in the same *Centuries*, which were half of one Nation, and half of the other, and appointed such *Centurions* [64] over them, as he liked. With these Precautions

Liv. B. 1. c. 52.

60 In what did this Union of the *Latins* and *Romans* properly consist? 1st. The *Latins* were not by this Treaty made subject to the *Roman* Laws. They had their own common Law, which they preserved; and which differed from those of *Rome*, as to Sacrifices, Marriages, Inheritance, Wills, Guardianships, &c. Nevertheless, if any one of the *Latin* Cantons was willing of its own Accord to make Use of the *Roman* Laws, it might: And then this People, which was become more strictly *Roman*, was called *Fundus*. 2dly. The *Latins* were not comprehended in the *Roman Census*. It is most probable, they did not pay any Tribute to the *Romans*, nor were subject to the Poll-Taxes, or those laid on the *Centuries*. 3dly. All the Dependence then of the *Latins* upon the *Romans*, consisted in furnishing as many Soldiers for the *Roman* Armies, as the *King* or *Consuls* required. And then these *Latin* Troops fought as Auxiliaries, and were not incorporated into the *Roman Legions*. 4thly. The *Latins* had no Right of Suffrage in the *Comitia* of *Rome*, unless called in, upon extraordinary Occasions, by the joint Consent of the two *Consuls*. 5thly. The *Latins* had nevertheless a Right of standing Candidate for Offices in *Rome*, especially if they had born any considerable ones in their native Country. This was a Privilege peculiar to the *Latins*, exclusive of all the other Confederates of the *Romans*. And when a *Latin* had obtained the *Quæstorship*, or *Edileship*, in *Rome*, he then became a *Roman* Citizen. All these Rights together were comprehended in one Word, and called *Latinitas*. Foreigners had often the Right of *Latinity* granted them, before they obtained the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. The one was a Step to the other.

61 *Livy* pretends, that before *Tarquin the Proud*'s Time, the *Romans* had no War with the *Volsci*. But *Dion. Hal.* assures us of the contrary. He says that King *Ancus Marcius* punished the Robberies the *Volsci* had just committed in the *Roman* Lands; that he besieged *Velitræ*, one of their Cities; and that he forced them to sue for Peace. Who then are we to believe, the *Latin* Historian, or the *Greek*?

62 The Division *Servius Tullius* made of the *Roman* People into six *Classes*, and of each *Class* into different *Centuries*, made it very easy to raise Troops. If twenty thousand Men were at any time wanted, every *Century* was obliged to furnish Soldiers and Money for the War, according as there was occasion for them. But the common People, who made the sixth *Class*, were excepted out of this general Law, and were called *Proletarii*, or *Capite censi*. They were so called because they served only to swell the Number of the People in the *Census*, and made the State populous. *Proletarii officio prolis edendæ appellati sunt*, says *Gellius*, 16. 10. *Capite censi vocabantur, qui ære aut nullo, aut perquam parvo, pene solo capite, censebantur.* On account of their Poverty, they were excused paying Tribute, and serving in the Army, at least in those Times when every *Roman* Soldier served at his own Expence.

63 In the earliest Times of *Rome*, it was the sole Prerogative of the *Romans* to be incorporated in the *Legions*. From the Time *Tullius*'s Order was established, only those Citizens who were in the first five *Classes*, could serve in the *Legions*. The auxiliary Troops formed a separate Body, which was differently posted, according as Occasion, and Circumstances required. But this Custom of the first *Romans* suffered many Changes in After-times, as will appear in its Place.

64 Every *Century* had its *Centurion* to command it: Who was among the *Romans*, what a Captain is in *France*, with this Difference, that the *Centurion* was always at the Head of a Company of an hundred Men, or rather, an hundred and ten Men, the ten *Decurions* included, each of which commanded one of the ten *Decuriæ* of which the military *Century* consisted. There were sometimes more and sometimes fewer *Centurions* in the *Roman Legion*, according as the *Legion* it self was more or

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Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 250.

cautions he thought he might undertake any thing. It must be granted, *Tarquin* was a great Commander, and gained as much Glory by his Arms, as he deserved Reproach for his Barbarity, and his Oppression of his Subjects.

65 *SUESSA POMETIA* was one of the most flourishing and most formidable Cities of the *Volsci*. It was proud of its Power and immense Riches, and made no scruple of plundering the Territories of its Neighbours. The *Latins* complained of these unjust Rapines; but when they demanded Satisfaction for them, they could get no Answer but this, that the *Suessans* were ready to decide the Difference by Arms. *Tarquin* therefore took hold of this Pretence, to revenge the Quarrel of his Allies; and marched his Troops towards *Suessa*: The *Suessan* Army waited for him on their Frontiers, and sustained the first Attacks of the *Roman* with Courage. But a general Battel determined their Fate. The *Volsci*, being vanquished, fled: some retired farther up into the Country, and others found a Refuge within the Walls of *Suessa*.

TARQUIN deferred not to lay siege to it. He surrounded it with a large Circumvallation, which he strengthened with a wide Ditch. However, the Valour of the Besieged was not inferior to the Courage of the Besiegers. The Assaults they sustained, turned always to the Disadvantage of the *Romans*, and weakened them; but without discouraging them. They persevered in attacking the City, hoping either to starve it, or wear out the Garrison with continual Duty: and they succeeded. The Inhabitants of *Suessa*, who received neither Succours nor Convoys of Provision, found themselves equally pressed with Hunger, and exhausted with Fatigues. But in their utmost Weakness and Extremity they scorned to surrender to the *Romans* by Capitulation. They chose to be killed on their Ramparts, and die in Defence of their Liberty. In short, the City was taken by Assault; and all who had borne Arms in its Defence were massacred without Mercy. The Women, Children, old Men, and Slaves, who were very numerous, became the Prey of the Soldiers. *Tarquin* gave up both City and Country 66 as free Plunder to his Troops: only the Gold and Silver which were found in this wealthy City was reserved, and carried to a Place appointed for that Purpose. The tenth part of it was applied to the finishing the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and the rest was distributed among *Tarquin*'s Soldiers. The whole Sum amounted to forty Talents of Gold 67, or, which comes to

or less numerous; that is, had more or fewer *Centuries* in it. So that a *Legion* which contained sixty *Centuries*, had as many *Centurions*. He who was called *Centurio primi-pilus*, was a Man of Authority and Distinction among them. He was always at the Head of the first *Cohort*, and commanded four *Centuries*. The other *Centurions* were but subaltern Officers to him, and were to receive their Orders from him.

65 *Suessa* was a City of a Canton of the *Volsci*, and was surnamed *Pometia*, to distinguish it from another *Suessa*, which was situated in the Country of the *Aurunci*, beyond the River *Liris*. For this Reason Historians give it the Name of *Suessa Aurunca*. The former of these stood between *Cora* and *Velitræ*, at a little Distance from these two Cities. But it is nevertheless difficult to point out its Situation exactly. *Dion. Hal.* reckons it among the principal and most wealthy Cities the *Volsci* had.

66 *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* differ much in several Particulars relating to the taking of *Suessa*, and the Spoil which was found in it. 1st, *Livy* contends, that all the Plunder which could be gathered together out of the City, was sold for forty Talents of Gold and Silver, which were all applied to the finishing of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. On the contrary, *Dion. Hal.* says, that *Tarquin*'s Soldiers had the Benefit of the Plunder, except what *Tarquin* reserved. And that even of the Money which was reserved, only one tenth part was dedicated to *Jupiter*, and the other nine distributed among the Soldiers. 2dly, The *Greek* and *Latin* Historians differ likewise about the Sum which was taken from the *Suessans*. *Dion. Hal.* assures us, that every Soldier's Share, in the Distribution that was made among them of the Money taken at *Suessa*, amounted to five *Minæ* [a]; and that the tenth part which was consecrated to *Jupiter*, amounted to four hundred Talents [b]. *Livy*, on the other hand, contends, that the whole Sum did not exceed forty Talents [c]. And I think it would be in vain to endeavour to reconcile these two Authors. In order to this, *Pighius*, of his own Head, changes the Text of *Livy* from *Quadraginta Talenta*, which is the Reading in all good Copies of this Author, to *Quadringenta*: and thereby seems to bring the *Latin* Author nearer to the *Greek*.

67 It is difficult to adjust the Value of the *Talent* exactly to *French* Money. In order to this, it is necessary to know exactly the Proportions between the antient and modern Species. Upon which Subject, *Budæus*, *Bouteroue*, *Petit*, *Du Cange*, *Salmatius*, *Gronovius*, &c. have communicated to us their learned Enquiries. And yet it may be said, that all the Fruit of their Labours amounts to no more than arbitrary Suppositions and happy Conjectures. The Variations in the Price of Metals, and the successive Changes they have undergone in their Value, according to the Exigencies and Circumstances of Times, will not admit this Reduction to be exact, which would suppose Money to have had always a fixed Value, which it never had. Nevertheless, it is certain that both *Greek* and *Latin* Writers understood by the single Word *Talent*, the *Attick Talent* [d], which was equivalent to sixty *Minæ*, or sixty Pounds Weight of Silver, of 12 *Ounces* each. The *Mina* contained an hundred *Drachmæ*, or, which amounts to the same, an hundred *Denarii*. The *Roman Denarius* may be supposed worth ten *Sols French* [e] at, the

l. s. d.
[a] 16, 2, 11. *Arbuthnot.*
[b] 77500 *l.*
[c] 7750 *l.*
l. s. d.
[d] 193, 15, 0. *Arbuthnot.*
d.
[e] 7 ½ *English.*

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to the ſame thing, forty Talents of Silver [68].

SCARCE was the War with the *Sueſſans* ended, by the ſacking of *Sueſſa*, when new Enemies obliged *Tarquin* to turn his Arms againſt them. The King of *Rome* had been long diſſatisfied with the *Sabines*. They had been the firſt who roſe up againſt the Dominion he had uſurped, and deſired to extend, over all the Nations in alliance with the *Romans*. *Tarquin*'s Deſign in entering into the *Latin* Confederacy, was to make uſe of their Succours againſt the *Sabines*. The *Volſci* drew upon themſelves *Tarquin*'s firſt Attacks, by an unforeſeen Accident; but his firſt Reſolution had been, to puniſh the *Sabines*. Theſe therefore being ſuſpicious of the Deſign that had been formed againſt them, prevented the *Romans*, and made Incurſions into their Territories. They carried away ſome Booty from thence, and inſtantly marching out all their Troops, divided them into two Bodies. The one encamped near *Eretum*, the other in the Neighbourhood of *Fidena*. No ſooner then had the News of theſe Hoſtilities reached *Tarquin*'s Ears, but he marched out of *Sueſſa*, of which he had made himſelf Maſter, and led his Army againſt the *Sabines*. *Tarquin* had great Qualifications for a Soldier. He was brave, enterprizing, impenetrable in his Deſigns, and knew how to join Stratagem to Valour, in the Execution of them. He haſted to meet the *Sabines*, and poſted himſelf advantageouſly near *Eretum*, in view of the *Sabine* Army. The ardent Deſire of fighting was equal on both Sides: And that no time might be loſt, the *Sabine* General ſent an Expreſs, with Orders to that Part of the Army which encamped near *Fidena*, to come and join the main Army with all ſpeed. But the General's Letters were intercepted, and *Tarquin* made a good Uſe of what he learned from them. He likewiſe, in his turn, divided his Troops into two Bodies, and in the Night-time commanded one of them to take the Road from *Eretum* to *Fidena*. By this means he eluded the Vigilance of the *Sabine*. Early the next Morning, *Tarquin* drew up the few Troops he had left, in Order of Battel: Upon ſight of this, the *Sabines* took Courage; and depending upon being ſoon joined by the reſt of their Soldiers, reſolved to hazard a Battel. Their Number and Valour ſupported them a great while againſt the *Romans*: till at length the Body of Men *Tarquin* had ſent towards *Fidena*, appeared on a ſudden, and fell upon the Rear-guard of the *Sabines*. Upon this a ſudden Fright ſeized them, and they, diſperſing themſelves, endeavoured to get off at the two Sides which the Enemy left open to them. But *Tarquin* had taken care to make his

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Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 251.

the rate of fifty *Livres* for every Pound of Silver. But beſides the *Attick Talent*, antient Authors reckon up ſeveral ſorts of Talents; *The Talent of* Ægina, equal to 10000 *Drachmæ*, or 100 *Attick Minæ*; *The Talent of* Egypt, containing eighty Pounds or *Attick Minæ*; *The Talent of* Alexandria, of 102 *Minæ*; *The Talent of* Rhodes, which, according to *Feſtus*, was worth 4500 *Drachmæ* or *Denarii*; *The Talent of* Corinth, worth 10000 *Drachmæ*; *The Talent of* Cyrene, worth 120 *Minæ*; and *The* Babylonian *Talent*, of ſeventy *Minæ*. The *Hebrews* likewiſe diſtinguiſhed between the Talent of Silver and that of Gold; the former was worth 3000 *Shekels*, or 102000 *Attick Drachmæ*; the latter was twelve times the Value of the former. I know Authors differ in the Value they ſet upon antient Monies; but without regard to any one's Authority in particular, we have ſettled the Value of the Talent upon our own repeated Calculations. Nevertheleſs, they who are for a mathematical Exactneſs, in ſo uncertain and controverted a Matter, will always have a Right to diſpute about it, and to chuſe what Opinion they like beſt. Some antient Authors have given room to modern Writers, to make a Difference between two ſorts of *Talents:* They call the firſt *Magnum Talentum*, or *The great Talent*; and the other, *Parvum Talentum*, or *The little Talent*. They build upon *Plautus*'s Authority, who expreſly mentions *The Great*, or *Attick Talent*, and a *Common Talent*, to which they give a very ſmall Value. They likewiſe quote ſome Paſſages in their Favour, which they pretend are not intelligible, unleſs we admit of this Diſtinction of the *Great* and *Little Talent*. Thus they inſtance, in this Paſſage of *Plautus*'s *Captives*,

Eugepæ! Thalem Talento non emam Mileſium.
Nam ad ſapientiam hujus nimius nugator fuit.

If Thales *of* Miletum *was to be ſold, I would not give a Talent for him. He is a Trifler in comparſon of this Man.* But however that be, it is certain this Difference between the *Great* and *Little Talent* was unknown to the *Greeks*. As to the *Romans*, they ſeem to have uſed the Expreſſion *Magnum Talentum* to ſignify the *Attick Talent*, and to diſtinguiſh it from ſome other common *Talents*, which were current in *Italy*. Such was *The Talent of* Naples, which was worth but ſix *Denarii*; and *The Talent of* Sicily, which went but for thirty *Roman Denarii*.

68 Several Writers diſtinguiſh between different ſorts of *Talents*, ſome of Gold, others of Silver, and the leaſt of Copper, which they value according to the different Value of the Metals. But they have not conſidered, that the Word *Talent* expreſſed a fixed and determined Sum, whether it be in Gold, or Silver, or Copper: much like the *French Piſtole* (or *Engliſh Pound*) which is always of the ſame Value, whether it be paid in Gold, Silver, or Copper. So that what ſome modern Authors call a Talent of Gold, a Talent of Silver, and a Talent of Copper, was the ſame Sum of Money, in Gold, Silver, or Copper. By this Explanation, we avoid the Confuſion which has ariſen, from the different Opinions of Men on this Subject.

l. s. d.
f 322, 18, 4.
g 258, 6, 8.
h 328, 17, 6.
i 145, 6, 3.
k 387, 10. 0.
l 226, 0, 10.
s. d.
m 3, 10½
n 19, 4½

Victor

tory complete. The *Roman* Cavalry which was poſted in the Wings of both Years of
Bodies of the *Roman* Army, inſtantly joined one another, and ſurrounded *ROME*
Sabines on all Sides. The Slaughter was therefore terrible. So few of the CCXXVII,
emy eſcaped, that there were not Men enough left to defend the Camp: it CCXXVIII.
s taken and plundered. The *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of all the Bag- TARQUIN
e, and recovered the Priſoners taken, in the Incurſions which had been made THE SECOND.
o their Territories.

However, *Tarquin* did not leave the Work of ſo glorious a Day imperfect. He with ſurpriſing Expedition upon the Body of the *Sabines* which encamped near *Fidena*. Theſe had not ſtirred from their Poſt; the Orders for their advancing having been intercepted. Beſides, they yet knew nothing of the Battel, and of the Victory *Tarquin* had gained over the reſt of their Army. The firſt News they had of it was brought by the King of the *Romans*. He ſhewed himſelf to them, and the *Sabines* marched out of their Camp. But they were ſtruck with exceeding great Terror, when they ſaw the Heads of their principal Officers ſtuck on the Tops of the Lances of the *Roman* Cavalry. Then they knew the main Body of their Army was defeated, and prognoſticated thereby their own Deſtruction. They deſpaired of eſcaping, and did not ſo much as attempt to defend themſelves. Their only Recourſe was to Supplications; for they delivered themſelves up to the Mercy and Diſcretion of the Enemy. So that the whole Nation of the *Sabines* [69], who feared their Country would be laid deſolate, after the Rout of their two Armies, ſued to the Conqueror for Peace. *Tarquin* complied with the Ambaſſadors, heard their Petitions, ſhewed Favour to their Cities, contented himſelf with making the whole Nation tributary; and, after ſo ſucceſsful an Expedition, returned to *Sueſſa*. But he tarried there no longer than was neceſſary, in order to gather together the Spoils he had taken from the two conquered Nations. This done, he ſet out for *Rome*, and led thither his Army, which was enriched with their Booty.

[70] It is probable the King of *Rome* then decreed himſelf two Triumphs, one Year of
for having overcome the *Volſci*, the other for having ſubdued the *Sabines*. The *ROME*
Hiſtorians ſeem to have affected to omit giving any Account of *Tarquin*'s Triumphs, CCXXIX.
tho' they mention his Victories. But Monuments as venerable as Hiſtories tell *Faſti Capitol.*
us he triumphed twice: and it is almoſt certain it was over the *Volſci*, and the *Sabines*. We don't find he could have merited any Triumphs, unleſs by the Defeat of theſe two Nations.

TARQUIN had been long abſent from *Rome*. He did not care to reſide in Years of
his Capital, whilſt being weak, and without Glory, he was forced to bear the *ROME*
Murmurs of both Senate and People, whom he continued to oppreſs. But when CCXXX—
his Confederacy with the *Latins* had ſet him above the Want of any Aſſiſtance CCXXXIV.
from the *Romans*, and his Triumphs had ſecured him againſt Plots, he fixed his
Reſidence at *Rome*. The City was no otherwiſe ſenſible of his Preſence, than by *Dion. Hal.*
the hard Labours he impoſed upon its Inhabitants. He had choſen but very few *B. 4. p. 257.*
of them to ſerve in his Troops; the reſt he employed in painful Drudgeries. It was *Tarquin*'s Maxim, that an idle Populace becomes formidable in the End to a Prince who is not beloved by his Subjects. He therefore reſolved to employ the *Romans* in finiſhing the great Works *Tarquin the Elder* had begun. For the Common-Sewers, for carrying the Waters which ſtagnated in *Rome*, eſpecially in the *Forum*, into the *Tyber*, were left unfiniſhed. The King [71] obliged the poor People to come and work: and their Maintenance, which was but a very poor one,

69 The *Sabines* formerly poſſeſſed that Tract of Ground, which now makes a Part of the Dutchies of *Spoleto*, and the *Further Abruzzo*.

70 We have already obſerved, that *Tarquin* uſurped Power in *Rome* independent of both People and Senate. And it is not therefore to be imagined, that he obtained the Honour of the two Triumphs, either by the Suffrages of the one, or the Authority of the other. And perhaps this is the Reaſon why no Hiſtorian mentions them: they doubtleſs thought theſe Triumphs unlawful ones. How then do we know *Tarquin* did triumph twice? By the *Faſti Capitolini*, which ſay it. It's true, they are become, through Time, a little defective even as to them. The Names of the People over whom he triumphed, are effaced out of the Marble: but what remains entire in them, plainly tells us, *Tarquin* did triumph twice. Neither does the Marble ſhew in what Year, or on what Day, *Tarquin* entered *Rome* in Triumph. Probable Conjectures muſt therefore ſupply its Defects.

71 According to *Pliny*, ſome, even of the Populace, whom *Tarquin* forced to work upon the Common-Sewers, choſe rather to kill themſelves, than be enſlaved to ſuch painful Drudgery. Beſides, the Workmen who were employed in digging theſe ſubterraneous Canals, run the hazard of their Lives; or at leaſt came out of them quite ſpent with Fatigue, and brought from thence mortal Diſtempers, cauſed by the Infection of the muddy Waters.

was

Years of *ROME* CCXXX—CCXXXIV.

TARQUIN THE SECOND.

was all they had for their Labour. Some were forced to hew Stone, others to carry them on Hand-barrows, others to dig up the Ground, others to build the Arches. Blackſmiths and Copperſmiths were taken out of their Shops, and forced to work for the Publick. By theſe vexatious Methods did the King compaſs the finiſhing the Common-Sewers, and the *Great Circus*. This laſt Work had nothing yet but Rows of Seats, and wanted Galleries, to put the Spectators of the publick Sports under Shelter. So that the Grandſon brought theſe two Structures of his Grandfather to Perfection.

Years of *ROME* CCXXXV—CCXLI.

EVERY Day great Numbers of the diſcontented *Patricians* left *Rome*, and carried their Grievances into the Neighbourhood. But *Gabii*, a City of *Latium*[72], received the greateſt Number of theſe voluntary Exiles. It was but natural for its Inhabitants to have a Compaſſion for ſo many illuſtrious Perſons under Perſecution, whoſe Merit and Innocence were known to them. Accordingly, the *Gabini* engaged warmly in the Cauſe of their new Gueſts, and prepared to make War with the King of *Rome*. In the firſt place, they depended on the Valour of this great Number of *Romans*, who were fled to them for Refuge, and on the good Intelligence they would be in, with their Fellow-Citizens, who were left at *Rome*. And in the next place, they expected to ſee the *Volſci* fly immediately to their Aſſiſtance. Beſides, *Gabii* was a City, rich, very populous, and capable of being animated againſt *Rome*, by a noble Emulation.

TARQUIN either knew, or gueſt, the Preparations the *Gabini* were making againſt him. Therefore, before they appeared in the Field, he thought it neceſſary to guard *Rome* againſt the Inſults of theſe new Enemies; who were the more formidable to her, in that they were Neighbours, had many ſincere Friends, Acquaintance, and Correſpondents in the City; and the War they deſigned, would become in a manner a civil one. So that *Tarquin* reſolved to fortify *Rome* on the Side of *Gabii*. He had obſerved, that this was almoſt the only weak Part of the City. It was ſurrounded every where elſe with high Hills, which were a kind of natural Rampart to it: but on the Side of *Gabii*, it lay expoſed to the Approaches of an Enemy, by a great open Plain. Here then the King built that Fortification, which was ſo much boaſted of in After-Ages. It conſiſted of a ſtately Bulwark, which commanded the Country. It was ſupported on the Outſide by a ſtrong Wall, and Towers, which being placed in the different Angles of the *Curtain*, made it difficult of Acceſs: and the whole was ſurrounded by a deep and wide Ditch, which reached from the Gate *Eſquilina*, to the Gate *Collina*.

Plin. B. 1. and 36. *Dion. Hal. B.* 4. *p.* 253.

NEVERTHELESS, theſe Preparations of the *Roman* did not diſcourage the *Gabini*. Their Troops were already increaſed by a great Number of *Sueſſans*, who had fled to *Gabii* for Refuge, after the ſacking their City, and the plundering of their Territory. So that, the moſt implacable Enemies[73] *Tarquin* had, either made up the Armies, or reſided in the City, of the *Gabini*. Then Hoſtilities began, but with various Succeſs. Sometimes the *Gabini* repulſed the *Romans* to the Foot of their Walls; ſometimes the *Romans* put the *Gabini* to flight, and forced them to take to their Ramparts for Shelter. So that, theſe continual Inroads of two neighbouring Nations upon one another, were followed by an equal Devaſtation in the Territories of both Parties.

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AND this ſort of War was long[74], for it laſted ſeven Years. Inſomuch that,

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Year of *ROME* CCXXXV—CCXLI.

TARQUIN THE SECOND.

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§. XXXII. THESE publick Clamours ſeemed to have a neceſſary Tendency to a general Sedition, in the Heart of a City, continually beſieged by an Enemy's Army, who waited only for ſuch an Opportunity to come and deliver ſo many unhappy Citizens from the Oppreſſion of their Tyrant. Then *Tarquin* found himſelf beſet on all Sides, either with the Fear of making a ſhameful Peace, or with the Apprehenſions of a general Revolt of his Subjects. But *Sextus* [75] *Tarquinius*, who, according to ſome, was the eldeſt, according to others, the youngeſt of his four Sons, extricated his Father out of this Difficulty. He propoſed an Expedient to him, which he approved. It was to deceive the *Gabini* by an Artifice, which would not indeed be very honourable, but might prove an uſeful one. The Scheme was this. The Son pretended to be upon very ill Terms with the King his Father. He was heard to inveigh publickly againſt *Tarquin*'s Obſtinacy, in continuing a War, which muſt neceſſarily occaſion the Ruin of the State. He complained of the rigorous Severities of a Tyrant, whoſe Conduct was as intolerable to his own Family, as odious to his Subjects. *His Suſpicions and Jealouſies*, ſaid he, *make him afraid of being murdered by his own Children: He will ſoon force us to leave his Palace, as he has ſo many illuſtrious Citizens to fly from* Rome. *Liv. B. 1. c. 53.*

THE Murmurs of the young Prince did not ſeem affected. In the mean time, he ſent truſty Perſons before him to *Gabii*, who there publiſhed his Diſcontent. They artfully mixed the Praiſes of the Son with their Imprecations againſt the Father; and in ſhort, engaged to get *Sextus* out of *Rome*, and to prevail on him to prefer *Gabii* to his Father's Palace. Accordingly, they pretended to have happily negotiated the Matter with the young Prince, and only required of the *Gabini*, that they would promiſe never to deliver him up to the Cruelty of his Father, under Pretence of a Peace and Reconciliation with him. This the Citizens of *Gabii* conſented to, and ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by an Intrigue ſo dexterouſly carried on. They made no doubt but the Son was irreconcileable to the Father, when they were told [76], that *Tarquin* had had him publickly beaten with Rods, as a Rebel. Every Body was ready to receive the young Prince with open Arms, whenever he ſhould come and join the other Fugitives from *Rome:* And at length he came to *Gabii*. He brought a great Number of Clients who were dependent on his Family, and ſome of his Friends, in his Train: And his Father had furniſhed him with large Sums of Money, for carrying on his Deſigns. *Divn. Hal. B. 4. p. 254.* *Florus, B. 1.*

§. XXXIII. IT is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus*'s coming was to the *Gabini*, or what Hopes they founded upon their gaining over a Prince, who was ſo much valued by the *Romans*. They, from that time, reckoned upon the Surrender of *Rome*. And indeed, the artful Son of *Tarquin* played his Game with all imagin-

[75] I find Authors divided about *Sextus Tarquinius*. *Livy*, *Ovid* in his *Faſti*, *Eutropius*, *Polienus Stratag. B.* 8. and many others, make him *Tarquin*'s youngeſt Son. But *Dion. Hal.* makes him the eldeſt. Now, beſides that the greateſt Number of Writers ought to have more Weight than one only, the *Prænomen* of *Sextus*, which ſignifies the *ſixth* Child, is a ſtrong Preſumption, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was younger than ſome of his Brothers. But on the other hand, *Sextus* always acted the chief Part. His Father entruſted him with the Enterprize of *Gabii*. He made him King of that City, and always gave him the Preference. Beſides, *Titus* and *Arunx*, *Sextus*'s Brothers, who were ſent to *Delphos* by their Father, to conſult the Oracle, received this among other Anſwers, That he, of them, who ſhould firſt embrace his Mother, ſhould be Maſter of *Rome:* And this *Livy* himſelf tells us, they kept ſecret from their Brother *Sextus*, whom they deſigned to ſupplant. *Tarquinii, ut Sextus qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ignarus reſponſi experſque imperii eſſet, rem ſumma ope taceri jubent. B.* 1. In ſhort, the Violence offered to *Lucretia* by *Sextus*, let the *Romans* ſee what they had to fear, from the Government of a Man who had neither any Fidelity or Modeſty in him. Theſe Reaſons therefore favour *Dion. Hal.*'s Opinion. But the Reader may chooſe which Opinion he likes beſt.

[76] That the *Gabini* might the more readily fall into the Snare, *Tarquin* cauſed his Son to be treated in an ignominious Manner. He ordered him to be beaten with Rods in the *Forum*, and inveighed againſt him wherever he came.

Years of *ROME* CCXXX—CCXXXIV. TARQUIN THE SECOND.

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Years of *ROME* CCXXXV—CCXLI.

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Year of *ROME* CCXXXV—CCXLI.

TARQUIN THE SECOND.

§. XXXII. THESE publick Clamours ſeemed to have a neceſſary Tendency to a general Sedition, in the Heart of a City, continually beſieged by an Enemy's Army, who waited only for ſuch an Opportunity to come and deliver ſo many unhappy Citizens from the Oppreſſion of their Tyrant. Then *Tarquin* found himſelf beſet on all Sides, either with the Fear of making a ſhameful Peace, or with the Apprehenſions of a general Revolt of his Subjects. But *Sextus* [75] *Tarquinius*, who, according to ſome, was the eldeſt, according to others, the youngeſt of his four Sons, extricated his Father out of this Difficulty. He propoſed an Expedient to him, which he approved. It was to deceive the *Gabini* by an Artifice, which would not indeed be very honourable, but might prove an uſeful one. The Scheme was this. The Son pretended to be upon very ill Terms with the King his Father. He was heard to inveigh publickly againſt *Tarquin*'s Obſtinacy, in continuing a War, which muſt neceſſarily occaſion the Ruin of the State. He complained of the rigorous Severities of a Tyrant, whoſe Conduct was as intolerable to his own Family, as odious to his Subjects. *His Suſpicions and Jealouſies*, ſaid he, *make him afraid of being murdered by his own Children: He will ſoon force us to leave his Palace, as he has ſo many illuſtrious Citizens to fly from* Rome. *Liv. B. 1. c. 53.*

THE Murmurs of the young Prince did not ſeem affected. In the mean time, he ſent truſty Perſons before him to *Gabii*, who there publiſhed his Diſcontent. They artfully mixed the Praiſes of the Son with their Imprecations againſt the Father; and in ſhort, engaged to get *Sextus* out of *Rome*, and to prevail on him to prefer *Gabii* to his Father's Palace. Accordingly, they pretended to have happily negotiated the Matter with the young Prince, and only required of the *Gabini*, that they would promiſe never to deliver him up to the Cruelty of his Father, under Pretence of a Peace and Reconciliation with him. This the Citizens of *Gabii* conſented to, and ſuffered themſelves to be impoſed upon by an Intrigue ſo dexterouſly carried on. They made no doubt but the Son was irreconcileable to the Father, when they were told [76], that *Tarquin* had had him publickly beaten with Rods, as a Rebel. Every Body was ready to receive the young Prince with open Arms, whenever he ſhould come and join the other Fugitives from *Rome*: And at length he came to *Gabii*. He brought a great Number of Clients who were dependent on his Family, and ſome of his Friends, in his Train: And his Father had furniſhed him with large Sums of Money, for carrying on his Deſigns. *Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 254.* *Florus, B. 1.*

§. XXXIII. IT is not to be imagined, how agreeable *Sextus*'s coming was to the *Gabini*, or what Hopes they founded upon their gaining over a Prince, who was ſo much valued by the *Romans*. They, from that time, reckoned upon the Surrender of *Rome*. And indeed, the artful Son of *Tarquin* played his Game with all imagin-

75 I find Authors divided about *Sextus Tarquinius*. *Livy*, *Ovid* in his *Faſti*, *Eutropius*, *Polienus Stratag. B.* 8. and many others, make him *Tarquin*'s youngeſt Son. But *Dion. Hal.* makes him the eldeſt. Now, beſides that the greateſt Number of Writers ought to have more Weight than one only, the *Prænomen* of *Sextus*, which ſignifies the *ſixth* Child, is a ſtrong Preſumption, that *Sextus Tarquinius* was younger than ſome of his Brothers. But on the other hand, *Sextus* always acted the chief Part. His Father entruſted him with the Enterprize of *Gabii*. He made him King of that City, and always gave him the Preference. Beſides, *Titus* and *Arunx*, *Sextus*'s Brothers, who were ſent to *Delphos* by their Father, to conſult the Oracle, received this among other Anſwers, That he, of them, who ſhould firſt embrace his Mother, ſhould be Maſter of *Rome*: And this *Livy* himſelf tells us, they kept ſecret from their Brother *Sextus*, whom they deſigned to ſupplant. *Tarquinii, ut Sextus qui Romæ relictus fuerat, ignarus reſponſi experſque imperii eſſet, rem ſumma ope taceri jubent. B.* 1. In ſhort, the Violence offered to *Lucretia* by *Sextus*, let the *Romans* ſee what they had to fear, from the Government of a Man who had neither any Fidelity or Modeſty in him. Theſe Reaſons therefore favour *Dion. Hal.*'s Opinion. But the Reader may chooſe which Opinion he likes beſt.

76 That the *Gabini* might the more readily fall into the Snare, *Tarquin* cauſed his Son to be treated in an ignominious Manner. He ordered him to be beaten with Rods in the *Forum*, and inveighed againſt him wherever he came.

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able Dexterity. His publick and private Diſcourſe turned upon nothing but the Tyranny of the King of *Rome*. *He is a ſuſpicious Uſurper,* ſaid he, *who would not ſpare his own Blood, if he could thereby ſettle himſelf the more firmly on the Throne he has invaded. I have not ſo much fled from a Father, as from the Sword of a Barbarian, who threatened to deſtroy me. My Life will be ſafer among the Enemies of* Rome, *than in the Palace of an unnatural Father. And,* continued he, *if my ill Fortune ſhould purſue me ſo far, as that I ſhould be ſuſpected at* Gabii, *I will go and declare my Misfortunes in all the Cities of* Latium. *I will travel even to the* Volſci, *the* Hernici, *and the* Æqui. *I ſhall there perhaps find a City, which will be affected with my Misfortunes, and be willing to give Refuge to an unfortunate Son, who is the Object of the Cruelty of a wicked Father.*

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 53.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. ib.

FROM Words, *Sextus* proceeded to Actions. No Enemy the *Romans* had appeared more vigorous and active than he. He often went and ravaged the Lands of the *Romans*, at the Head of a Party of Men, and returned to *Gabii* loaded with Spoil. His Father took care to facilitate his military Enterprizes, and ſacrificed thoſe Soldiers and Officers he ſuſpected, to the Glory of his Son. He ſent them to fight with *Sextus*, and at the ſame time took care that they ſhould be weaker than he, and eaſy to be defeated. Thus the Reputation of *Tarquin*'s Son was increaſed by the Craft of his Father, without ſo much as a Suſpicion of any Intelligence between them. In ſhort, the *Gabini* placed ſo much Confidence in the Valour and Fidelity of *Sextus*, that they choſe him to be General of their Armies.

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 54.

Then his Exploits were more frequent, and his Victories got him more Credit. By which Means, he became as much Maſter in *Gabii*, as the Father was in *Rome*.

WHEN therefore *Sextus* found his Authority was ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, he had nothing more to do, but to put the treacherous Project he had formed, into Execution. For this Purpoſe, he ſent a Slave, in whom he could confide, privately to *Rome*, to enquire of his Father what was yet wanting to compleat the Work. *Sextus* gave the King to underſtand, that he was arrived to ſo high a Pitch of Power, among the *Gabini*, that he could ſucceed in any thing he undertook. However, *Tarquin* did not think proper either to commit to Writing the Advice he gave his Son, or to entruſt it to be carried, by Word of Mouth, by a Slave. The King of *Rome* made known his Will to his Son, by a Sign, which the Bearer of it himſelf did not underſtand. He led the Slave into a Garden full of Poppies[77]; and there, as it were by way of Amuſement, cut off the Heads of all thoſe Flowers[78] which grew above the reſt. Then, after being asked more than once, what Anſwer was to be carried back to *Sextus*, he ſent away the Courier, without ſaying any thing more to him. The Prince was a Man of Penetration: He eaſily underſtood what his Father's Intentions were, by this ſingle Sign, and delayed not to put them in Execution.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. *p.* 255.

§. XXXIV. THE Enterprize upon *Gabii*, which was begun by a Treachery unworthy of the *Roman* Bravery, was compleated by the blackeſt of all Crimes. Nevertheleſs *Sextus* ſucceeded in putting a Colour of Juſtice upon the villanous Maſſacre he made of all the Perſons of Credit, in the Place which had been a Refuge to him. He aſſembled the People, and ſpoke to this Effect: *I thought, Illuſtrious* Gabini, *that the Command of your Troops, with which you have honoured me, would turn to your Advantage and my Glory. But Jealouſy has made even the Victories I have gained for you, fatal to me. Such is the Power of the Fate which purſues me. It will not even ſuffer me to ſerve my Friends and my Benefactors with Impunity. Whilſt I am ſerving you, at the Hazard of my Life, againſt an inhuman Father, the very Perſons whom I preſerve from Tyranny, have formed a Deſign of delivering me up to the cruel King of* Rome. *Take back,* Gabini, *take back into your own Hands, the Authority you have entruſted me with. You will eaſily find more ſkilful*

77 *Ovid* puts Lilies, inſtead of Poppies.

Illic Tarquinius mandata latentia nati
Accipit, & virgâ Lilia *ſumma petit.*

Faſt. B. 2.

78 *Tarquin* knew how to imitate, on this Occaſion, the Example of *Thraſybulus* of *Miletus*, who made uſe of the ſame Artifice, to let *Periander* of *Corinth* know the Way of eſtabliſhing his Power. He led the *Expreſs* which was ſent to him, by the Tyrant, into a Field of Corn, and there he beat down the Ears which grew above the reſt. By this *Thraſybulus* gave *Periander* to underſtand, that if he would ſecure his Dominion, he muſt put the chief Men in *Corinth* to Death.

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and more experienced Generals to command your Armies; but you will find none more faithful, or more zealous for your Intereſt.

THESE Words raiſed the Indignation and Concern, even of thoſe who were to fall Victims to this horrid Calumny. All looked upon one another, and expected to have read in the Eyes of ſome guilty Perſon the Conſciouſneſs of his Crime. But a manly Confidence appeared in all their Faces. They therefore enquired of *Sextus*, and entreated him to declare, without Fear, who thoſe Traitors were, thoſe Enemies to the publick Good. At length, they extorted from him, as it were by Violence, the Name of *Antiſtius Petro*. He was the greateſt Man in his Country, and reſpected for the Services he had done it, both in War and Peace. However, as he was not conſcious of any Guilt, he deſpiſed the Accuſation, and inſiſted that no Man could, without Injuſtice, ſuſpect him of a criminal Correſpondence with the Enemy of his Country. It was therefore neceſſary to come to Proofs. *Sextus*, by a Cheat very like that which his Father had put in practice to deſtroy *Herdonius*, and by the Force of Money, had corrupted ſome of *Antiſtius*'s Slaves. And they had conveyed among his Papers, ſome Letters written with the King of *Rome*'s own Hand, and on which the Impreſſion of his Seal was ſtill to be ſeen. As then Search was made all over *Antiſtius*'s Houſe, while he continued in the Aſſembly, there this convincing Proof was found of his ſuppoſed Crime. Then what Outcries did the mad Populace make, upon producing *Tarquin*'s Letters, directed, *For Antiſtius!* The Accuſer gave them the publick Officer to read; and they contained an Exhortation from the King of *Rome*, to finiſh as ſoon as poſſible the Affair depending. This was to convey *Sextus* to *Rome* alive, or at leaſt to ſend his Head thither. In Return for ſo important a Piece of Service, *Antiſtius* was promiſed, beſides the Rewards agreed on, the Privileges of a Citizen of *Rome*, Lands to cultivate without the Walls, and a Houſe in the City; and laſtly, Places of Diſtinction among the *Patricians*, for all thoſe who ſhould join in the Plot. Upon hearing this, the Perſon accuſed ſtood ſpeechleſs, without making any Defence: And his Surprize was thought an Acknowledgment of his Crime. Inſtantly therefore, and without further Examination, the People took up Stones, and ſtoned him. And to *Sextus* was committed the Care of enquiring after his Accomplices, and appointing their Puniſhment.

§. XXXV. BY this Decree of the People, *Sextus* found himſelf fully at Liberty to cut off the Heads of all the eminent Men in *Gabii*, who gave him Umbrage. He therefore ordered the Gates of the City to be ſhut, and ſent Officers into the ſeveral Quarters of it, who cut off all the Flower of the Nobility, without Mercy. It may well be imagined, ſo horrible a Maſſacre could not be executed without occaſioning a Diſturbance. And therefore, whilſt Blood was flowing in all Parts, *Tarquin* the Father advanced towards *Gabii*, with an Army which he led to the Aſſiſtance of his Son. He had timely Notice of the Inſurrection the *Gabini* were likely to make, and *Sextus* had given Orders that the Gates ſhould be opened to the King, as ſoon as he appeared. In ſhort, he entered the City with all the Pride of a Conqueror, who had made himſelf Maſter of a Place taken by Aſſault. The *Gabini* ſunk into the utmoſt Deſpair at the Sight of a Tyrant their old Enemy, who now had their Lives, their Eſtates, and their Liberty, at his Diſpoſal. They repreſented to themſelves all Sorts of Evils, and expected inevitably to ſuffer them all. But their Misfortunes were not ſo great as their Fears. As implacable an Enemy as *Tarquin* was, he made his Revenge give way to his Policy. No one of the *Gabini* was put to Death by his Orders. Eſtates, Life, Liberty, all were granted them. *Tarquin* even entered into [79] a Treaty with the City, which was committed to Writing, and was yet preſerved at *Rome*, in *Auguſtus*'s Time, in the Temple of *Jupiter Piſtius* [80], or *Sancus*; that is, *The God of Fidelity*. The Treaty was ratified by Oaths, taken at the Altars, and by the Blood of a Victim. This Victim was a Bull, which was skinned after his Throat had been cut; and of his

79 The Articles of the Treaty were, according to *Dion. Hal.* written in antient Characters. Which proves, that the Form of the *Roman* Letters was not always the ſame.

80 The Names *Piſtius* and *Sancus*, ſignify the ſame thing. And *Sancus* may likewiſe ſignify the ſame thing as *Sanctus*, from the Verb *ſancire*. Indeed all Compacts made *bona fide* were *ſacred* and inviolable. Thus *Hercules*, the Preſerver of Fidelity among private Perſons, was called *Semo Sancus*. The Name of *Semo* was peculiar to thoſe Divinities who were otherwiſe called *Heroes*. They were ſaid, from having been mortal, to be become immortal.

Skin

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Skin a Buckler was made, on which were written the Articles of the League with *Gabii*. By this unexpected Moderation, *Tarquin* gained the good Will of a People, who afterwards looked upon him as their Deliverer. *Gabii* became a Refuge for him, againſt the Conſpiracies of the *Romans*, who were his ſecret Enemies, and a Bulwark with which he defended himſelf againſt their Enterprizes. He left his Son *Sextus* in *Gabii*, and made him King of it. Another Refinement likewiſe of *Tarquin*'s ſuſpicious Policy, was to rid himſelf of his other Sons, and not to ſuffer them to be near him in *Rome*. We have juſt now obſerv'd, that *Sextus* was already provided for; being King or Governor of *Gabii*, he reſided there. *Arunx* and *Titus* his two other Sons, were ſent at a Diſtance from their Father, under Pretence of making them two Founders [81] of Colonies. *Titus* was ſent to *Signia*, to make a new Settlement of *Romans* there; and *Arunx* to [82] *Circæum*. *Signia* was nothing but a Camp, which the *Roman* Army had pitched in an advantageous Place, and in which it had once taken up its Quarters. The King thought it might be made a City, and that by tranſplanting ſome *Romans* thither to people it, he ſhould increaſe the Dependancies of *Rome*. Beſides the Situation of *Signia*, muſt make it a convenient Place for keeping the *Volſci* within Bounds. This was the Portion *Tarquin* gave his Son *Titus*. As for *Arunx*, he ſent him at the Head of a Company of *Romans*, to build the Walls of *Circæum*. This was then nothing but a Promontory on the Shore of the *Tyrhænian* Sea, where the famous *Circe* was ſaid to have had her Palace. The City was placed by *Arunx* on the Top of a Rock, which equally commanded the Sea, and a vaſt Plain, in the Territory of the *Volſci*. So that, theſe turbulent People were kept in Awe by the new Eſtabliſhments of *Tarquin the Proud*, and by the Vigilance of two of his Sons, whom he found Means to keep at a Diſtance from him, and at the ſame time make them uſeful to him. *Lucius Tarquinius* was probably too young as yet, to give his Father any Umbrage.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 259. & Varro ap. Lactant.

§. XXXVI. *TARQUIN* now enjoyed a profound Peace in *Rome*. The *Romans* were grown accuſtomed to the Yoke of an imperious Maſter; and the Weight of his Oppreſſion made them ſilent: when a very ſurprizing Accident put them in poſſeſſion of a Treaſure, which they ever after looked upon as a Preſent from Heaven. An unknown Woman [83] appeared at *Tarquin*'s Court, loaded with nine [84] Volumes,

81 It is proper to declare, in the Beginning of this Hiſtory, on what Occaſions the *Romans* ſent out Colonies, and what Privileges thoſe Colonies enjoyed. The *Romans* never ſent out their Citizens to found Colonies, but either to enlarge their Limits, or to curb ſome Nations who were yet unſubdued, or to eaſe their City of too great a Number of Inhabitants, or to get rid of a Multitude who were inclined to Sedition, or to reward the old Soldiers of the *Roman Legions*. Before this Sort of Citizens ſet out from *Rome*, a certain Quantity of Land was aſſigned them, in the Place where they were to ſettle, which was to be their own Property. And the Number of Families ſent from *Rome* was proportioned to the Quantity of Ground which was to be given them. The Perſons ſo tranſplanted, were generally ſuch, as had neither Land nor Houſes, either in City, or Country. They marched to the Place of their new Habitation, in Order of Battle. There they either built them a City themſelves, or took Poſſeſſion of one already built, which was left empty for them. Here they lived agreeably to the *Roman* Laws, but immediately loſt the Right of Suffrage they had had in the *Comitia*. Nor could they ſtand for any Office in the Commonwealth, unleſs they were again made Citizens of *Rome*.

82 The antient City of *Circæum* formerly ſtood in the Place where *Civita Vecchia* now ſtands, near the Village of *S. Felicita*, according to *Cluverius*; and between *Terracina* and the Place antiently called *Cloſtra Romana*, according to Father *Briet*. *Homer* took *Circæum* to be an Iſland; probably becauſe it was ſurrounded by the *Pontina Palus*, or *Pontine Marſh*. In the Neighbourhood of this City, was the Promontory of *Circæum*, which is now called *Monte Circello*.

83 *Varro*, quoted by *Lactantius*, *Inſtit. Divin. B.* 1. pretends this Woman was the *Sybil* of *Cume*, and that ſhe came in Perſon, to bring the Books of her Prophecies, to *Tarquin the Firſt*, and not to *Tarquin the Proud*. And this would appear more agreeable to the Order of Time, than what we have ſaid above, if it was certain the *Sybil* her ſelf brought her Books to *Rome*. She might be living in the Time of *Tarquin the Firſt*; but ſhe was dead when *Tarquin the Proud* reigned. We have followed the Opinion of *Dion. Hal.* which is adopted by *Aulus Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *&c.* They place the Adventure of the unknown Woman, in the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*; but don't ſay, that it was the *Sybil* that brought her Books her ſelf. Their Silence ſeems to imply that it was another Woman. It is very true, *Pliny* aſſures us, *B.* 22. *c.* 13. that the *Sybil* offered her Books to *Tarquin*: But this Woman, ſays *Salmaſius*, was only called *Sybil*, becauſe ſhe was old, or becauſe ſhe brought the *Sybil*'s Books.

84 *Varro* and *Dion. Hal.* agree, that the unknown Woman offered nine Volumes to Sale: But *Pliny*, *B.* 13. *c.* 13. reduces them to three. According to him, ſhe burnt but two, at two different Times, and there was but one left for the *Romans*. Whether his ſingle Teſtimony ought to prevail, the Reader is Judge. Add to this, that theſe Books were not made of Barks of Trees, or Skins. *Symmachus* tells us theſe Oracles were written upon *Cloth*. *Cumanos monitus*, ſays he, *lintea ſumpſerunt*. And this is confirmed by *Claudian* in theſe Words,

——*Quid carmine poſcat*
Fatidico, Cuſtos Romani Carbaſus *ævi.*

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which ſhe offered to ſell, and for which ſhe demanded a conſiderable Price. *Tarquin*, who did not know the Value of theſe Books, refuſed to give ſo much for them. Upon this, the Woman withdrew, and without declaring that theſe Volumes contained the Prophecies of the *Sybil* of *Cumæ*, burned three of them. Some time after, ſhe returned, and asked the ſame Price, for the ſix remaining Volumes, as ſhe had done for the whole nine. She was therefore taken for a mad Woman, rejected with Scorn, and forced to be gone. Upon her return home, ſhe burned half of thoſe ſhe had left, and preſerved but three. In ſhort, ſhe ventured to go to *Tarquin*'s Palace, a third time, without being diſcouraged, and offered the remaining Part of her Books, at the ſame Price ſhe had asked for the Whole. The Novelty of this Proceeding, and the Conſtancy of the Stranger, made *Tarquin* curious to have the three Books examined. They were put into the Hands of the *Augurs*, who, directed by Signs peculiar to their Art, declared, that the Court had inconſiderately deſpiſed a Preſent ſent from Heaven, and had been guilty of an irreparable Fault, in ſuffering two thirds of ſuch venerable Oracles to be deſtroyed. The Woman was paid the Sum ſhe asked, and then diſappeared, after having adviſed the *Romans* to preſerve her Books with Care. After this, *Rome* began to have a religious Reſpect for theſe Oracles. They were afterwards conſidered as a Source, to which they were to apply for Anſwers in all Difficulties of State; eſpecially when any extraordinary Event had filled Mens Minds with Terror. *Tarquin*, either becauſe he himſelf had a ſincere Eſteem for theſe Prophecies, or becauſe he thought he might make uſe of them to ſerve his political Deſigns, nominated two Perſons of Diſtinction, to be honorary Guardians of them; and two others, of a lower Rank, under them, to take care of them. Theſe *Duumviri* [85], for ſo they were firſt called, were conſiderable Men at *Rome*. We ſhall ſee, at a proper Time, that the Number of them was afterwards encreaſed, and that they were brought up to fifteen, at leaſt. As for the Books of the *Sybil*, they were locked up in a Vault, under the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, when that was built; and they were afterwards burned with the Temple it ſelf. Hiſtory tells us, the keeping of theſe Oracles became fatal to one of the *Duumviri*, who was firſt appointed to take care of them, by *Tarquin*. His Name was *M. Attilius*: He was accuſed by the Perſon under him (who had been placed as a Spy upon him) of being [86] unfaithful in his Office. Upon this, the Puniſhment decreed againſt him was both ſevere and ignominious. He was treated as a [87] Parricide; that is, was wrapped

Silver

85 Theſe *Duumviri*, who were afterwards encreaſed ſo, as to become *Decemviri*, and then *Quindecimviri*, were conſiderable Men in *Rome*. They were ſucceſſively called, in proportion as the Number of the Members of their College gradually encreaſed, *Duumviri*, *Decemviri*, *Quindecimviri*, *Sacris faciundis*. It was their Buſineſs to conſult the *Sybilline* Books, whenever the Senate thought it proper. But recourſe was never had to them, unleſs when under ſome great publick Calamity, as when a dangerous Sedition threatned the State, when the *Roman* Armies had been defeated, or when any of thoſe Prodigies appeared, which were thought fatal to *Rome*; as for inſtance, an Eruption of the Fire of *Veſuvius* or *Ætna*, or ſome monſtrous Birth of Man or Beaſt. Then the *Duumviri* had the Care of putting in execution, whatever they thought commanded by the Books of the *Sybils*. They preſided over the Sacrifices, and publick Sports, which they appointed, to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven. And laſtly, they ordered every thing that related to the *Ludi Seculares*. Their Office was for Life, and they were exempted from Taxes, as well as from Civil or Military Employments. This ſort of Magiſtracy continued at *Rome*, till the Time of *Theodoſius*, when it was aboliſhed with the reſt of the *Roman* Superſtitions. On a Medal of the *Manlian* Family, there is the Head of a *Sybil*; and on the Reverſe, a *Tripos*, with the Veſſel uſed in Libations. Whence it is conjectured, that *Lucius Torquatus*, whoſe Name the Medal bears, was one of the *Quindecimviri*, to whom the Republick committed the keeping of the *Sybiline* Books. We ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak of the Authority of theſe Books, in another Place. It is ſufficient to obſerve here, that the *Sybils* were held in ſo great Reputation at *Rome*, that three Statues were erected to their Honour, before the *Roſtra*.

86 According to *Val. Maximus*, *Marcus Attilius* had lent the *Sybiline* Books to one *Petronius*, who took a Copy of them. The ſame Author gives *Marcus Attilius* the Name of *Marcus Tullius*.

87 The ſame Puniſhment, ſays *Valerius Maximus*, was afterwards enjoined againſt Parricides. *A*

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wrapped up alive in the Skin of an Ox, and thrown into the Sea. This remarkable Puniſhment, which was perhaps the Effect of the Tyrant's Hatred and Artifice, gained great Veneration to theſe Prophecies, which were turned to any Senſe, and arbitrarily applied to any Circumſtances, and Purpoſes, to which thoſe who governed *Rome*, for the Time being, thought proper to apply them.

TARQUIN THE SECOND. *Pomponius de Orig. Juris.*

UNDER the ſame *Tarquin*'s Reign, the written *Civil Law* had its Riſe among the *Romans*. *Papirius*, who probably was then a Senator, (for the *Papirian* Family was *Patrician*) was the Author of it. He collected into one Body all the Laws the *Kings* of *Rome* had enacted to his Time; and this *Code* was called *The Papirian Law*. Some pretend, that *Papirius*'s Work did not continue long in Uſe, ſince the Laws of the *Kings* did not ſurvive *Tarquin the Proud*, but were aboliſhed with the regal Power. But this Opinion ought to be confined within juſt Bounds. It is true, the Laws that favoured the Monarchick State were aboliſhed after the Revolution, which changed the Government of *Rome* into a Republick. But the Laws which related to good Polity in general, ſuch as thoſe of *Servius Tullius*, concerning Commerce, Contracts, the *Cenſus*, and the *Luſtra*, always continued in Force. It may likewiſe be affirmed, that the Laws of *Romulus*, *Numa*, and other *Kings*, were ſtill reſpected, and ever continued to be, as it were, the Ground-work of the *Roman* Law.

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Year of *ROME* CCXLII.

§.XXXVII. *ROME* ſtill continued to enjoy Peace, tho' the Diſcontents of the People were as great as ever. The *Æqui* were entered into the *Latin* Confederacy, and the *Hetrurians* had renewed their Treaty with the King of *Rome*. *Tarquin* therefore took hold of ſo favourable an Opportunity, to carry on the magnificent Work his Grandfather had begun; namely, the famous Temple of the *Capitol*, the *Area* of which *Tarquin the Elder* had levelled, and formerly dedicated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. This ſtately Edifice was not yet raiſed above Ground, nor were ſo much as the Foundations of it laid. Nevertheleſs, the Grandſon fully executed his Grandfather's Vow. The Money neceſſary for this magnificent Structure, [88] had been laid by for it, ever ſince the taking of *Sueſſa*. *Tarquin* therefore got Architects and Workmen from *Hetruria*: and as to the laborious Part, he made his Subjects the Drudges, in carrying on this Building, as he had done, in ſo many other Undertakings, which were not coloured with the leaſt Pretence of Piety. The Plan of this ſo boaſted a Monument of the Religion of the *Romans*, is preſerved by the Hiſtorians; and *Dion. Hal.* gives us a very particular Deſcription of it. Tho', after all, it is uncertain whether this Author has not rather repreſented it as it was, when he ſaw it in *Auguſtus*'s Time, than as it was, immediately after it was firſt erected. However, we will here give the Reader, in one View, all that Antiquity has told us of it.

THE Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* [89] was ſituated on the Top of the Hill *Tarpeius*, which had been long ſince made a Part of *Rome*. The Original of this new Name

Silver

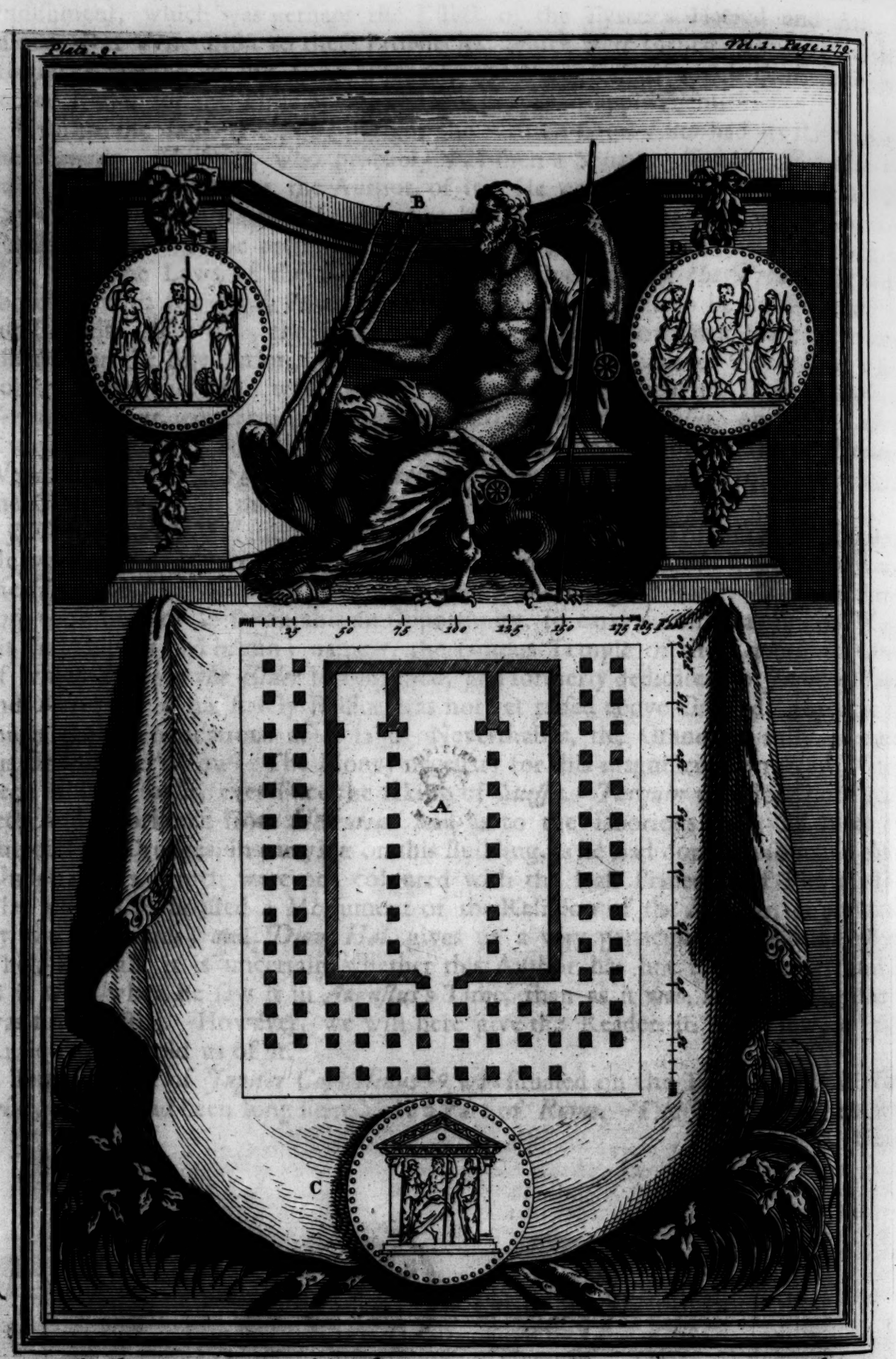
Son who rebels againſt his Father, and a Man without any Religion, or Reſpect for the Gods, are equally criminal, and deſerve the ſame Puniſhment.

88 It was ſaid in *Plutarch*'s Time, that *Tarquin the Proud* had expended 80000 *Marks* of Silver, only for the Foundations of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. And *Piſo*, in *Livy*, declares the ſame thing. But *Livy* himſelf rather chuſes to believe *Fabius*, who reduces this Sum to forty, or rather as we read it, in the beſt Editions of *Livy*, to 400 *Talents*; which amounts to 1200000 *Livres*, at 1000 Crowns the *Talent*.

77500 *l. according to* Arbuthnot.

89 We have the Form of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, on many Medals; among others, on one of the *Petilian* Family. On it, is a Frontiſpiece of only ſix Pillars, becauſe of the Narrowneſs of the Medal. According to *Nardini*, who has given us a Plan of this Temple, it had two Rows of Columns without it, which made a double *Portico*, like the *Diptera*, or *Temples with two Rows of Pillars*. In the Front, there was, beſide the two Rows of Pillars, a third which ſtood farther out, and formed the Frontiſpiece: but this Frontiſpiece was only the Breadth of the Temple it ſelf, without the Colonnades; ſo that this firſt Row of Columns had but eight in it, whereas the ſecond had twelve.

BRITISH MUSEUM



A. *The Ichnography of ỳ Temple of* Jupiter Capitolinus. B. *The most common Figure of* Jupiter. C. *One of* Trajan's *Medals*. D. *Another of ỳ Same Emperour*. E. *A Medal of* Antoninus.

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TARQUIN THE SECOND. *Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 257.* and *Livy, B. 1. ch. 55.*

Name of *The Capitol*, which was given this Hill, is, by Hiſtorians, ſaid to be this. It was firſt called the Hill *Saturnius*, then the Hill *Tarpeius*; and as the Workmen were digging the Foundations, or levelling the *Area* of the Temple of *Jupiter*, they are ſaid to have found, very deep in the Earth, the *Head* of a Man [90], whoſe Features were preſerved entire, and the Blood of it looked as red as if it had been but lately ſpilt. This the *Romans* looked on as a Prodigy, and conſulted [91] the *Hetrurians* upon it. And theſe Diviners inferred from thence, that *Rome* would ſome time or other become the Miſtreſs and *Head* of *Italy*. The Prodigy, and the Anſwer of the *Augurs* therefore, encouraged *Tarquin* to ſpare neither Pains nor Coſt, in the raiſing a Structure to the Honour of thoſe Gods, who were the Authors of ſo glorious a Deſtiny. Accordingly, the Foundations of it were marked out, and the Temple was built of almoſt a ſquare Form; for it was but fifteen Foot longer than it was broad. It ſtood upon eight Acres of Ground, and was reckoned to be two hundred Foot broad [92], and about two hundred fifteen Foot long. The Front of this great Building was to the South, that is, it faced the Hill *Palatinus*, and the *Forum Romanum*. An hundred Steps led up to it [93] from the *Forum*, which were divided at certain Diſtances, by large Half-paces, or Landing-places, to give thoſe

To give the Reader the more perfect Idea of it, we have drawn out the Ichnography of it, (till ſuch time as we come to give the Elevation of this Structure) according to the antient *Roman* Foot, which was called *The Foot of the Capitol*. This Foot was divided into twelve equal Parts, which the *Latins* called *Unciæ*. They were equal to eleven Inches, or thereabouts, of the *French Royal Foot*. *Petilius*, whoſe Name is inſcribed on the Medal, is evidently the ſame, who having been convicted of ſtealing a Crown of Gold, out of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, corrupted his Judges with Money, and was acquitted. *Horace* is very ſatyrical on this *Petilius*.

Mentioſi qua
De Capitolini furtis injecta Petili
Te coram fuerit, defendas, ut tuus eſt mos?
B. 1. Sat. 4.

The Surname of *Capitolinus* gives room to imagine, that *Petilius* was either a Prieſt of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, or had ſome Right of inſpecting the Temple, or, laſtly, had the Government of the *Capitol*, as moſt of the Commentators on *Horace* pretend.

90 If we may believe *Arnobius*, *B. 6. contra Gentes*, the Name of the Man, whoſe *Head* was found, was *Tolus*. So that the Word *Capitol* is compounded of *Caput* and *Tolus*. This *Tolus* muſt have been beheaded, ſince, according to *Dion. Hal.* there yet remained Blood in the Place where the Head had been ſeparated from the Body: which Blood, adds he, was yet freſh and red. It was doubtleſs nothing more than a natural Effect, which the Superſtition of the *Romans* turned into a Prodigy. According to *Riccius*, the Name of *Capitol* was given the Hill *Tarpeius*, only becauſe it was the *Capital* or chief Fortreſs in *Rome*.

91 The manner in which this Conſultation was held, is related by *Dion. Hal.* This we thought in it ſelf too trifling a Story to inſert in the Body of the Hiſtory: but it may not be improper to mention it here; that the Reader may from thence form a true Notion of the Cheats and Juggles of theſe Diviners, to whom too much Credit was given. *Tarquin* ſent Deputies into *Hetruria*, to conſult the moſt famous Pretender in the Countrey. When they came to the Diviner's Houſe, they found only his Son at home; the Father was gone out. Nevertheleſs, the young Man enquired of the *Romans* what the Subject Matter of their Conſultation was. The Reaſon of his Curioſity, he ſaid, was to prevent their making any Miſtakes in the Queſtions they ſhould put to the Prophet: Whereas, in all probability, it was only to inform his Father beforehand of their Buſineſs. Upon this, the Envoys gave the Son an Account of the Accident of the Head that had been found in digging the Foundations of the Temple. Take care then, replied the young Man, how you are enſnared by the Queſtions my Father will put to you. He will mark out the Topography of the Hill *Tarpeius* with his Rod upon the Sand: He will divide the Hill into four Parts, and then will ask you whether it was found in the Eaſt, Weſt, &c. But do you make him only a general Anſwer; Without this, you will be in danger of receiving only an ambiguous Anſwer from him. The *Romans* waited for the Return of the Diviner; who performed all the Ceremonies of his Art before them, and asked them about the Place where the Head had been found. To which the Deputies only anſwered, that it was on the Hill *Tarpeius*. Then the Prophet, when he found he could delude the Deputies no farther, declared, that the *Head* which was found, was a Sign that *Rome* would be the *Head* of *Italy*. But *Livy* ſays more than *Dion. Hal.*; he makes the Diviner foretel, that *Rome* would be the *Head* or *Capital* of the World. The one was then much more difficult to divine than the other. However, *Pliny* differs a little in the Circumſtances of this Story. By the help of Charms, ſays this Author, one can guard againſt Preſages, and ſo far change the Decree of the Fates, as to transfer the Thing preſaged from one Country to another. To which he adds, that *Olenus Calenus* was the *Hetrurian* Diviner, to whom the *Romans* applied themſelves; and that he, foreſeeing the future Grandeur of *Rome*, in the new Event, tried all Ways, to transfer the happy Deſtiny of that City to his own Country, by captious Queſtions, which the Deputies evaded. In ſhort, continues he, it was expreſly declared, in the Annals, that the Fortune of *Rome* would have befallen *Hetruria*, if the Embaſſadors had ſuffered themſelves to be ſurprized.

92 *Dion. Hal.* affirms, that this Temple was near two hundred Foot long, by near as many broad. At leaſt he aſſures us, that there was not fifteen Foot difference between its Length and Breadth.

93 The greateſt part of the Antients, and after them *Juſtus Lipſius*, agree, that there were an hundred Steps which led up to the *Capitol*. But did theſe Steps reach from the *Forum* to the *Capitol*, or did they begin in the Court of the *Capitol*? This is Matter of Diſpute among the Moderns: and they ſupport themſelves with all the Authorities they can, upon this Subject. Some think they have reaſon to ſay, the Steps did not reach from the *Forum* to the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; but that you went up from the *Forum* by an eaſy Aſcent, till you came to the Court of the Temple, where the Steps began. They found their Opinion, upon the Cuſtom of thoſe who triumphed, which was, to be drawn in a Chariot from the *Forum* to the Top of the

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TARQUIN THE SECOND.

thoſe who went up time to breathe, before they came to the Top of the Hill, and the Foot of the *Portico*. This Front conſiſted of three Rows of Pillars; and the two Sides [94] of the Temple were adorned with a *Periſtyle*, conſiſting of a double Row of Pillars. It was, in After-ages, burnt down more than once [95]; and the *Romans* always rebuilt it, ſtill preſerving the ſame Proportions: till at laſt, the Embelliſhments [96] that were added to it, made it one of the richeſt Sanctuaries in the World. The whole Arch of this prodigious Building was gilt, both within and without. It contained three Chapels [97], if we may uſe the Expreſſion, one dedicated to *Jupiter*, another to *Juno*, and the third to *Minerva*. Theſe were as

Braſs

Silver

it were three Temples [98] under the ſame Roof. It was obſerved, that the *Romans* aſſiſted in the raiſing this ſtately Work, with more readineſs and pleaſure, than in the building of the other publick Monuments. Religion encouraged them in their Labours. And it is likewiſe probable, that they contributed towards the Charges of this magnificent Undertaking, out of their Eſtates. At leaſt, it's certain, the Money taken at the ſacking of *Sueſſa*, was ſcarce ſufficient to raiſe the Foundations of this Building. Nevertheleſs, Heaven did not permit *Tarquin* to put the

the Hill. Others contend, that the Steps reached from the Foot of the *Capitol*, where the *Forum* ended, to the Temple. There muſt have been this Height, ſay they, by the Number of Steps *Tacitus* mentions. The Reader is therefore at liberty to chuſe which Opinion he pleaſes. As for myſelf, I think one might reconcile the different Parties, without heaping together ſo many Paſſages of Authors, by ſaying, that there was an aſcending Way, on one Side for the Triumphal Chariots, and Steps, on the other, for ſuch as walked. Thoſe who are very nice about theſe minute Circumſtances, may conſult *Donatus de Urbe Rom.* and *Riccius de Capitolio Rom.*

94 The End oppoſite to the Front had no *Portico*. This Part, which was indeed the End of the Temple, was taken up with three great Oratories, or Chapels, conſecrated to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*.

95 1ſt, The *Capitol* was burnt in *Sylla*'s Time, by the Negligence of thoſe that kept it. *Sylla* rebuilt it, and made it more magnificent than before. And *Livy* ſeems to ſay, that the *Capitol* was deſtroyed when *Rome* was taken by the *Gauls*. His Words are, *Capitolium quoque ſaxo quadrato ſubſtructum eſt*: and this is the Senſe of this Paſſage, which has been miſunderſtood. *Livy* intended to ſay, that after the Ravages of the *Gauls*, that Terras was rebuilt with hewn Stones, which ſupported the Ground, on which the *Capitol* ſtood, and which *Tarquin the Elder* had only built with rough Stones. 2dly, The *Capitol* was burnt a ſecond time in *Vitellius*'s Reign; and *Veſpaſian* repaired it. 3dly, It was burnt again under *Titus*, and *Domitian* rebuilt it; but always upon the old Foundations of *Tarquin*. It is ſaid this Temple would conveniently hold about eight thouſand Men.

96 The gilding of the whole Arch of the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* was a Work the *Romans* undertook, ſays *Pliny*, *B.* 33. after the Deſtruction of *Carthage*. He adds, that it was doubted in his time, whether it was *Catulus* who had gilt all the Outſide of it. The Preſents that were made towards it, exceed all Belief. If we reduce the 12000 *Talents Plutarch* ſpeaks of, to *French* Money, the gilding only of this great Building will appear to amount to ſeven Millions *French*. The Gates of this Temple were of Braſs, covered with large Plates of Gold. The Inſide of it was all Marble, and the Columns which ſupported it, were of a valuable Marble brought from *Athens*. The Proportions of them were a little injured, in cutting them at *Rome*, and by too much poliſhing.

97 The Medals ſhew this. On one of *Trajan*'s, *Jupiter* is ſitting between *Juno* and *Minerva*. On another of the ſame Emperor, we ſee theſe three Divinities ſtanding. On a Medal of *Antoninus*, they are all ſitting. And on the Reverſe of another of this Emperor, we ſee the Figures of three Birds, an Owl, an Eagle, and a Peacock, which Animals are well known to be the Symbols of *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. The Eagle was conſecrated to *Jupiter*, the Peacock to *Juno*, and the Owl to *Minerva*. A Medal of *Vitellius* repreſents *Jupiter Capitolinus* ſitting in the inner Part of his Temple. The Medals agree with the Writers in generally giving him that Poſture. The Statue of this God was firſt made either of coloured Plaiſter, or of ſome common Materials: but it was afterwards made of maſſy Gold. The Ornaments of Architecture with which this Temple was embelliſhed within and without, the Goldſmith's Work, and the immenſe Riches which were expended in its Decorations, ſeem to have exhauſted the Art of the Workmen, and the Magnificence of the *Romans*; as will appear in the Courſe of this Hiſtory. Both antient and modern Authors have laboured to give us an exact Deſcription of this ſtately Structure.

98 The Inſide of the Temple was divided into three Parts, by two Rows of Columns, which made the Nave and the two Iſles. The Nave anſwered to the Chapel of *Jupiter*, and the two Iſles ended in thoſe of *Juno* and *Minerva*. Theſe three Divinities were, under the ſame Roof, or, according to the *Greek* Text of *Dion. Hal.* under the ſame Eagle; that is, according to the Interpretation of *Donatus* and *Riccius*, the Top of the Temple was of a triangular Form, and was like an Eagle flaming in the Air.

laſt Hand to it [99], and dedicate it: This Honour was reſerved for a *Roman Conſul*, in the Time of the Republick.

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§. XXXVIII. WHILST *Tarquin* was employed in erecting this Temple, a cruel Plague ravaged *Rome*. *Livy*, who gives every thing the Air of a Miracle, either deſcribes it under the Character of a Prodigy, or makes it foretold by a miraculous Event. According to him, a Serpent came ſuddenly out of a wooden Pillar, and at the Sight of it, the People fled away in Confuſion, and ſought for Refuge in the King's Palace. And this Commotion, ſays he, gave *Tarquin* more Trouble than Fear. But the Truth contained under this figurative Way of ſpeaking is, that an epidemical Diſeaſe deſtroyed the greateſt Part of the *Roman* Youth. It chiefly ſeized the Children of both Sexes, and reached even to Women with Child. All Parts of the City were ſoon infected with it; the dead and dying lay in Heaps one upon another, in all the Streets of *Rome*, and no Remedy was to be found. The Uſurper was ſuſpicious; Superſtition, from which he was not free, increaſed his Diſtruſts; and another extraordinary Event had likewiſe intimidated him. A great Palm-tree raiſed its Head high in the Air, pretty near his Palace; upon the Branches of which an Eagle had made her Neſt in the Beginning of the Spring. But Vulturs came whilſt the Eagles were out after Prey, deſtroyed the Neſt, and devoured the young Eagles; and when the old ones returned, the Vulturs beat them off with their Beaks, and made themſelves Maſters of the Palm-tree. *Dion. Hal.* B. 4. *p.* 261.

BUT whatever there be in this Story, which ſeems to have been invented *ex poſt facto*, and is but too natural a Repreſentation of the Expulſion of *Tarquin* and his Children, from a victorious City, ſignified by the Palm-tree; it is at leaſt certain, that the King ſent at that time to conſult the Oracle of *Delphos* [100], either about the publick Misfortunes, or his own private Apprehenſions. The Circumſtances of this Deputation, to which *Tarquin* reſolved to give as much Luſtre, and make it as ſafe as poſſible, were as follow.

HE did not think it proper to entruſt any but his own Children with the Secret of this Embaſſy; and therefore *Arunx* and *Titus* were pitched upon to go to *Delphos*. And *Junius*, the Son of that venerable *Patrician*, whom *Tarquin* had cauſed to be murdered, in the very Beginning of his Reign, in order to take Poſſeſſion of his Eſtate, was one of the Attendants on the two Princes. He had long acted the Part of a Madman, at Court, and the brutiſh Stupidity he counterfeited, gained him the Name of *Brutus*. His affected Follies had ſomething inexpreſſibly amuſing in them, and as he was Maſter of them, he knew how to make uſe of them with Art, and ſuppreſs them when they would be unſeaſonable. Perhaps never was a more profound Wiſdom than what he concealed under the Appearances of Stupidity. *Brutus* had been brought up, ever ſince his Father's Death, in the King's Palace, with the Princes his Couſins; and as he made Sport for them, he was inſeparable from them. He was therefore appointed to take the Journey with them, and got ready to ſet out for *Delphos*. The Princes prepared magnificent Preſents for *Apollo*, whoſe Oracle they went to conſult: And *Brutus* likewiſe, in his Turn, reſolved to carry his offering too. But the Preſent he intended to make the God, was Matter of Diverſion for the whole Court: It was an Elder-ſtick. However, as he was perſuaded that the Gods of that Time (that is, their Miniſters,) were ſomewhat affected *Dion. Hal.* B. 4. *p.* 264. *Liv.* B. 1. *c.* 56. *Val. Max.* *Plin.* &c.

[99] As we advance in this Hiſtory, we ſhall find that both the *Romans* and foreign Nations gloried in contributing to the Decorations of this Temple, and enriching it with their Preſents. And indeed, it grew into ſuch high Veneration, that the *Emperors* and *Generals* of the Army made their Vows there, before they ſet out on any military Expedition. The Conquerors, when they returned from their Armies, brought their Preſents to it, and came and there paid their Homage for their Victories. The *Conſuls*, out of Reſpect to it, put on their *Conſular* Robes in it. In a private Part of the Temple, were kept two Crowns of Gold; one of which had been conſecrated to *Jupiter* by the *Gauls*, and the other had been ſent by the *Carthaginians*, by way of congratulating the *Romans*, on the Victory they had gained over the *Samnites*. And, among other rich Spoils and Trophies, with which this Temple was adorned, there was a Statue of *Victory*, of maſſy Gold, of 320 Pounds Weight; which was a Preſent of *Hiero*, King of *Syracuſe*. In the ſame Temple were preſerved the Tables of the *Roman* Laws, a Copy of which was kept in the Archives.

[100] *Delphos* was formerly a City of *Phocis*, ſituated near the South Part, of the Hill *Parnaſſus*. It became famous for the great Concourſe of People, which came thither to conſult the Oracle of *Apollo*, and for the ſtately Temple which was built to the Honour of this God, in that City. It is now nothing but a vaſt Heap of Ruins. Near it is a little Village, which bears the Name of *Caſtri*, according to *Sophienus*; but others call that ſame Place *Salona*. We have the Hiſtory of the Oracle of *Delphos* at length, in *Pauſanias*, B. 10. *Dio.* B. 62. *Diodorus*, *Cedrenus*, *Suidas* and *Oroſius*.

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with the Value of the Preſents that were made to them, he had the Precaution to incloſe a Rod of Gold in his Stick, without any Body's Knowledge. This was a true Symbol of his own Mind and Conduct. *Brutus* concealed the moſt valuable Gifts of Nature under a contemptible Out-ſide. All things being got ready, they ſet out for *Delphos*, and arrived there ſafe. The Oracle was conſulted in *Tarquin*'s Name, on the Buſineſs of the Deputation; the Preſents were offered, and the Anſwers given. Which it is probable declared there would ſoon be a new Reign, ſince the King's Sons, and *Brutus* with them, ventured to ask the Oracle which of the three ſhould ſucceed *Tarquin*. In all probability, the Name of *Brutus* was put into the Queſtion, merely by way of Jeſt. However, a Voice was heard from the Bottom of the ſubterranean Cave, from whence the Anſwers of the God came, which declared that the Government of the *Romans* was deſtined to him, *who ſhould firſt give a Kiſs to his Mother*. At which Words *Brutus*, who counterfeited Aukwardneſs, tumbled down, and, without being perceived, kiſſed the Earth, that common Mother of all living. And by this means, he is ſaid to have ſecured to himſelf a Dominion in *Rome*, under the Name of *Conſul*, which was leſs durable indeed, but not of leſs Authority, than that of the *Kings*.

THE two Brothers agreed between themſelves to keep the Oracle a Secret, leſt if it ſhould be known to their third Brother *Sextus*, he ſhould be beforehand with them in the Execution of it. All the Diſpute therefore between *Arunx* and *Titus* was, which ſhould firſt give a Kiſs to their Mother *Tullia*. In order to determine this, ſome ſay they drew Lots; and others, that they agreed firſt to ſalute the Queen together at the ſame Inſtant, and then to reign together. But be that as it will, for Contradictions ſignify little in a Fable, they returned to *Rome*, where the Revolution which changed the *Roman* Monarchy into a Republick, was juſt coming to a Head.

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§. XXXIX. AT their Return from *Delphos* the two Brothers found the City in a Commotion, on account of the War the King had declared with the *Rutuli*. Their Country was ſituated on the Sea-ſhore, and was a Part of *Latium*; but it is doubtful whether they had entred into the Confederacy which *Tarquin the Proud* had made with the *Latins*. At leaſt, it is certain, that notwithſtanding the Alliance of the *Latins* with the King of *Rome*, the *Rutuli* had often given the voluntary Exiles, and proſcribed Citizens of *Rome*, a Retreat among them. But after all, *Tarquin* was actuated by other Motives than that of the Defection of the *Rutuli*, to ruin and deſtroy them. *Ardea* [101], their Capital, was a wealthy City. *Tarquin* promiſed himſelf, that the Spoil he ſhould take in it would fill his Treaſury, which was exhauſted by the building the Temple of *Jupiter*, and ſo many other Works, which ſerved either for the Decoration of *Rome*, or the Convenience of the *Romans*. Beſides, the People murmured that thoſe Hands were employed in ſervile Offices, which were more fit to ſignalize themſelves in Battles. *Tarquin* therefore, whom Age and Experience had a little ſoftened, then thought of regaining the Hearts of his Subjects, and bringing them into Temper, by the Hopes of ſharing the Spoils of a Nation, which the Neighbourhood of the Sea had enriched. The *Roman* Army marched towards *Ardea*, with Confidence that they ſhould take it without Oppoſition. But the Project did not ſucceed; they were forced to beſiege it in Form. The Expences neceſſary for this new Enterprize, obliged the King to lay an extraordinary Tax upon his People. This Tax encreaſed the Number of the Male-contents, and the King did not reap the Advantages he had hoped for, from the War with the *Rutuli*. So far was he from gaining the Hearts of his *Romans* by it, that he found among them a general Inclination to a Revolt. Nevertheleſs, the King was too proud to go back. He preſſed on the Siege with all the Ardour of a valiant General; but the Bravery of the Beſieged kept him long before the Place. In the mean time, as the War was carried on but ſlowly, the General Officers of the *Roman* Army ſpent the Leiſure they had, in agreeable Diverſions. They went to one another's Quarters, and mutually invited one another to Entertainments. It happened, that *Sextus Tarquinius* entertained his Brothers and Friends, in his Turn; and *Collatinus* was at the Feaſt. This Gentleman was *Egerius*'s Grandſon,

Liv. B. 1. c. 57.

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 261,

Livy, ibid.

101 *Ardea* was the Capital of the *Rutuli*, three Miles from the Sea, and twenty from *Rome*. The Place where it formerly ſtood retains the Name of *Ardea* to this Day.

and

and that Nephew of *Tarquin the Elder* to whom the fifth King of *Rome* had formerly given the Property of the City and Territory of [102] *Collatia*. There *Collatinus* had his Reſidence, and there enjoyed the Sweets of an happy Marriage, with his new Wife *Lucretia*. This Lady was eſteemed throughout the whole Country, as the moſt accompliſhed Perſon in *Latium*. She was ſo beautiful as to charm the Eyes of all who beheld her, and yet ſo modeſt as to ſtrike an Awe upon the moſt daring. Though formed to ſhine in publick Life, her whole Delight was in Retirement; and when Decency obliged her to ſhew her ſelf, ſhe never ſuffered her good Breeding to carry her ſo far, as to give room for the leaſt Suſpicion, to the Diſadvantage of her Virtue. She was of a ſweet and obliging Temper, and had nothing like Pride, but with reſpect to her Honour; but ſhe thought that of ſo delicate a Nature, that the leaſt Stain upon it was a Crime, not to be expiated, but with all her Blood. So many Perfections had therefore made her the Object of her Husband's tendereſt Affections and Eſteem. *Collatinus* loved her to Adoration, and took a Pleaſure in boaſting of his Happineſs, wherever he came. Now it happened, that the Converſation, in the preſent Entertainment, turned, either by Accident or Deſign, on the Merit of Wives. Every one preſent exaggerated the good Qualities of his own; but none ſeemed more earneſt in commending his, than the happy *Collatinus*. In ſhort, they took that Method to end the Diſpute, which Joy and Wine inſpired; and that was, immediately to mount their Horſes, and go and ſurprize their Wives. They agreed, that ſhe, whom they found employed in a Manner moſt worthy of her Sex, ſhould have the Preference, and be allowed to have the greateſt Merit. Inſtantly the three Sons of *Tarquin*, accompanied by *Collatinus* their Relation, ſet out for *Rome*, got quickly there in the Beginning of the Night, and went to their Wives; who were much ſurprized at the unexpected Return of their Husbands. They found the three *Roman* Ladies wholly taken up with their Pleaſures; they had made a Feaſt among themſelves, at which Joy and Plenty reigned. Then they haſtened away to *Collatia*, without Delay; but the Night was already far advanced by that time they got thither. Nevertheleſs, they found *Lucretia* ſtill up, with her Maids about her, ſpinning with them, and working in Wool. The Company her Husband brought to her, did not at all diſcompoſe her; and all were well ſatisfied with the Reception ſhe gave them. Fatal Interview! in which *Sextus Tarquinius* conceived a Paſſion, which afterwards became fatal to his Father, Himſelf, his Brothers, and the unfortunate *Lucretia*! *Sextus* was even then very unwilling to leave *Collatia*; but there was an abſolute Neceſſity for his returning to the Camp before *Ardea*.

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Liv. B. 1. c. 57.

THE Toils of War did not at all abate the unlawful Flame which devoured *Sextus*. His Impatience continually called him back to *Collatia*. He therefore ſoon returned thither under Pretence of giving Orders there, about the Siege of *Ardea*. He lodged at *Collatinus*'s Houſe, who was his Relation and Friend; and, in the Abſence of her Husband, *Lucretia* did the Honours of the Houſe with great Dignity. They ſupped together, and after Supper *Sextus* was conducted to the Apartment which was appointed for him. And now his own Reflections tormented him, at the Approach of the Crime he was ready to commit. He repreſented to himſelf the Birth of *Lucretia*; the Affront he was going to offer to an illuſtrious Family, which had great Intereſt in *Rome*; (for *Lucretia* was a *Roman*;) the Injury he was going to do his Relation, who was Maſter of *Collatia*; the Danger into which he might perhaps run himſelf there; and the Violation of the Laws of Hoſpitality. But he hardened himſelf againſt all theſe Conſiderations, and promiſed himſelf either Secreſy or Impunity. What moſt diſcouraged him, was the invincible Modeſty of *Lucretia*, that Steadineſs and Conſtancy in Virtue, which would not ſuffer her to bear any Hint towards the leaſt Deviation from it, and that modeſt Pride which had hitherto ſtruck him with ſuch an Awe, that he durſt not

[102] The antient *Collatia* ſtood, according to *Cluverius*, on this Side the *Anio*, ſix Miles from *Rome*, near the Place where the *Martana* and the *Anio* join. He ſupports himſelf in this Opinion upon the Authorities of *Pliny* and *Strabo*, who place this City in *Latium*. *Holſtenius* places it in the Territory of the *Sabines*, beyond the Conflux of the *Oſa* and the *Anio*, a little above *St. Symphoroſa*. If we may believe *Kircher*, *Collatia* ſtood between *Cruſtuminum* and *Fidena*. But all we infer from the different Authorities which are brought on all Sides, is, that this City was in the Neighbourhood of *Latium* and *Sabinia*, and ſometimes joined with the *Sabines*, ſometimes with the *Latins* and *Romans*, as it appeared to be her Intereſt.

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ſo much as ſigh before her. Nevertheleſs, he promiſed himſelf that he ſhould gain by Fear and Violence, what he could never hope to obtain by Careſſes. *Sextus* ſpent the beſt Part of the Night in a Struggle with theſe different Thoughts. Till at length, when he thought Sleep had cloſed all Eyes, he ſtole into *Lucretia*'s Apartment, and paſt ſoftly through her Women, who lay almoſt at her Door. But the firſt Noiſe waked the Lady; and how great muſt her Surprize have been, to hear *Sextus*'s Voice! *It is I*, ſaid the infamous Son of *Tarquin*, *if you but once cry out, you are a dead Woman.* Then mixing Threatnings with Careſſes, he declared his Paſſion, and made her feel the Sword he had in his Hand. But neither the Fear of Death, nor the flattering Promiſes of *Sextus*, could ſtagger the chaſte *Lucretia*. The Dread of dying in Infamy, was the only Conſideration which violently extorted that Conſent from her, which ſhe otherwiſe would never have given. *Your Refuſal*, adds the Raviſher, *ſhall not only coſt you your Life, you ſhall with it loſe likewiſe that Reputation for Virtue, which makes you ſo proud. After I have ſtabbed you, I will kill one of your Slaves, and put him by your Side, and will every where declare, that I only revenged the injured Honour of my Relation* Collatinus. *And when you are by this Means deprived of Burial, and thought infamous, what Good will it do you to have reſiſted my Will?* Thus, by taking the Advantage of her Weakneſs, *Sextus* found Means to ſubdue this generous *Roman*. The Love of Glory had made her chaſte; and now the Fear of Infamy makes her yield to his Deſires. So little Streſs and Dependance is to be laid on the Principles of Pagan Virtue!

EARLY the next Morning, *Sextus* appeared again in the Camp: Whilſt *Lucretia*, having now eſcaped the Danger of loſing her Reputation, conſidered the Loſs of her Life as nothing. She dreſſed her ſelf in Mourning, took a Dagger under her Robe, wrote to her Husband to come to her Father *Lucretius*'s Houſe, got into her Chariot, and came to *Rome*. People were ſurprized to ſee her wear all the Marks of the deepeſt Sorrow, and often asked her, as ſhe paſſed by, what was the Cauſe of her Grief: But ſhe anſwered them only by weeping. And when ſhe came to her Father's Houſe, ſhe threw her ſelf at his Feet, and bathed them with her Tears, in the Preſence of a few Relations, who were accidentally there. *You ſee proſtrate at your Feet*, ſaid ſhe to him, *a Woman whom another Perſon's Crime has involved in Guilt, and who abhors the Light of the Sun. Be therefore neither ſo cruel as to deſpiſe me, for the Injury I have received; nor ſo fearful as not to dare to revenge it.* At theſe Words, they raiſed her up, and deſired her to declare the melancholy Occaſion which brought her to *Rome*, and the Author of the Injury of which ſhe complained. To which ſhe replied, *The Recital of my Misfortunes ought only to be made, in an Aſſembly of all our Relations, and all your Friends. Call them together therefore, and let every Perſon in* Rome, *if it be poſſible, hear it only from my own Mouth.* This ſaid, ſhe continued in a mournful Silence. She could not carry her Complaiſance ſo far, as even to ſatisfy the Curioſity of her Father, and her Relations, concerning the Cauſe of her Grief. Whilſt ſhe continued under the moſt terrible Dejection, the beſt Part of the *Roman* Nobility ran to *Lucretius*'s Houſe. Among the reſt, came *Collatinus*, *Lucretia*'s Husband, and with him, *P. Valerius* [103], the Son of *Voleſus*, and *Junius Brutus*, who ſeems to have only waited for this very Moment to throw off the Mask of Madneſs. When the Aſſembly was pretty numerous, *Lucretia* addreſſed her ſelf to her Husband, in this Manner: *Return, my Lord, return to* Collatia, *and view the nuptial Bed, which* Hymen *had conſecrated, and of which Chaſtity was the Guardian. You will there find Traces of my Shame, and your Diſhonour. It is true, my Heart continued faithful, but my Body has juſt been polluted. A treacherous Enemy introduced himſelf into your Houſe, under the ſpurious Cover of Hoſpitality.* Sextus Tarquinius, *by robbing me of my Honour, has made me an Accomplice in a Crime, which can never be expiated, but by his Death, and my own. As to the latter, I will deſire the Aſſiſtance of no Arm but this, to put an End to my Days. And it is incumbent on you,* Romans, *to lend yours to puniſh a perfidious Villain, who is much more criminal than an unfortunate Woman, who condemns her ſelf to Death.*

Liv. B. 1. c. 58.

103 This is the ſame *P. Valerius*, who was originally of *Sabinia*, and whoſe Anceſtors came to *Rome* with *Tatius* King of the *Sabines*. He afterwards bore the Surname of *Poplicola*.

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THESE Words raiſed Indignation and Pity in every Heart. The Company in vain endeavoured to comfort *Lucretia*, and to divert the Reſolution ſhe had taken, of putting an end to her Life. They repreſented to her, that the Body can never be criminal, when the Heart is innocent. But the *Roman* Heroine was attentive only to her Glory, and her Grief. She went, and embraced her Father and her Husband, in a Flood of Tears, as if to take her laſt Farewel of them; and then, without being perceived, ſtuck the Dagger ſhe had brought with her [104], into her Heart. She fell down, expiring at the Feet of her Relations; and the Blood which ſhe ſhed, only to atteſt her Innocence, or repair her Glory, ſerved likewiſe to cement the League of thoſe illuſtrious Citizens, who gave Liberty to *Rome*, and delivered her from the Yoke, under which ſhe laboured.

§. XL. FOR whilſt ſo tragical an End filled the Spectators with Grief and Conſternation, *Brutus* came to the dying Lady, drew the Ponyard, with which ſhe had ſtabbed her ſelf, out of her Boſom; and then holding it in his Hand, all over bloody, and ſhewing it to the Aſſembly, ſaid, *I ſwear by this Blood, which was once ſo untainted, and which nothing could pollute, but the Villany of a deteſtable* Tarquin, *that I will purſue the King, the Queen, and their Children, with Fire and Sword; and will do my utmoſt to extirpate out of* Rome *a Race of Villains, who infect the* Roman *Throne. Ye Gods! I call you to witneſs this my Oath.* At theſe Words he preſented the Dagger to *Collatinus*, made *Lucretius* and *Valerius* ſucceſſively take it into their Hands, and engaged them to take the ſame Oath which he had juſt pronounced. Theſe noble *Romans* were ſurprized at the unexpected and ſudden Appearance of ſo much Wiſdom in an Idiot; and entirely gave themſelves up to his Counſels, as thinking him a Man inſpired. And their Surprize was yet greater, when they ſaw him take the moſt proper Meaſures for the Execution of the Deſign, of which he was the Author. *Livy B. 1. ch. 59.*

YOU *will have time enough*, ſaid he to the Relations and Friends of *Lucretius*, *to lament the Death of ſo courageous a Relation and Friend. Let us now think of nothing but revenging it. Neither imagine, that what I ſay proceeds only from ſome ſudden Flight of a Man whom you have all along thought a Madman. That Madneſs was feigned only, as long as I thought it neceſſary to preſerve my Life from being taken away, by the Uſurper who deprived my Father of his. I have reſerved the Reaſon Heaven has given me, to be uſed on the firſt happy Opportunity. It is now come. It is therefore our Buſineſs to lay hold of it, and ſignalize it by ſome great Event. And in order to it, let us begin with making ourſelves Maſters of the City, ſhutting the Gates, and placing Guards at them, conſiſting of ſuch Perſons only, as are ſincere Friends to our dawning Liberty. Heaven, and your Counſels, will complete the reſt.* It was eaſy for *Lucretius* to ſecure the Gates of *Rome*; for *Tarquin*, at his Departure, had left him Governor of the City.

ALL admired the Conſtancy of *Brutus*, whom publick Deriſion, and a thouſand Inſults, for above twenty Years, could not provoke to throw off the Maſk of Stupidity. He was without difficulty choſen to be the Head of the Enterprize, which he carried on in this manner: He firſt took care, that none ſhould be ſuffered to go out of the City, for fear Intelligence ſhould be carried to *Ardea*, of the Steps which were taking at *Rome*. Then he cauſed the yet bloody Body of the brave *Lucretia* to be carried on a Litter; and the Father and Husband of the Deceaſed followed her, in a negligent Dreſs, to the Place where the *Comitia* were uſually held, that is, to the moſt frequented Place in *Rome*. They placed the Corpſe on high Steps, raiſed on purpoſe, over-againſt the Hall where the Senate uſed to aſſemble: and Officers were commanded to call the People together, who all ran to the Place, out of Curioſity, to ſee ſo mournful a Spectacle. Then *Brutus* aſcended *The Tribune*, whence Harangues uſed to be made, and plainly ſhewed, that his having kept at ſo great a diſtance from publick Affairs, had nei-

104 The *Romans* thought it meritorious to kill themſelves to avoid Infamy, or preſerve their Honour. To reſolve not to ſurvive Shame, was, with them, an heroical Act, which deſerved Immortality. But the *Thebans* would not ſuffer Men thus to lay violent Hands on themſelves. The *Athenians* branded with Shame the Memory of him who voluntarily killed himſelf. By their Laws, the Hand which gave the mortal Wound was cut off, and thrown upon a Lay-ſtall. *Plato* and *Seneca*, tho' aſſiſted only with the Light of Reaſon, could not help acknowledging, that the Gods alone, or rather the ſupreme Being, has a juſt Right to diſpoſe of our Lives. And *St. Auſtin* ſpeaks agreeably to the Principles of Chriſtianity, when he ſays of *Lucretia*, *Si inſons cur occiditur? ſi noxia, cur laudatur?*

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ther leſſened the Strength of his Underſtanding, or the Force of his Eloquence. He ſpoke thus:

I am ſenſible, illuſtrious Romans, *it muſt be new and ſurprizing to you, to ſee a Madman ſpeaking about the moſt important Affair* Rome *has had under Deliberation ever ſince her Foundation. But I muſt deſire you no longer to judge of me by your former Prejudices. A feigned Madneſs, after the cruel Murder of a Father and a Brother, whom* Tarquin *deſtroyed, was the only Refuge* Brutus *had to preſerve his Life. And by an Artifice ſo long and conſiſtently ſupported, you may judge of the Steddineſs of a Man, who now offers himſelf to be your Deliverer.* Tarquin, *the proud* Tarquin, *ſeated himſelf upon the Throne by an unjuſt Uſurpation: and his Reign has been only one continued Series of Murders, Proſcriptions, and Acts of Injuſtice. You yourſelves,* Romans, *have felt it, when being condemned by his Orders to Labours ſcarce to be endured by Slaves, and buried almoſt as low as Hell it ſelf, you were forced to breathe the infected Air of the Common-Sewers. Thoſe Hands which had been accuſtomed to conquer, were forced to quit the Sword for the Mattock and the Spade. Through his whole wicked Government, all Burdens have been laid upon the Citizens of* Rome, *and all Favours beſtowed on Strangers. What is become of the Honours and Privileges of your illuſtrious Body? This People, who formerly made Laws, have been of late oppreſſed by unjuſt ones. No more* Comitia, *no more Suffrages, no more Deliberations with you, about War or Peace. How long then ſhall we yet wait for the Recovery of our Liberty? What! till* Tarquin *is dead! Ye Gods! you have given him four Monſters for Sons, whoſe Names and Villanies ought to make them execrable in our Sight! No doubt, the Deſign of Heaven in this, is to intimate to us, that we ought to aboliſh the regal Office, ſince it refuſes to give us good Kings. For can we hope for any ſuch, of the Race of the* Tarquins? Romans, *turn your Eyes this Way. The illuſtrious Perſon you ſee lying dead before you, ſtill wet with her own Blood, has juſt now fallen a Victim to her Chaſtity, violated by one of* Tarquin's *Sons. The infamous* Sextus, *whom his Father deſigns for our Governor, has juſt made* Rome *a Preſent of the Firſt-fruits of his future Reign. What Security will you have any reaſon to expect from him, for your Daughters and your Wives? The generous Heroine, who has ſacrificed herſelf, teaches you at once, both what you to have to fear, and what you have to do. She turned her Arm againſt herſelf, to efface her Diſhonour. Let us turn ours againſt her Aſſaſſines, and our Oppreſſors. The Father is no more innocent than the Son. He killed his firſt Wife, murdered his own Brother, was polluted with Parricide, by aſſaſſinating his King, and his Adultery was ſucceeded by an inceſtuous Marriage. Theſe are the Crimes the* Tarquins *have brought us from* Greece, *from whence they originally came.* Greece *never produced any thing more enormous, or ſaw any thing more tragical. Take your Choice therefore,* Romans, *either tamely to bear with the worſt of Villanies, like Slaves; or to revenge and extirpate them, like Heroes. Will the Gods ever offer you a more favourable Opportunity of recovering your Liberty? The Senate and Nobility of* Rome *are ready to ſecond you. What! ſhall theſe Hearts, which were formerly ſo brave on all Occaſions, when Neighbours or Strangers were to be ſubdued; be only cowardly, when the Buſineſs is, to deliver themſelves from Slavery? The Army, which* Tarquin *commands before* Ardea, *ought not to intimidate you. The Soldiers of which it conſiſts, have left us, without deſigning it, very dear Hoſtages, which ſecure them to us. Their Wives and Children are at* Rome. *Beſides, the City is ſufficiently ſtored both with Arms and Proviſions. The imprudent* Tarquin *himſelf took care to fortify it, againſt his own Oppreſſions. Command therefore, illuſtrious* Romans, *do but command, and authorize the Enterprize with your Suffrages, and we promiſe you Liberty. O, immortal Gods! O ye Gods, who protected our Forefathers, and ye* Genii, *who take care of the Preſervation and Glory of* Rome, *it is you, that promiſe it us. And you ſhall therefore ſee us defend it, with our Counſels, our Eſtates, and our Arms, to the laſt Drop of our Blood. Protect us againſt our domeſtick Enemies, and we will defend your Temples and Altars from all Violence, if you grant us your Aſſiſtance!*

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 269.

BRUTUS's Harangue was often interrupted by the Acclamations of the People. Some wept, at the Remembrance of paſt Sufferings; others out of Joy, at the Hopes of a more happy Government; and all called for Arms. But

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TARQUIN THE SECOND.

Brutus did not judge it proper to arm the People, till they had firſt confirmed, by their Suffrages, a Decree of the Senate, which was to this effect. 1ſt, It condemned the *Tarquins*, and all their Poſterity, to perpetual Baniſhment. 2dly, It deprived them of all the Rights and Honours of the Regal Power. And, 3dly, It forbad every Citizen to ſay or do any thing in favour of them, upon pain of Death. *Brutus*, by a ſurprizing Inſtance of good Fortune, happened to be legally inveſted with the Right of aſſembling the *Comitia*. *Tarquin*, who took him for a Madman, had given him the Office of *Tribune*, or Commander in Chief, *of his Horſe-Guards*. The Power of aſſembling the *Comitia* was annexed to that Employment; which the King had given him in Dependence upon his Want of Underſtanding, and becauſe he thought him incapable of uſing it to his Diſadvantage. *Brutus* therefore, brought all the People, lawfully aſſembled by *Curiæ*, into the Voting-place: and all were unanimous. A Decree was made, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be no longer ſuffered to be either on the Throne, or in *Rome*; and that their Adherents ſhould be puniſhed with Death.

§. XLI. AFTER this firſt Blow, which was given the *Tarquins*, by both People and Senate jointly, the Adminiſtration of *Rome* was reduced to an *Interregnum*. And then the People, by another Vote, entruſted it with *Sp. Lucretius*, the Father of *Lucretia*, who was then Governor of *Rome*. So that it was his Buſineſs, to prepare every thing, for the Choice of the new Governors of the *Roman State*. The next thing that came under Deliberation, was, what kind of Government they ſhould chuſe. And here *Brutus* again diſtinguiſhed himſelf, upon an Article which required all the Wiſdom of the moſt conſummate Politician. It's true, he borrowed many Reflections, from a Memorial King *Servius Tullius* is ſaid to have left behind him, and in which he had drawn a Scheme for changing the *Roman* Monarchy into a Republick. However, *Brutus* repreſented, that it might be dangerous, in ſo ſudden a Revolution, either to reduce the Government barely to a *Democracy*, or to a mere *Ariſtocracy*. He added, that he well underſtood the Diviſions between the People and Senate, and their mutual Jealouſies; and that therefore the *Romans* muſt have ſuch Heads, as could hold the Balance between the Intereſts of the two Parties, and keep the Pretenſions of both *Plebeians* and *Patricians* within due Bounds. *Experience has ſhewn us*, ſaid he again, *that the good Kings, ſuch as* Romulus, Numa, *and the reſt, down to the laſt* Tarquin, *wiſely made uſe of their Authority, to moderate that of the People, and the Senate. It is therefore by no means proper, that* Rome *ſhould be without ſupreme Magiſtrates; but it is neceſſary, that their Power ſhould neither be perpetual, nor center in one Man: let it be divided, and limited in point of Time.* Lacedæmon, *that rich City, which is governed by ſuch wiſe Laws, never became famous, till ſhe came to be governed by two Men, who jointly made the Intereſts of the Publick their chief Concern. One was a Guard or Inſpector over the other; and they were excited to a zealous Diſcharge of their Duty, by a mutual Emulation. Let us alſo take particular care, not to continue the Power of our Governors too long. In length of Time, Men come to take pleaſure in governing, and are thereby tempted to retain that Authority, the Sweets of which they have long experienced. Let us then, following the Example of the* Athenians, *renew theſe chief Magiſtrates every Year, and thereby guard againſt new Uſurpations. Nay, let us even change the very Names of* King *and* Kingdom, *and give the two Heads, who are to govern us, the Name of* [105] Conſuls, *and the* Roman *State, that of* Republick. *Let us likewiſe aboliſh the pompous Enſigns of the regal Power. Let no*

105 *Pomponius* the *Civilian* contends, that the Name of *Conſul*, given to the annual Magiſtrates, who were the chief Governours of the *Roman* Republick after the *Kings*, was taken from the Word *conſulere*, as ſignifying *To watch for the Publick Good*. *Varro*, for his part, derives this Name from the ſame Word *conſulere*, but in a different Signification, namely, as importing *To conſult*, or *Ask Counſel*. And indeed the Intent of thoſe who firſt inſtituted the *Conſuls*, was, that they ſhould do nothing, but with the *Advice*, or *Counſel*, of the People, and the Senate. But whatever becomes of this double Etymology, the Law which placed them at the Head of the Republick, calls them *Prætors* and *Judges*. We have this Law yet remaining, as quoted by *Tully* in his *Third Book of Laws*. When it was made in the *Comitia*, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick, it is ſaid to have run thus: *Reges imperio duo ſunto, iique præeundo, judicando, & conſulendo, Prætores, Judices, Conſules, appellantur. Militiæ ſummum jus habento. Nemini parento. Ollis ſalus populi ſumma lex eſto.*

more

Year of ROME CCXLIII. TARQUIN THE SECOND.

more [106] *Scepters, or Crowns, or royal Robes be ſeen among us. Let us only ſuffer our* Conſuls, *to ſit on an Ivory Seat, to wear a white Robe, and to be attended by twelve* [107] Lictors, *with their* Axes *and* Faſces. *By this means, we ſhall enjoy all the Advantages of a Republick, without loſing any of the Benefits of Monarchy. But what am I ſaying? I am not for entirely aboliſhing the venerable Name of* King, *which was conſecrated by the ſame* Auſpices, *which* Rome *herſelf was bleſſed with, in her Infancy. No; let us retain it, and give it to that Magiſtrate to which we commit the Superintendency over Religion. Let his Office be for Life; and let him bear the Title of* The King of ſacred Things [108]. *Let him be exempt from military Offices, and publick Taxes, and apply himſelf wholly to the Direction of the Worſhip we pay to the Gods.*

Dion. Hal. B. 4. p. 276.

THUS ſpake *Brutus*, and the Heads of the Conſpiracy, who were aſſembled at *Lucretius*'s Houſe, approved of his Scheme. All that remained, was to get the People to conſent to it; for every thing was done regularly, and in due Form. *Sp. Lucretius* aſſembled the *Curiæ* again; and they were deſired to give their Approbation to the Plan of Government *Brutus* had prepared. The People granted this Requeſt, and eſtabliſhed by a Law, that new Form of Adminiſtration, which ſubſiſted at *Rome*, to the Times of the *Emperors*. The *Romans* from that time idolized their Republick, and adored it under the Name of Liberty. It will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, how many Precautions they took to guard it againſt the ſeveral Attempts that were made upon it, and how much Blood they ſpilt to preſerve it.

§. XLII. BUT the Conſpirators loſt no Time. They aſſembled the People once more, to put the finiſhing Hand to the Revolution. The *Romans* of the ſeveral *Claſſes* were ordered to meet, not by *Curiæ*, but by *Centuries* [109], according to *Servius Tullius*'s Diviſion of them; and they were directed to come armed to the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the Election of the two firſt *Conſuls*. The *Campus Martius* had perhaps been, to that time, the Place appointed for the Election of the chief Magiſtrates. At leaſt, it was ever after the Place appointed for chuſing the *Conſuls*. Here *Sp. Lucretius*, who governed *Rome*, during a ſhort *Interregnum*, propoſed two *Patricians* to the People, for *Conſuls*. Theſe were *Brutus*, the Head of the Conſpiracy, and *Collatinus*, the Husband of *Lucretia*. The *Romans* thought them the moſt irreconcileable Enemies to the *Tarquins*; and the *Centuries* therefore voted them *Conſuls*, and proclaimed them. Then the cruel *Tullia*, when ſhe ſaw her Husband's Throne overturned, and that ſhe could be no longer ſafe in *Rome*, left it, and went to *Tarquin*. She was hiſſed by the Populace as ſhe paſſed through the City: but ſo monſtrous a Fury deſerved a more rigorous Treatment.

IN the mean time, *Tarquin* was informed at his Camp before *Ardea*, by ſome who got out of *Rome* before the Gates were ſhut, that *Brutus* was raiſing ſome Commotions to his Prejudice. But he was little apprehenſive of the Conſequences

106 The *Conſuls* were only denied the common Uſe of the Sceptre, Crown, and an Habit of Diſtinction. *Livy*, B. 30. *of his Hiſtory*, aſſures us, that the *Conſuls*, on the Days of their Triumphs, in the publick Sports, and at ſolemn Sacrifices, wore the Crown of Gold, the Ivory Staff or Sceptre, and the Habit ſtriped with Purple, as the *Kings* did.

107 We read in the 12th Book of *Valerius Maximus*, that the *Conſuls* at firſt retained as many *Lictors* as the *Kings*, and that they had twenty-four. And he adds, that the *Conſul Poplicola* reduced them to twelve. But each *Conſul* was not attended with twelve *Lictors*; neither did they divide them ſo as to have ſix a-piece attending them. They were only guarded by the twelve *Lictors* alternatively, each in his Month. This we learn from *Livy*. This Ceremonial began with the two firſt *Conſuls*. The *Conſul*, who was the oldeſt, or had moſt Children, or moſt Suffrages for the *Conſulſhip*, had the *Lictors* the firſt Month. It appears by a Line in *Virgil*'s 6th *Book*, that *Brutus* was firſt attended with the *Faſces*, before his Collegue *Collatinus*.

Conſulis imperium hic primus ſævaſque ſecures
Accipiet ——

108 The *Rex Sacrorum*, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was inſtituted from the Beginning of the Revolution, which changed the *Roman* Monarchy into a Republick. This was a conſiderable Dignity among the *Romans*, tho' inferior to that of *Pontifex Maximus*. For fear the Name of *King* ſhould make him too proud, they made him but a ſubordinate Officer, even in the Affairs of Religion. His Wife was called *Queen*. This Office was never conferred on any, but in the *Comitia* of the People, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, by *Centuries*. Nor could any but a *Patrician* be choſen for it. The *King of the Sacrifices* was not ſuffered to intermeddle in State-Affairs. Inſomuch, that when, in the *Comitia*, the Sacrifice over which he preſided, was ended, he withdrew from the Aſſembly, that he might have no ſhare in them.

109 Tho' *Servius Tullius* had appointed, the People ſhould be aſſembled by *Centuries*, yet they were afterwards aſſembled, ſometimes by *Tribes*, ſometimes by *Curiæ*, and ſometimes by *Centuries*, as there was occaſion. For the moſt important Affairs, and for the Election of the principal Officers, the *Comitia* were aſſembled by *Centuries*. We ſhall give a more particular Account of the different *Roman Comitia*, as the hiſtorical Occurrences ſhall require.

of an Intrigue carried on by one, whom he deſpiſed as a Madman. Nevertheleſs, he returned to the City, attended only by his Children, and guarded by a ſmall Number of Friends. The reſt of the Army continued to carry on the Siege of *Ardea*. *Brutus* went himſelf to confirm the News of the Revolution which had happened at *Rome*. He went out of the City, with a Company of young Men well armed, took Care not to meet *Tarquin*, and appeared in the Camp. *Valerius*, one of the Conſpirators, had already prevented the *Conſul*, and prepoſſeſſed the Minds of the Army in his Favour. Beſides, a great Number of Letters had been brought at the ſame time, which all concerned the Change made at *Rome*. *Titus Herminius*, and *M. Horatius*, had received thoſe the *Conſuls* had written to them: Which were carried thro' all the *Legions*, and after the Soldiers had heard them read, they adhered to all the Decrees the *Romans* had made in the City, both in the *Comitia*, and in the *Campus Martius*. So that *Brutus* found himſelf Maſter of the Army. Whilſt *Sp. Lucretius*, on his part, refuſed to open the Gates of *Rome* to the *Tarquins*, when they appeared before them. Thus the King, being at once both driven from his Capital, and rejected by his Troops, was forced to fly for Refuge to *Cære*, a City of the *Hetrurians*, with only his Wife, and his Sons *Arunx* and *Titus*. As for *Sextus*, he retired to *Gabii*, the Government of which he had uſurped. But this Change of Fortune encouraged the Inhabitants of *Gabii*, to revenge the Injuries they had received from him. They took away the Life of the perfidious Villain, who had treacherouſly delivered them up to his Father. A juſt Puniſhment of Heaven upon an infamous Debauchee, whoſe Incontinence had cauſed the Ruin of his Family! In the mean time, the *Romans* made a fifteen Years Truce with the *Rutuli*; the Siege of *Ardea* was raiſed; and *Rome* thought ſhe had recovered her Liberty, after the Baniſhment of the *Tarquins*. Strange Caprice! The tyrannical Oppreſſions of one King, gave this People an Averſion to regal Power, who had lived happily under ſix Reigns, and who afterwards had often Reaſon to complain of their *Conſuls*. *Tarquin* [110] had reigned twenty five Years, when he was driven from *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CCXLIII.

Liv. B.1. c.60.

110 *Dion.Hal.* has mentioned the Duration of *Tarquin the Proud*'s Reign, more than once. According to him, in his firſt Book, *he had at leaſt begun the twenty fifth Year of his Reign*. And in ſeveral Places of his fourth Book, he ſometimes makes this Prince reign twenty five, and ſometimes twenty four, Years compleat. But he does not ſay enough of it, to determine exactly the Number of the Years of *Tarquin*'s Reign. What is ſure is, that the twenty fifth Year was begun, at the Time of this Revolution. *Euſebius* is the only Author who makes *Tarquin the Second* to have reigned more than twenty five Years. And in order to do this, he takes ten Years from *Servius Tullius*. *Tarquin* was then hoary with old Age, as *Dion. Hal.* declares he was. This King was thirty, when he married *Tullia*; and did not marry her, till about the twenty fourth Year of *Servius Tullius*'s Reign. Now *Servius Tullius* reigned about forty four Years; and *Tarquin* was therefore fifty Years old, when he aſcended the Throne. So that he muſt have been in the ſeventy ſixth Year of his Age, when *Brutus* and *Collatinus* aboliſhed the Monarchy.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK V.

Year of *ROME* CCXLIII.

§. I. THE Baniſhment of the *Tarquins* delivered *Rome* from her domeſtick Tyrants, but it encreaſed the Number of her Enemies abroad, and made her loſe her Allies. That City, doom'd to be the Miſtreſs of the World, by changing the Form of her Government, was now almoſt reduced to the ſame Condition ſhe was in, at her firſt Foundation. She was in a manner left to her ſelf, and confined to ſo ſmall a Territory, that ſhe had not above two or three Cities that could properly be ſaid to be under her Juriſdiction. In the Space of two hundred and forty three Years, the ſeven *Kings* who had govern'd *Rome*, and had been always victorious over their Neighbours, had not, by an hundred Battles, and much Bloodſhed, gain'd Land enough to furniſh their City with Proviſions. So that the *Romans* were, at their firſt Revolution, confin'd within ſtrait Limits; and all the Nations round about them were as independent on them, as in the Time of *Romulus*. The *Hetrurians*, the *Latins*, the *Sabines*, and the *Volſci*, their near Neighbours, tho' often conquer'd, were again in Poſſeſſion of their Liberty; and their tranſient Subjection to the *Kings* of *Rome*, had procured the latter little more than the empty Honours of a Triumph. The City it ſelf was indeed very much increaſed, tho' its Juriſdiction abroad ſtill continued to be but of a ſmall Extent. There were then a prodigious Number of Inhabitants in *Rome*, who had been brought thither from the conquered Cities; in which Circumſtance alone conſiſted the Strength of the *Roman* State: inſomuch, that the Citizens of *Rome* themſelves were in a Condition, by their Numbers and by their Valour, to give Law to the many jealous neighbouring Nations, the moſt inconſiderable of which had Territories of greater Extent than the whole *Roman* Country. Indeed the *Kings* of *Rome* had begun to ſupply the Want of a more extenſive Dominion, by the uſeful Confederacies they had made with the *Latins* and *Hetrurians:* for theſe Allies anſwered the Purpoſes of a larger Territory. They had obliged themſelves, by the Terms which they were forced to accept, to raiſe as many auxiliary Troops in their own Country, upon the firſt Notice, as the *Romans* ſhould require. *Rome*, by this means, had facilitated the Conqueſt of the neighbouring Nations, even whilſt ſhe remained under the Government of her *Kings*. As for *Tarquin the Proud*, tho' the League between the *Latins* and *Rome* was owing to him, yet ſoon after his Exile, it appeared that he had had nothing but his own Intereſt in View; for all the Nations in Confederacy with the *Romans* went over to his Party. So that *Rome*, now become a Commonwealth under the new *Conſuls*, but left to her ſelf and unſupported, was both to maintain the Liberty ſhe had aſſumed, and to open that new Courſe of Conqueſts, which ſhe afterwards carried on, even to the Ends of the known World. It is from this new Birth of *Rome*, fallen again, if we may ſo ſpeak, into a State of Infancy, that we muſt trace her Progreſs, till with Aſtoniſhment we ſee her arrive at her utmoſt Pitch of Grandeur.

Year of *ROME* CCXLIV.

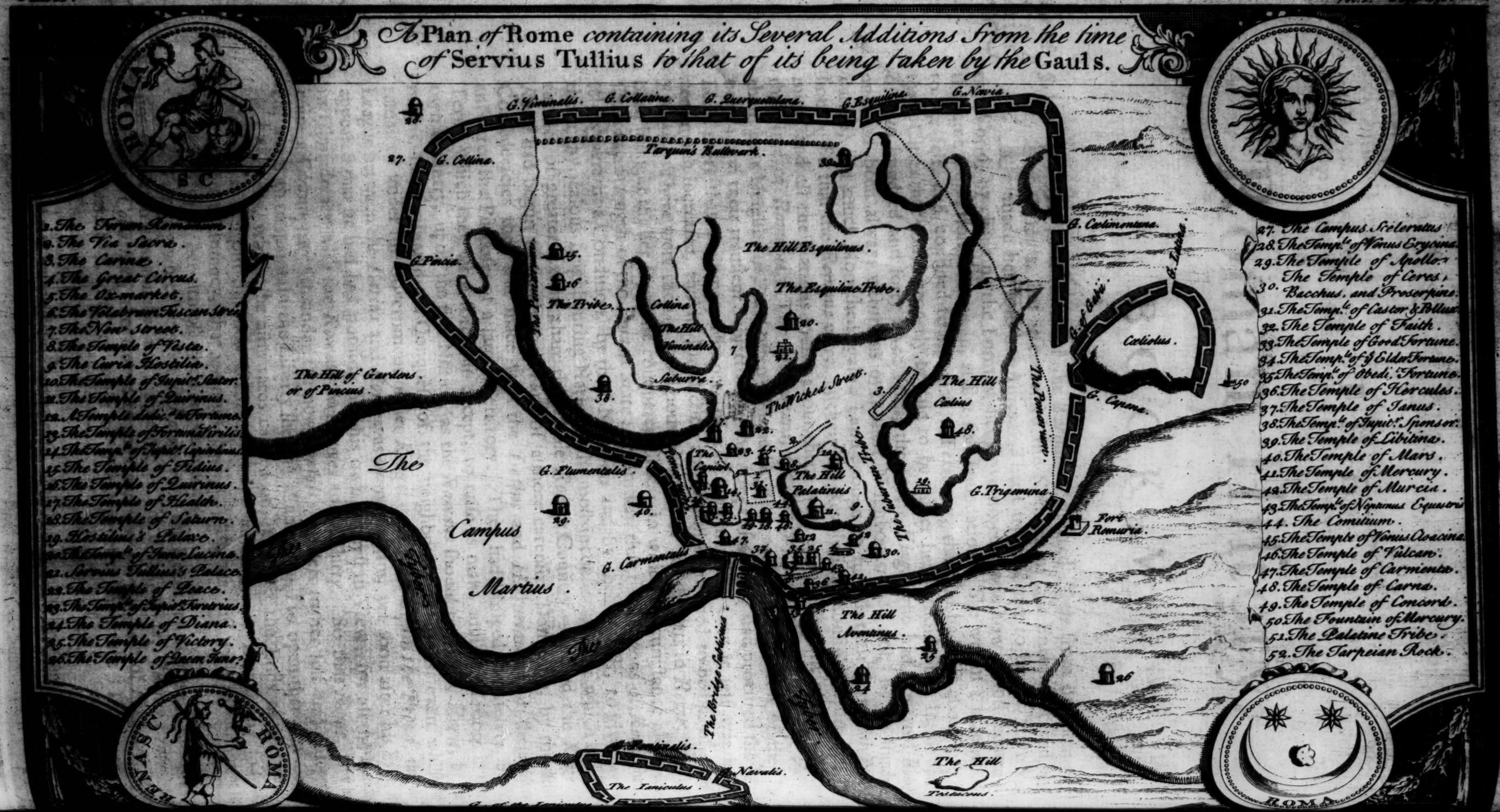
JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

§. II. THE Joy which was felt in *Rome*, upon the Recovery of publick Liberty, was not free from Uneaſineſſes and Suſpicions. The two *Conſuls*, *Junius Brutus*, and *Tarquinius Collatinus*, tho' named to the *Conſulſhip* on the 24th of *February*, in the Year of *Rome* 243, did not begin to diſcharge the important [1] Duties of their Function

[1] Here I find that Authors differ: Nevertheleſs, the Chronology of the *Roman* Years, which we ſhall obſerve in the remaining Part of this Hiſtory, muſt depend upon this *Æra*. The antient *Roman* Calendar

BRITISH MUSEUM

A Plan of Rome containing its Several Additions From the time of Servius Tullius to that of its being taken by the Gauls.



1. The Forum Romanum.
2. The Via Sacra.
3. The Carinæ.
4. The Great Circus.
5. The Ox-market.
6. The Velabrum Tuscan Street.
7. The New Street.
8. The Temple of Vesta.
9. The Curia Hostilia.
10. The Temple of Jupiter Stator.
11. The Temple of Quirinus.
12. A Temple dedic.d to Fortune.
13. The Temple of Forum Virilis.
14. The Temple of Jupiter Capitolinus.
15. The Temple of Fidius.
16. The Temple of Quirinus.
17. The Temple of Health.
18. The Temple of Saturn.
19. Hostilius's Palace.
20. The Temple of Juno Lucina.
21. Servius Tullius's Palace.
22. The Temple of Peace.
23. The Temple of Jupiter Fonterius.
24. The Temple of Diana.
25. The Temple of Victory.
26. The Temple of Queen Juno.
27. The Campus Sceleratus.
28. The Temple of Venus Erycina.
29. The Temple of Apollo.
The Temple of Ceres,
30. Bacchus, and Proserpine.
31. The Temple of Castor & Pollux.
32. The Temple of Faith.
33. The Temple of Good Fortune.
34. The Temple of the Elder Fortune.
35. The Temple of Obedient Fortune.
36. The Temple of Hercules.
37. The Temple of Janus.
38. The Temple of Jupiter Sponsor.
39. The Temple of Libitina.
40. The Temple of Mars.
41. The Temple of Mercury.
42. The Temple of Murcia.
43. The Temple of Neptunus Equestris.
44. The Comitium.
45. The Temple of Venus Cloacina.
46. The Temple of Vulcan.
47. The Temple of Carmenta.
48. The Temple of Carna.
49. The Temple of Concord.
50. The Fountain of Mercury.
51. The Palatine Tribe.
52. The Tarpeian Rock.

Function till the 24th of *May*, in the Year [2] 244. And from that Time the *Romans* placed all their Confidence in *Brutus* only. His Colleague *Collatinus* had then loſt that Credit among the People, which had gained him the Votes of the *Centuries*, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*. In the firſt Hurry the People's Minds were in, at the Death of the brave *Lucretia*, they had haſtily promoted the Huſband of a Woman, whoſe Virtue they honoured, to the *Conſulſhip*; taking it for granted, that the Affront he had received from an infamous Kinſman, would gain the Aſcendant in his Breaſt, over his Affections for his Relations. But they afterwards reflected on the Name he bore, and Part of the Hatred they had conceived, againſt the royal Branch of the *Tarquins*, fell on the Grandſon of *Egerius Tarquinius*, the Brother of *Tarquin the Firſt*. The *Romans* at firſt expreſſed this Averſion by ſecret Murmurs only; but it broke out flagrantly, upon the firſt Tokens *Collatinus* ſhew'd, of any Remains of Affection for the Family from whence he ſprung.

Year of *ROME* CCXLIV.

JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

Liv. B.2.c.2. Dion.Hal.B.5. p.286, 287.

HOWEVER, in the Beginning of the new Adminiſtration under the two *Conſuls*, *Rome* enjoy'd a profound Peace. Thoſe Citizens, of whom *Tarquin*'s Army before *Ardea* conſiſted, returned to the City; and the *Conſuls* thought themſelves concerned to prevent the Diſſentions, which they might ſow among the People. For it was preſumed, that the Soldiers, who had ſerved under *Tarquin*, would ſtill preſerve ſome Inclination for their General: They were therefore called together in the *Campus* [3] *Martius*, exhorted to live in Concord, and the Decree of perpetual Baniſhment, which was already paſſed againſt the *Tarquins*, was renewed in their Preſence. And this was not all. For, after Expiations had been made for the City, by the Blood of Sacrifices, the *Conſuls*, ſtanding before the Altars, where the Entrails of the Victims had been offer'd, took an Oath, in the Name of their Children, and all their Poſterity, that they would never replace either *Tarquin* or his Sons, or any of his Family, upon the Throne; would never elect any King in *Rome*; or ſuffer any to be elected. And then they proceeded to the Election of a [4] *King of*

Calendar ought indeed to ſet this Matter at a Certainty; but as it has two different Feſtivals of the *Regifugium*, the one on the ſeventh Day before the *Calends of March*, and the other on the ninth Day before the *Calends of June*, where ſhall we fix? I am of Opinion, that theſe two Feſtivals were occaſioned by two different Circumſtances of the *Tarquins* Expulſion. It was, probably, in the Month of *February*, that the Gates of *Rome* were ſhut againſt *Tarquin the Proud*; and I am of Opinion, that the Conſpiracy of the *Tarquins* to return to *Rome*, was diſcovered and puniſhed in the Month of *May*; and hence the two Feſtivals, which were fix'd to two different Days, were both called *Regifugium*. But 'tis properly from the latter, that the Office of the *Conſuls* is to bear Date. It's true, *Brutus* and *Collatinus* were nominated to the *Conſulſhip* before the Month of *May*; but yet, that was the Time when the Expulſion of the *Tarquins* was compleated, and they were deprived of all Hopes of recovering the Throne, unleſs by Force of Arms. From that Day in *May*, to the Beginning of *October*, which was originally the Beginning of the *Conſular* Year, there remained four Months; which without doubt were not reckoned in the Year of *Brutus*'s *Conſulſhip*, any more than were the three preceding Months: And that he was appointed to be *Conſul* all the Year 224, beginning with the Month of *October*, is proved thus. *Plutarch* ſays, he was ſlain in Battle, the Eve of the *Calends of March*. Now, it can't reaſonably be ſuppoſed, that it was on the laſt of *February*, 243; for, at that rate, he had been *Conſul* only ſix Days: Whereas, by what he did in his *Conſulſhip*, it's eaſy to judge, that he enjoyed that Poſt much longer. And therefore it muſt be on the laſt of *February*, 244, that he died. Thus it will be eaſy to conceive, that in the ſeven remaining Months of his *Conſulſhip*, which was to end in *October*, he might have had two Succeſſors nominated, the firſt of which died a few Days after he had ſucceeded *Brutus*. At leaſt, this Account is agreeable to the Opinions of the moſt able Chronologers. Indeed, the Silence of antient Authors, and the various Opinions of the Moderns, leave the Matter in ſuch Perplexity, that we can pretend to nothing but arbitrary Conjectures about it. However, the Account we have given appear'd to us the moſt rational, as being founded upon the Authority of *Macrobius*, who ſays, in the firſt Book of his *Saturnalia*, that the Month of *June* was called *Menſis Junius*, becauſe that *Brutus* (whoſe Name was *Junius*) after he had ſent *Tarquin* into Baniſhment, did in that Month pay the Vows he had made to the Goddeſs *Carna*, which is the Name the *Romans* gave to the tutelar Deity of the noble Parts of the human Body.

2 *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* agree in fixing the *Conſulſhip* of *Brutus* and *Collatinus* to the Year of *Rome* 243. But we fix it, according to other Authors, to the Year 244; becauſe we don't reckon thoſe Months when they began to take Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*, in the Year 243. And in this we agree with the *Faſti Capitolini*, (from which we ſhall not depart) as well as with the Opinions of *Meſſala*, *Oroſius*, *Rufus*, *Eutropius*, *Jornandes*, and *Solinus*. As *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* have allowed thirty eight Years to the Reign of *Tarquin the Elder*, inſtead of thirty ſeven; their firſt Miſtake has here led them into a ſecond; which we correct by good Authorities, and eſpecially by the Order of the *Faſti Capitolini*.

3 Though Hiſtorians do not mention the Place, where this Aſſembly was held; yet it's eaſy to gueſs, from what *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that it was in the *Campus Martius*. The *King of the Sacrifices*, or *Rex Sacrificulus*, was never elected, but in the *Comitia by Centuries*; which were never aſſembled any where but in the *Campus Martius*.

4 The *Romans*, by eſtabliſhing a *King of the Sacrifices*, preſerved only a vain Shadow of Royalty. *Livy* founds this Prieſtly Dignity on the Superſtition of the People, who conſider'd, that their *Kings* having often exerciſed the Prieſtly Office, the Decency of

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JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

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THE *Conſuls* had now nothing to fear from the People; and therefore employ'd their Thoughts about ſecuring the Senators, amongſt whom *Valerius* made a Figure, and had a great Intereſt. His Reputation for Equity and Wiſdom was heighten'd by his tender Love to the People, and by the Affections of all the Indigent, whom he relieved in their Neceſſities. As therefore he had had a Hand in the Excluſion of the *Tarquins*, and was one of the four Avengers of the Liberty of *Rome*, he had hoped he ſhould have been named *Conſul*, at the firſt Election. The Preference the People had given to *Collatinus*, ſowred his Mind. He ſhewed his Diſcontent, by his long Abſence from the Senate, and by his Receſs from publick Affairs. His Uneaſineſs began to make him ſuſpected; and it was feared, that it had turned his Heart in Favour of the *Kings*, whom he had ſo zealouſly perſecuted. But the publick Apprehenſion ceaſed, when he appear'd in the Senate, on the Day appointed for the Senators to take the ſame Oath which the People had taken, to extirpate *Kings*, and to aboliſh kingly Government. *Valerius* then ſignaliz'd anew his Love for Liberty: He ſwore, more than once, that he would never have any Friendſhip with the *Tarquins*, or ſhew any Indulgence to their Pretenſions. So that his Probity quieted the Peoples Minds, and his Love to the Commonweal increaſed the Eſteem and the Regard which the Publick had for him.

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Junius Brutus, and Tarquinius Collatinus, Conſuls.

Objects of Jealouſy, and whoſe Indigence makes them worthy of Compaſſion. Theſe Words were followed by the Tears of the King, and the tender Compaſſion of the Aſſembly. The *Tarquinians* concluded upon ſending an Embaſſy to *Rome*, with a Letter from *Tarquin*, directed to the *Roman* People.

The Deputies arrived at *Rome*, and preſented the baniſhed King's Letter to the Senate, demanding that it might be read to the People aſſembled in the *Comitia*. *Tarquin* had charged the Ambaſſadors to lay his humble Supplications before the Senate, in which there was no Appearance of the Haughtineſs of a proud King, who had formerly made himſelf independent of the Senators, and of the *Curiæ*. *Affliction*, ſaid the Deputies, *has brought* Tarquin *to be juſt what* Rome *would have been glad to have ſeen him, on the Throne. His Demands are juſt, and his Requeſt is modeſt. He only deſires you'll give him leave to return to* Rome *in Safety, that he may preſent himſelf before the Senate, who ſhall judge whether it be proper to let him appear before the People, to give them an Account of his Adminiſtration. If he finds any Accuſers in* Rome, *he offers to ſubmit to the Judgment of the aſſembled* Curiæ. *If the People judge him to be ſo free from Guilt, as to be fit to appear again upon the Throne, he will not reſume it, but with the Approbation of his Subjects; and upon ſuch Conditions, as they ſhall think fit to preſcribe to him. But if his Innocence, and his paſt Exploits, ſhould be Conſiderations too weak to ſtand againſt Faction, or his evil Deſtiny, he confines his Deſires within the Limits of leading a private Life in his own Country, free from the Hazards, and the Reproach, of an injurious Baniſhment. Do we ask any thing of you,* added the Deputies, *but what common Equity, and the Law of Nations, will not permit the moſt barbarous People to refuſe? Your King, whether he be guilty or innocent, entreats you to hear him, and condemn, or acquit him, by your Suffrages.* Romans, *your Honour is at ſtake. Shall it be publiſhed among the neighbouring Nations, that* Rome *has condemned her Governor, without giving him a Hearing; and that ſhe has puniſhed him, without bringing him to a Tryal? Over-Prudence has led you to take unjuſtifiable Precautions. Exceſſive Rigour, and irreconcileable Hatreds, are not at all agreeable, either to the Virtue you profeſs, or to that Juſtice, which is the very Soul of Government; or to that Prudence, whoſe Buſineſs it is, to prevent the Evils of an uncertain Futurity.*

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§. IV. The Senate gave this publick Proof of their Affection for Liberty: and indeed this chief Body of the new Commonwealth, was above all others concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who kept it in a State of Dependence, and often under Oppreſſion. For this Reaſon the *Conſuls* thought it neceſſary to reſtore the Senate all its Rights and Prerogatives, and re-eſtabliſh it in its antient Luſtre. *Tarquin the Proud* had done his utmoſt to make it contemptible, by reducing the Senators to a ſmall Number. Some of them had been deſtroyed, either by Proſcriptions, or by the King's ſecret Management; others had condemned themſelves to a voluntary Exile; and the Places of thoſe who died a natural Death, had never been filled up. And therefore it was thought a Matter of Importance to reſtore the Senate to its antient Majeſty, and to gain it the Reſpect of the People, as well by the Number of the Senators, as by the Dignity of their Perſons. For which Reaſon, a Number of wiſe Men, and Men of Intereſt, were ſought out amongſt the *Roman* Knights, *Livy, B. 2. ch. 1.*

6 We have this Account from *Plutarch.* *Dion.* *Hal.* far from mentioning *Valerius*, affirms, that *Brutus* had no regard to the Remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors.

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JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

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Year of *ROME* CCXLIV.

JUNIUS BRUTUS, and TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS, Conſuls.

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THIS Diſcourſe, and the Fear of bringing *Rome* into a long and dangerous War, made the *Conſuls* inclinable to bring the *Tarquinian* Deputies before the People, and to leave the Deciſion of the Affair to the *Comitia* [6]. But *Valerius* was aſhamed of the Weakneſs of theſe firſt Defenders of an ill-eſtabliſhed Liberty. He oppoſed the Opinion of the *Conſuls*, and remonſtrated to the Senate, that the Populace, who were naturally timorous, and not ſo jealous of their Liberty, as fond of Peace and Tranquillity, would infallibly ſuffer themſelves, either to be moved to Compaſſion, or intimidated by the Threats of the *Hetrurians*. And he concluded, that the *Tarquins* ſhould not be permitted to return to *Rome*, nor the *Curiæ* aſſembled, to give Audience to the Ambaſſadors. Accordingly, his Advice was followed: and thus the firſt Attempt of the artful *Tarquin* was defeated, by a Man, who had been ſuſpected of favouring him.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

§. IV. THE Senate gave this publick Proof of their Affection for Liberty: and indeed this chief Body of the new Commonwealth, was above all others concerned for ever to exclude Kings, who kept it in a State of Dependence, and often under Oppreſſion. For this Reaſon the *Conſuls* thought it neceſſary to reſtore the Senate all its Rights and Prerogatives, and re-eſtabliſh it in its antient Luſtre. *Tarquin the Proud* had done his utmoſt to make it contemptible, by reducing the Senators to a ſmall Number. Some of them had been deſtroyed, either by Proſcriptions, or by the King's ſecret Management; others had condemned themſelves to a voluntary Exile; and the Places of thoſe who died a natural Death, had never been filled up. And therefore it was thought a Matter of Importance to reſtore the Senate to its antient Majeſty, and to gain it the Reſpect of the People, as well by the Number of the Senators, as by the Dignity of their Perſons. For which Reaſon, a Number of wiſe Men, and Men of Intereſt, were ſought out amongſt the *Roman* Knights,

Livy, B. 2. ch. 1.

6 We have this Account from *Plutarch*. *Dion. Hal.* far from mentioning *Valerius*, affirms, that *Brutus* had no regard to the Remonſtrances of the Ambaſſadors.

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(who held a ſort of middle Rank between the Senate and the People) to fill up the vacant Places; and they being 7 *added* to the Remains of the *Roman* Senators, in order to make up the antient Number of three hundred, they were therefore called 8 *Conſcripti*. The Name of *Patres*, or *Fathers*, was confined to the old Senators: And becauſe theſe new ones had been lately put upon the Liſt of the firſt Senators, they were called only *Conſcripti*; *i.e.* Perſons *written*, or *enrolled together*, with them.

§. V. IN the mean time, the *Tarquins*, who deſpaired of ever ſoftening the Rigour of the Senate, thought however they could raiſe a Storm in *Rome*, ſufficient to overthrow the Work of the *Conſuls*. For tho' *Tarquin* the Father had made but few Friends, in a Reign that was equally odious to the People, and to the *Patricians*; yet his Sons had ſecured, in the City, a Number of young Debauchees, of the moſt illuſtrious Nobility, who regretted the Loſs of their Companions, and the Supporters of their Extravagance, whom a Similitude of Manners, and a Purſuit of the ſame Pleaſures, had united together in one Society. They conſidered publick Liberty as a Curb to their Licentiouſneſs. *Under the* Kings, ſaid they, *we knew where to have recourſe, when things went ill with us; for then the King's Sons, and his Courtiers, were our Patrons and Interceſſors, and ſcreened us from the Rigour of the Laws. But now, that we are in Subjection to an inexorable Senate, what Favour can we hope for? and what have we not to fear, from the Severity of theſe rigorous Defenders of Order and Regularity?*

Livy, B. 2. ch. 3.

THESE Men, who by their Incontinence and diſſolute Manners, had loſt all Senſe of Honour, were the chief Foundation of the Hopes of the *Tarquins*; who, in order to gain their Point, prevailed with the *Tarquinians* to ſend a ſecond Embaſſy to *Rome*, under pretence of demanding the Eſtates of the Exiles, who were periſhing for Want, among thoſe who had given them an *Aſylum*. But the real Deſign was to ſpirit up a Company of factious young Men, to attempt the Lives of the *Conſuls*. They therefore gave the Ambaſſadors, Letters for thoſe of their Friends and Relations, who had moſt reaſon to be concerned for their Abſence. The Embaſſy was admitted by the *Romans*, and the Propoſals of the *Tarquins* were examined by the Senate. And nothing could be more modeſt than the Demands of the baniſhed King. He promiſed to renounce for ever attempting to recover the Crown by Force of Arms, if the Eſtate which his Fathers had left him, and which was detained in *Rome*, was reſtored to him. So that the Requeſt of the *Tarquins* divided the *Conſuls* and the Senate, in Opinion. *Brutus*, whom an auſtere Love for his Country inclined to Severity, was of Opinion, that they ought to refuſe to an outlawed Family, that Wealth which would certainly be uſed to the Prejudice of *Rome*. But *Collatinus*, a Man of more Temper, and perhaps moved by ſome Remains of Affection for his near Relations, was for reſtoring the Eſtates of the Exiles, and coloured over his Opinion with the Appearance of Juſtice. *It was not by their Wealth*, ſaid he, *that the* Tarquins *became odious to us: It was by their Pride, and by their lawleſs Extravagance. We have juſtly rid ourſelves of their Perſons: let us not unjuſtly detain their Eſtates. Will the new Commonwealth be able to bear up againſt the Reproaches of the Nations about us, for having palliated ſordid Avarice with a Zeal for Liberty? To reſtore the* Tarquins *their Eſtates, is to deprive them of all Pretences to make War againſt us; and to give the neighbouring Nations a new Reaſon to eſteem us.* Nevertheleſs *Brutus* would not give up an Opinion with which he was ſo prepoſſeſſed, that he

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

7 *Tacitus*, *Livy*, and *Plutarch*, aſſure us, that theſe *Patres Conſcripti* were added to the Senate, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Brutus*. But *Livy* and *Plutarch* do not agree as to the Time when this new Addition was made. The former places it in the Time, when *Brutus* held the *Conſulſhip* with *Collatinus*. The latter is of opinion, that it did not happen till *Brutus* had *Valerius Poplicola* for his Collegue. I have followed *Livy*, whoſe Order, I think, more agreeable to the Hiſtory.

8 Theſe *Conſcript Fathers* were called *The New Senate*, or *Novus Senatus*. And it appears by *Livy*'s Words, rightly underſtood, that the old Senators only were called *Patres*; and that the new ones were diſtinguiſhed from them by the Name of *Conſcripti*. It's true, *Dion. Hal.* gives the ſame Name of *Patres Conſcripti* to the Senators, made in the Reign of *Romulus*: But this Form, *Qui Patres quique Conſcripti eſſent*, which was always uſed when the Senate was call'd together, ſufficiently ſhews the Miſtake of the *Greek* Hiſtorian. Thus, when we find in *Latin* Authors, *Patres Conſcripti* uſed to expreſs the Senate in general, the Words muſt be underſtood, as if they were joined by a Conjunction, *Patres*, *&* *Conſcripti*, i. e. *The Fathers*, and *thoſe who have been added to them*. *Feſtus* favours our Opinion, when he ſays, that thoſe were called *Conſcripti*, who had paſſed from the Order of *Roman* Knights, into that of Senators.

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ſew into a Paſſion with thoſe who oppoſed his Deſires; and turned *Collatinus*'s Moderation into an Accuſation againſt him [9]. Inſomuch, that the Affair, after it had been long conſidered by the Senate, was at laſt brought before the People. The *Curiæ* were called together, and *Brutus* renewed before them the old Suſpicions of Treachery, with which they were already prepoſſeſſed, againſt his Collegue. But nevertheleſs, the Opinion of *Collatinus* was confirmed by the *Comitia*. It's true, he carried it only by one Vote: but it was at length decreed, that the *Tarquins* ſhould be put in Poſſeſſion of the Eſtates of their Family.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 281, 282.

§. VI. WHILST the People were employed in loading Carriages with the Furniture, and other Effects of the Exiles, and in ſelling what could not be carried off; the Ambaſſadors took an Opportunity to form a Cabal in favour of the King. There were two illuſtrious Families eſpecially, which preſerved a particular Affection for the *Tarquins*. The firſt was that of the *Aquilii*, which had three Senators in it; and the other was the Family of the *Vitellii*, which had two. Each of theſe Families was allied to the two *Conſuls*. *Brutus* had married the Siſter of the two *Vitellii* [10], who were young *Patricians*, at Age to take publick Employments: and as for the *Aquilii*, they were the Sons of *Collatinus*'s Siſter. Their Youth, the Hopes of Impunity, and their old Intimacy with the King's Sons, was what had made them ſuſceptible of the Impreſſions, which the *Tarquinian* Ambaſſadors made upon them. And the *Vitellii* had the Aſſurance to take their two Nephews, the Sons of *Conſul Brutus*, who were but mere Youths, into the Conſpiracy; hoping, without doubt, that the Defection of the *Conſul*'s Sons might be made uſe of to ſcreen them from the Puniſhment, to which they would otherwiſe be expoſed, if their Plot ſhould be diſcovered. The Conſpirators commonly met at the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, who had no Father, and whoſe Mother was of the Blood of the *Tarquins*. There the Reſolution of putting the *Conſuls* to death, and of letting the *Tarquins* into the City by Night, was taken, in Preſence of the Ambaſſadors: And the Oath, with which the Conſpirators confirmed it, was accompanied with barbarous Ceremonies. After a great Supper, the Gueſts (amongſt whom were the two Sons of *Brutus*, ſeduced by their Uncles) diſmiſſed their Attendants, and ſhut themſelves up in a large [11] Apartment, which ſtood by it ſelf; and there they ſecured the Fidelity of the Conſpirators by a deteſtable Sacrifice. The Victim was a Man, of whoſe Blood they made Libations to the Gods; and over his trembling Entrails they all ſwore to deſtroy the *Conſuls*, and reſtore the *Kings*.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

THE *Tarquinians* were at the Head of the Intrigue, and perſuaded each of theſe indiſcreet Youths to write a Letter to the Exiles, and ſecure the eternal Gratitude of the King, by an authentick Proof of their Zeal for his Intereſt. The Letters were written in the very Place where they met, and put into the Hands of the Ambaſſadors, who lodged with the *Aquilii*. But Providence was watchful in the Preſervation of a Commonwealth, which it deſigned ſhould be the Miſtreſs of the Univerſe. The Plot, which required inviolable Secrecy, was diſcovered by one of thoſe Accidents, which Heaven directs, tho' Men aſcribe them to Chance.

IN ſpite of all the Precaution uſed by the Conſpirators, to keep their Secret from their Servants, a Slave, who had greater Penetration than the reſt, ſuſpected the Deſigns of his Maſters. His Name was [12] *Vindicius*. He was born at *Cænina*, had been taken Priſoner in War, and was then Butler to the *Aquilii*. The great Care which was taken to ſend him away after Supper, and perhaps ſome half Words, which ſlipt from the Gueſts, gave him a Suſpicion, and excited his Curioſity. He ſtayed by himſelf at the [13] Door of the Apartment, and, thro' a Crevice, ſaw

Dion. Hal. B. 5. ibid.

[9] *Plutarch* adds one Circumſtance to this Account. He ſays, that *Brutus*, enraged againſt his Collegue, ran into the *Forum*, crying out in a Fury, that *Collatinus* was betraying the Intereſts of Rome. Upon which, *Caius Minucius* made a warm Speech to the People, againſt the *Tarquins*.

[10] *Dion. Hal.* calls them *Marcus*, and *Manius Vellius*. But *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Aurelius Victor*, agree, in calling them *Vitellii*.

[11] Hiſtorians do not agree about the Place, where the Conſpirators met, and ſupped. *Livy* fixes it at the Houſe of the *Vitellii*. *Plutarch*, and *Dion. Hal.* take that of the *Aquilii* to be the Scene: And their Opinion is to be preferred, as agreeing beſt with the Sequel of the Hiſtory. The Apartment in which the Conſpirators ſwore the Reſtauration of the *Tarquins*, was ſeparate from that of the Women. *Dion. Hal.* calls it ἀνδῶν. *Plutarch* adds, that it was dark, and ſeldom frequented.

[12] *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that this *Vindicius*, whom *Plutarch* calls *Vindex*, had been made a Slave at the taking of *Cænina*. But Hiſtorians don't mention, that this City had been beſieged by the *Romans*, ſince *Romulus*'s Time.

[13] According to *Plutarch*, *Vindicius* hid himſelf behind a great Cheſt, and was a Witneſs of the whole

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ſaw all the Myſteries of the Conſpiracy, and heard all the Diſcourſe of the Conſpirators. Then being over-burdened with a Secret of ſo great Importance, the Diſcovery of which might procure him his Liberty, by ſecuring that of *Rome*, he fluctuated betwixt Fear and Hope. He foreſaw the Conſequences of a Depoſition, in which each of the *Conſuls* was ſo nearly concerned, and feared leſt *Brutus*, in order to ſave his Sons, and *Collatinus*, to ſecure the Lives of his Nephews, ſhould think fit to deſtroy the ſingle Witneſs of their Crime. He went therefore to *P. Valerius*, that conſtant Defender of Liberty, and unburdened his Mind to him. *Valerius*'s Doors were always open to the meaneſt of the People. And that illuſtrious Senator gave a kind Reception to *Vindicius*, who, in the Preſence of his Wife and *M. Valerius* his Brother, related all that he had ſeen and heard. *Valerius* immediately took the Slave under his Protection; but ſhut him up in a Room, under the Care of his Wife. And his firſt and chief Concern was to ſeize the Conſpirators Letters, which were to be carried to *Tarquinia* the next Day by the Ambaſſadors. *Valerius* therefore went out before Day, accompanied by his Friends, his Clients, and Domeſticks; whom he divided into two Bands; one of which he poſted, under the Conduct of his Brother, at the Entrance of the Houſe of the *Aquilii*, to ſeize what Letters ſhould be brought out of it; whilſt he himſelf, attended with a Guard, entered the Ambaſſador's Apartment, without Reſiſtance, and there found and ſeized the Letters, which the Conſpirators had written the Night before. He was no ſooner come out from thence, but he met the *Aquilii*, who were returning home, after a nightly Excurſion. They immediately ſuſpected that their Letters were ſeized: but all their Endeavours to force them from *Valerius* were in vain. The brave Senator, and his Company, made a courageous Defence. They wrapt the *Aquilii* up in their Robes, threw them upon their Shoulders, and carried them by Force into the *Forum*. *M. Valerius* had alſo the good Luck to intercept other Letters, which had been hid amongſt ſome Clothes, which were carrying away from the Houſe of the *Aquilii*. And, in ſhort, none of the Heads of the Conſpiracy eſcaped; they were all taken into Cuſtody, at the *Conſul*'s Houſes.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

Dion. Hal. B. 5. ibid.

§. VII. EARLY in the Morning, the People were ſummoned to the *Comitia*, where *Brutus*, and his Collegue, ſat on the Tribunal of Juſtice. The Priſoners being brought before their Judges, were, one after another, tied to Stakes, with their Hands bound behind them. So melancholy a Spectacle this! that the People durſt ſcarce turn their Eyes towards *Brutus*'s two Sons. Their Youth indeed, and the Affection which the People had for their Father, raiſed ſome ſort of Compaſſion in their Hearts; but then, the Heinouſneſs of their Crime, the Parricide which they had ſworn to commit, and the new Slavery into which they deſigned to plunge *Rome*, leſſened the publick Concern for them: And therefore the whole Attention of the People, and all their Pity, were turned towards *Brutus*. Their Minds were in Suſpence about the Sentences which the *Conſuls* were going to pronounce, the one againſt his Sons, and the other againſt his Nephews. But *Brutus* himſelf did not ſeem to relent at the Fate of his guilty Sons: and began the Tryal with their Examination. *Vindicius* appeared againſt them; and his Teſtimony was found unanſwerable. The two Priſoners made no Defence but with their Tears; at which the inflexible *Brutus* did not ſeem to be moved. He ſternly commanded the Regiſter to read the Letters, which his Sons had written to the *Tarquins*: and their Sign, their Writing, their Seal, all appeared convincing to a Father, who could eaſily diſtinguiſh his Sons Hands. *Titus*, ſaid he, ſpeaking coldly to the two Priſoners, without calling them Sons, *and you*, Tiberius, *what have you to offer in your Defence?* But they were ſilent, and their Silence confeſſed their Guilt. They were thrice called upon to make their Defence: but inſtead of Excuſes, or Supplications for Mercy, they made uſe of no Eloquence beſides their Tears. Upon which, the major Part of the Senators were moved with Compaſſion, and confuſedly murmured, *Baniſh them, Baniſh them.* As for *Collatinus*, his Eyes were bathed in Tears; and *Valerius*, as rigid as he was, had nothing to ſay. He durſt not condemn ſuch young Offenders, nor was he willing to abſolve them. This favourable Diſpoſition therefore gave the two guilty Youths ſome ſmall Hopes: But

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 283. Plut. ibid.

whole Plot, without being diſcovered. Being under a Neceſſity to chuſe ſome one, or other, of theſe trivial Circumſtances, I have taken the moſt probable.

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he whole Aſſembly trembled, and expected the Deciſion with Horror. At length, *Brutus* roſe up to give Sentence: Upon which, there enſued a profound Silence. very Perſon preſent was concerned for the Guilty, as for his own Sons; whilſt heir Father ſeemed indifferent about the Matter he was going to decide. It is ſufciently known, that at *Rome* Fathers were the firſt Judges of their Children: nd in the preſent Caſe, it may be ſaid, that *Brutus* alone made the Decree which ondemned his Sons to Death. For he was heard to ſay, with a ſteady Voice, which as not interrupted ſo much as by a ſingle Sigh, *Lictors, I deliver them over to u; execute the Law upon them.* But at theſe Words there was ſuch a Shriek in e Aſſembly, as one would think ſhould have been ſufficient to pierce the *Conſul*'s eart. The People were in a great Conſternation, to ſee an unhappy Father, thro' n Exceſs of Virtue, deprive himſelf of his only Hopes of Poſterity; and therefore ried out, *We give 'em back to their Country, and to their Family.* As for the two riminals, they made bitter Lamentations, and endeavoured to ſoften their Father, y addreſſing themſelves to him under the moſt endearing Names. But the *Conſul* ut his Heart againſt Compaſſion, and forgot that he was a Father. He would not much as abate his Children any one of the Puniſhments which were allotted to e greateſt Criminals. He ordered them to be beaten with Rods, in his Preſence, nd did not turn his Eyes from them, whilſt they underwent that Puniſhment. nd laſtly, he ſaw their Heads ſtruck off, with a ſteady and compoſed Countenance; nd was unmoved at ſeeing the Earth wet with his own Blood. An Example this, hich *Rome* has always admired, and which the *Greek* Hiſtorians trembled to reate, for fear they ſhould not be believed by their Countrymen! An Action which our Times is blamed by ſome, but applauded by others, as the moſt glorious acrifice paternal Affection could ever make to Liberty, and the Love of one's ountry!

§. VIII. BUT *Brutus* had now ſeen Blood enough ſhed, and the Struggles he had had in his own Mind, made it neceſſary for him to compoſe it. He therefore [14] deſcended rom the Tribunal, quitted the *Comitia*, and left his Collegue to do the reſt. Upon which, the great Difference betwixt *Collatinus*'s Weakneſs of Mind, and the enerous Soul of *Brutus*, immediately appeared. The People had indeed been rieved to ſee the Execution of two tender Youths, who would never have been uilty of this Crime, if they had not been ſeduced into it; but they impatiently exected the Condemnation of the *Aquilii*, who had been the Leaders and Authors of e Conſpiracy. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſul*'s Delays, his Confuſion, and his Expreſions, made them think he intended to be favourable to his Nephews: And therefore when he allowed the Priſoners one Day to clear themſelves from their Accuation, it was not ſo much Matter of Surprize, as of Indignation. But the Peole were exceedingly aſtoniſhed, when he order'd that the Slave *Vindicius* ſhould be aken out of the Hands of the Accuſers, and be deliver'd up to his Maſters: This ouſed the Zeal of *Valerius*. He had promiſed with an Oath to protect the Evience; and he kept his Word. The *Lictors* attempted in vain to force him out f his Arms: *Valerius*'s Clients, and the Friends he had about him, defended that mportant Witneſs, who had otherwiſe been deſtroy'd, to prevent his appearing as n Evidence. Nor was this all; for all the People called for *Brutus*, and inſiſted pon his coming back to the *Comitia*. That unfortunate Father had had but a few oments to recollect himſelf, and ſecretly to bewail his Family-Misfortunes: How-

Plutarch.

14 *Dion. Hal.*'s Account of this Matter differs om that of *Plutarch*, which appears to us more obable, and more agreeable to *Brutus*'s Genius. he former pretends, that *Brutus*, immediately af- the Execution of his Children, had the *Aquilii* ought before him; that after their Letters were ad aloud, he gave 'em Leave to make their Dence; and that they, having nothing to ſay for themlves, had Recourſe to Tears and Entreaties; but no Purpoſe. For *Brutus*, ſtill inflexible, order- the *Lictors* to ſeize them, and carry them to Exution. *Collatinus* ſuſpended it, and made the armeſt Remonſtrances to his Collegue, in favour the Conſpirators: But being piqued when he und that he could not ſoften *Brutus*'s hard Heart, he had Recourſe to his Authority, and pardoned the Criminals. This ſo exaſperated *Brutus*, that he committed the *Aquilii* to Priſon, in ſpight of the Oppoſition of the other *Conſul*, and accuſed him before the People, of Treaſon and Perfidiouſneſs. *Collatinus* ſeeing with Grief, that the People were unanimouſly againſt him, and againſt thoſe whoſe Defence he had undertaken, thought he could no longer exerciſe the Office of a *Conſul*, with Dignity; and therefore choſe to abdicate the Magiſtracy, at the Perſuaſion of *Spurius Lucretius*, his Father-in-law. *Collatinus* was ſucceeded by *Publius Valerius*. *Brutus* immediately, with the Concurrence of his new Collegue, put all thoſe to Death, who had been concerned in the Conſpiracy.

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ever, he appeared again with the ſame Firmneſs of Mind which he had ſhewn at firſt; and his Preſence made the Priſoners tremble, but quieted the Minds of the Aſſembly. When he had again aſcended the Tribunal, he order'd Silence, and made this ſhort Speech: Romans, *the Authority which I had over my Children, made me ſacrifice them to the publick Welfare: The Authority which the Laws give you over all the Subjects of the Commonwealth, makes you Maſters of the Accuſed. Let their Fate be determined by your Suffrages. Either condemn my Hard-heartedneſs, by Inſtances of Lenity; or approve my Firmneſs of Mind, by Examples of Juſtice.*

THUS, three Articles of great Importance to the riſing Commonwealth, were left to the Deciſion of the *Curiæ*. 1*ſt*. What Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the reſt of the Conſpirators. 2*dly*. What Treatment the *Tarquinian* Ambaſſadors had deſerved. 3*dly*. What Reward ſhould be given to the Diſcoverer of the Conſpiracy. And they determined, as to the firſt, that the Conſpirators ſhould, without Exception, ſuffer as Rebels: Which Decree was accordingly executed. For, after they had been beaten with Rods, their Heads were ſtruck off with the *Axes* of the *Lictors*. As to the ſecond, after they had long deliberated what to do with the Ambaſſadors, the Regard the *Romans* had for the Law of Nations, at laſt got the better of their Abhorrence of a Treaſon concerted againſt a lawful Government. In the third Place, it was decreed, that *Vindicius* [15] deſerved that Liberty which he had ſecured to the *Romans*; and it was thought that they could not refuſe to recompenſe the Deliverer of their City, with a Title to all the Privileges of a Citizen. And beſides theſe Gratifications, he had a Reward [16] of five and twenty thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs, iſſued out of the publick Treaſury. And tho' the People had formerly decreed that the *Tarquins* Eſtates ſhould be reſtored to them; yet the Senate now thought they might, without impeaching the venerable Decrees of the *Curiæ*, refuſe, to the declared Enemies of *Rome*, thoſe Means which they would make Uſe of to its Deſtruction. So that the Eſtates of the *Tarquins* were thus diſpoſed of. Their Palace, with its beautiful Portico, was deſtroy'd; their Lands were diſtributed to thoſe indigent Citizens, who had none of their own; and the Publick kept only that Piece of Ground ſituated between the City and the *Tyber*, and bordering on the *Campus Martius*, which the greedy King had formerly, by an Encroachment upon the City, added to his Demeſnes, and cul-

Liv. B. 1. *c.* 5.

Plutarch. Dion. Hal. B. 5. *p.* 287.

Braſs

15 It's commonly thought, and is probable enough, this *Latin* Phraſe, *Vindicare in libertatem*, had its Riſe from the Name of *Vindicius*, who was made free by the *Conſul*. But there are others, who will have it to be derived from the Word *Vindicta*, which ſignifies a *Wand*, with which the *Prætor*, whoſe Office it was afterwards to grant Freedoms, ſtruck the Slave, whoſe Maſter had a mind to ſet him at Liberty. In order to reconcile theſe Opinions, it may be ſaid, that the *Wand* it ſelf took its Name from *Vindicius*. In the Ceremony of granting Freedoms publickly, (for there were private ones, which were granted either by Will, or in the Preſence of Witneſſes,) the Maſter preſented his Slave to the *Prætor*, firſt holding him by the Hand, and afterwards quitting his Hold; whence came the *Latin* Word *Manumiſſio*. Then, after he had given him a little Blow on the Cheek, he preſented him to the *Conſul*, or to the *Prætor*; who ſtriking him gently with his Wand, pronounced theſe Words: *Aio te liberum eſſe more Quiritium*. This Ceremony being ended, the Slave was regiſter'd upon the Roll of *Freed-men*. Then he was ſhaved, and put on the Cap called *Pileus*, which was worn by the *Romans* upon certain Days. In order to make the taking Poſſeſſion of this Kind of Cap more ſolemn, it was performed in the Temple of *Feronia*, the Goddeſs of the *Freed-men*. In one of theſe Temples, there was a Stone Seat, with this Inſcription on it: *Benemeriti Servi ſedeant, ſurgant liberi:* And it is well known, that the *Pileus* was, among the antient *Romans*, the Sign and Symbol of Liberty. At the Death of *Nero*, the People appear'd in the Streets, with this Cap on their Heads. On a Medal of *Antoninus*, we ſee *Liberty* holding the *Pileus* in her Hand, with this Inſcription, LIBERTAS. COS. iiij.

16 *Livy* ſays only, that a Sum of Money was given to *Vindicius*. We have fix'd it at five and twenty thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs; becauſe *Livy* himſelf, in *B.* 9. of his firſt *Decad*, has obſerved, that the Reward appointed by Law, for the Slaves who ſhould diſcover Conſpiracies, amounted to this Sum; as that for Free-men did to a hundred thouſand.

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vated for his own Profit. It was a Plain encompaſſed with Trees, was now con-crated anew to *Mars*, became a common Paſture, and the *Roman* Youth made Uſe of it as a convenient Place for the Exerciſes of Wreſtling and Racing. But ter the Field was conſecrated, the *Romans*[17] ſcrupled to houſe the Corn, which ey found on the Ground[18] ready reap'd to their Hands; and therefore threw it, gether with the Trees, into the River. The Water of the River was then low; d that Heap of Trees, and Sheaves of Corn, being accidentally ſtop'd in a mud- Place, begun to form that[19] fine Iſland in the *Tyber*, which, in thoſe early ays, was a Part of the Suburbs of *Rome*, and which afterwards encreaſing, by the ud which the Stream brought down, and by the Filth which was empty'd out of e City, had in a little time ſo ſolid a Foundation, that, with the Help of Piles, e *Romans* were able to build on it the famous Temple of *Æſculapius*.

§. IX. IN the mean time, the Weakneſs which *Collatinus* had ſhewnat the Trial of e Conſpirators, had turned the People's Suſpicions of him, into hatred. And *Bru-s*, either thro' an Averſion to the whole Race of the *Tarquins*, or thro' a well-ounded Miſtruſt, or thro' an Antipathy to a Collegue, whoſe Humour did not it his own, took Advantage of the Diſpoſition the People were in, to get him poſed from the[20] *Conſulſhip*. But *Brutus* was frank and open. For before he ndertook any thing againſt *Collatinus*, he firſt threaten'd him, and, in an Aſſem-y of the People, made a Speech to this Effect: Romans, *if your Choice could ve united the Affections of the two* Conſuls, *there would have been no Defect in e new Government, and I ſhould have had nothing more to wiſh. But when e were placed together upon the ſame Tribunal, it happen'd, by a Misfortune which uld not be foreſeen, that there was as great a Difference betwixt* Collatinus *and me, between a Hatred of Tyranny, and a Love of Tyrants. His Affection for a teſtable Family, makes him run all Hazards, in order to reſtore our Oppreſſors; hilſt I am profuſe of my own Blood, in order to preſerve my Country. I fear the Gods, who avenge the Violation of the Oaths by which we are bound; whilſt he akes 'em give way to his Family-Intereſt, and the Ties of Blood. Have not all* Collatinus's *Thoughts, and the whole Strength of his Intereſt, been levell'd at the Deſtruction of that Liberty, which his Honour obliged him to defend? And you had Hopes he would defend it; but the Eſtates which he ſollicited you to reſtore to the Enemies of* Rome, *and the Impunity he was ready to grant, to cruel Conſpirators, have unmask'd a Partizan of the* Kings, *who lay conceal'd nder the Appearance of a* Conſul. *How!* Collatinus, *I have not ſpared my own Children, and ſhould I ſpare a guilty Magiſtrate, whoſe Body only remains amongſt us; whilſt his Heart is with the Out-laws? Should I ſhew any Indulgence to a ollegue, who conſented to my Death, by favouring thoſe who had ſworn to com-ſs it?* Romans, *let us prevent the Evils which a domeſtick Enemy is preparing r us. Let us at once deprive him of that Authority which he abuſes; and wreſt at Sword out of his Hand, with which he threatens us. In my Judgment, he ght to be depoſed. And as for you,* Romans, *I order you to aſſemble by* Curiæ, *to termine, by your Suffrages, whether it be fit that* Collatinus *alone, ſhould be at*

17 The *Romans* ſcrupled making any Advantage this Harveſt, either becauſe the Field had been nſecrated to *Mars*, or becauſe it had been pro-aned by *Tarquin*'s cultivating it for his own Pro-

18 It's evident, from *Plutarch*'s Words, that rveſt was begun, when the *Tarquins* Eſtates were poſed of. It was not therefore, at ſooneſt, till Month of *June*, It's true, that the ſecond Feſ-al of the *Regifugium*, was fix'd to the ninth Day fore the *Calends of June*, *i. e.* the 24th of *May*. hence we have conjectured, that the laſt Decree the *Curiæ* againſt the *Tarquins*, was pronounced that very Day: Notwithſtanding which, the Diſ-bution of their Eſtates might not be made till the d of *June*, when Harveſt was begun. *Collati-* was ſtill *Conſul* at that Time, not having re-ned his Office till ſome time after; moſt probably t till the Month of *October*, in which the Year *Brutus*'s *Conſulſhip* properly began.

19 The antient *Romans* built ſeveral Temples in that Iſland; and particularly three, one of which was dedicated to *Æſculapius*, another to *Jupiter*, and the third to *Faunus*. *Livy* conjectures, that the *Romans* afterwards encompaſſed the Iſland with *Moles*, in order to make the Land the firmer. The Iſland was join'd to the City, and to the Hill *Janiculus*, by two Bridges; whence it had the Name of *The Iſland of the two Bridges*. It was afterwards called, *The Sacred Iſland*, when the *Romans* had built a great Number of Temples there, to the Honour of their Gods.

20 The Hiſtorians from whom we have our Accounts of *Collatinus*'s Abdication, place it differently, and vary as to the Order of the Circumſtances; which ſufficiently ſhews the Uncertainty they were in. We think we have placed the Fact, and its Circumſtances, in that Order which agrees beſt with the Series of the Hiſtory. So great a Diverſity of Opinions, among thoſe who relate the ſame Event, is very perplexing.

the

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the Head of the Commonwealth. Brutus, *from this Moment, renounces the* Conſulſhip, *if* Collatinus *muſt ſtill ſhare the Government with him.*

THESE Words raiſed ſo great a Commotion among the People, that they would ſcarce hear *Collatinus*'s Defence: In vain did he reproach *Brutus* with betraying his Friend, and defaming his Collegue; for the People did not regard his Invectives. Till at length he, by virtue of the Authority he had as *Conſul*, forbad the People holding the Aſſembly which his Collegue had appointed. But this Prohibition was a new Provocation; and his Affairs went the worſe for it: For it raiſed the People's Reſentments to ſuch a Height, that they began to run to the Place where the *Curiæ* met; and every thing ſeemed to tend towards a Depoſition of *Collatinus* by Violence. Then *Sp. Lucretius* ventured to aſcend *The Tribune*, from which the Speeches were uſually made to the People. He is ſaid to have been the firſt private Man that ever obtained Leave of the *Conſuls* to make a Speech in the *Comitia*. His Age, and the Remembrance of the virtuous *Lucretia* his Daughter, gain'd him Attention: And he directed his Speech firſt to his Son-in-law *Collatinus*. *In vain*, ſays he, *do you obſtinately reſolve to continue, in Spight of the People, in a Poſt to which they have raiſed you. As you received it at firſt from them; ſo you ought now to reſign it into their Hands. For, when a ſudden Tempeſt ariſes, it's a Man's Wiſdom to know how to avoid it. Don't ſtrive againſt the Billows, whilſt you ſee 'em boiſterous. A private Life offers you a ſafe Harbour. Put in voluntarily, without waiting till the Wind drives you in, at the Peril of Shipwreck. You will give ſurer Proofs of your Fidelity to* Rome, *by your Retreat, than you can here by all your Speeches, and all your Proteſtations. As for you,* Brutus, *don't carry your preſent Reſentments to an Extremity, againſt a Collegue, who was, jointly with you, one of the principal Authors of our Liberty. Spare him the Indignity of being baniſhed* Rome *upon bare Suſpicions, as his Relations were for real Crimes. And you,* Romans, *mitigate the Uneaſineſs of his voluntary Reſignation, by your Liberality. Give him his Eſtate, and let your Treaſury ſupply what is wanting, to enable him to ſupport the Glory of a* Roman Conſul, *with Dignity, in his Retirement.*

AND as this Advice of *Lucretius*'s was received by the Aſſembly with Applauſe, *Collatinus* had then no Way left, but that of Abdication; and therefore, after he had called the Gods to be Witneſſes of his Innocence, and Men, of the Ingratitude of his Relations and Friends, he [21] reſigned the *Conſulſhip*. Upon which, *Brutus*, who had made him ſubmit to Reaſon, now highly commended his Wiſdom, and exhorted him to preſerve the ſame Affection for the Commonwealth, which ſhe would always continue to have for him. After this, *Brutus* procured him a Preſent of [22] twenty Talents, out of the publick Treaſury; and added five Talents of his own to them, to ſhew that he had no perſonal Enmity to him. Thus the laſt Man of one Branch of the *Tarquin* Family, by leaving *Rome*, deliver'd it from its Fears. The Place which *Collatinus* choſe to retire to, was *Lavinium*; where he lived peaceably, and at laſt died of old Age.

§. X. *BRUTUS* did not long give the *Romans* room to ſuſpect, that he intended to govern ſingly, and that, under the Name of a *Conſul*, he aim'd at all the Authority of a *King:* For he immediately aſſembled the [23] People *by Centuries*, in the *Campus Martius*, in order to proceed to the Election of a new *Conſul*, to ſup-

21 *Livy* exceeds the Bounds of Probability, in the Account he gives us of *Collatinus*'s reſigning the *Conſulſhip:* That of *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* is better connected, and more judicious, as it aſſigns a plauſible Reaſon for the *Conſul*'s Abdication. As for the *Latin* Hiſtorian, he mentions no other Reaſon of this Diſgrace, but *Collatinus*'s Misfortune in being deſcended from the Family of the *Tarquins*. Nor have we ſhewn more Regard to *Livy*, with Relation to the Manner in which he diſpoſes the Circumſtances of the Conſpiracy of the *Vitellii* and *Aquilii*. For he places this Fact in the *Conſulſhip* of *Brutus* and *Valerius*, after *Collatinus* was depoſed. In which he is contradicted by the two *Greek* Hiſtorians.

22 Theſe twenty *Talents*, * reckoning each Talent at a hundred *Minæ*, and ſix thouſand *Drachmæ*; and each *Drachma* at ten *Sols*, would amount to the Sum of twenty thouſand *Crowns French*. But, indeed, it's next to impoſſible, to make an exact Computation of the Value of the antient Coin, upon the Foot of our current Species. This Sort of Reduction is not to be made, without ſuppoſing an abſolute intrinſick Value in Metals; which would be a chimerical Suppoſition: Since their Value has always been arbitrary, and relative to the Times, Manners, and Cuſtoms of Nations, and ſubject to the Will of Law-givers, or of Princes, who have always ſettled the Value of their Coin, according to the Neceſſities of State.

23 That is to ſay, that obſerving the Order of the different *Claſſes* eſtabliſhed by *Servius Tullius*, the Suffrages of the Majority of the *Centuries*, had then the Force of a Law.

* According to *Dr. Arbuthnot*, who reckons but 60 *Minæ* to a *Talent*, the 20 *Talents* amount to 3875 *l. Sterling.*

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ly the Place of *Collatinus*. The Suffrages of the People carried it for *P. Vale-ius*, who, in the former Election, could not bear to ſee a Competitor, who was f the Blood of the *Tarquins*, preferred before him. Nevertheleſs, it may be id of *Valerius*, that, ſetting aſide his Ambition, he was one of the moſt virtuous itizens, *Rome* ever produced. For, being deſcended from the *Sabines*, he had reſerved that Auſterity of Manners, which was profeſſed in the Country of his nceſtors. The firſt of his Progenitors, who came to *Rome*, had managed the reaty of Peace between *Romulus* and *Titus Tatius*; and had left his Children the rt of reconciling Differences, as an hereditary Eſtate. The new *Conſul* was de-ended from *Valerius Voleſus*, who had left him a great Eſtate; the beſt Part of hich, in the Time of the *Kings*, he applied to the Relief of the Indigent: And can't be ſaid, that in thoſe Times of Confuſion, his Liberality proceeded from ny Hopes of Preferment. He, tho' more eloquent than the *Roman* Ruſticity ould at that time allow of, yet never made uſe of the Art of Perſuaſion, but to efend the Oppreſſed. He was abſtemious, even to an Exceſs; being ſevere only himſelf, and always compaſſionate to the Miſeries of other Men. In ſhort, by e ſole Inſpiration of Nature, and the Dictates of ſound Reaſon, he was an In-ance of an accompliſhed Wiſdom among the *Romans*, before the *Greek* Philo-phy, in which Wiſdom was reduced to an Art, was known at *Rome*.

THUS, as the two *Conſuls* were equally eminent for their Love of Virtue, and f the publick Good; there was a perfect Harmony between them: and they be-n their Adminiſtration, by paſſing a Law, which brought back a great number f excellent Subjects to *Rome*. It granted a general Amneſty to all thoſe who had llowed the Fortune of the *Tarquins*. This Pardon was extended to thoſe Citi-ns, who finding themſelves guilty of certain Crimes, which the Indulgence of e former Government had left unpuniſhed, had of themſelves gone into Exile. hey had twenty Days allowed them to return to the City. If they did not ap-ear there, in that time, their Effects were to be confiſcated, and their Baniſhment eclared perpetual, without leaving them any Hopes of a Return. This wiſe Pre-caution deprived the baniſhed King of a great number of Friends and Soldiers. But the ambitious *Tarquin* was not diſconcerted by the Union of the *Conſuls*, the Peoples Affection to them, or by the Deſertion of the *Romans*, who returned to their own Country. He did not deſpair of executing that by Force, which he ould not carry by Stratagem. And therefore, tho' the *Romans* failed him, he ſtill oped to find Aſſiſtance among their Enemies. Accordingly, he run thro' the ſe-veral *Lucumonies* of the *Hetrurians*, exaggerating, wherever he came, the Diſtreſs oth he and his Children were in: and he found the *Veientes* as ready to liſten him, as the *Tarquinians* had been. He revived *their* antient Jealouſy againſt *ome*; and promiſed them to reſtore their Glory, and the Countries which the *omans* had taken from them. In ſhort, he made them hope, that they ſhould e Day have Dominion in *Rome*, and enjoy the higheſt Degrees of Honour there. he Confidence therefore which they placed in a General, who was famous for any Victories, engaged them in a new War with their old Enemies: And by us uniting the Forces of the *Veientes*, and *Tarquinians*, the King had an Army ual to that of the *Romans*. The Royaliſts firſt took the Field: but as ſoon as ey were entered into the *Roman* Territory, the *Conſuls* marched out their Troops meet them. *Brutus* commanded one Wing, and *Valerius* the other. But, for me Hours, *Brutus* marched at the Head of the Cavalry, in order to diſcover the nemy.

Plutarch and *Dion. Hal. B.* 5. *p.* 288.

Livy, B. 2. *ch.* 6.

§. XI. As *Tarquin* had been uſed to draw up his Army after the *Roman* Manner, obſerved the ſame Order of Battel, as his Enemy: And it may be ſaid, that this s rather a kind of Civil War, than a Foreign one. Here were Allies againſt llies, and *Roman* Generals againſt *Roman* Generals; equal Valour, and equal ill, on both Sides. At length, the *Roman* Army paſſed the *Tyber*, and poſted ſelf in a Meadow, which was bounded by a [24] Foreſt, conſecrated to a Hero, noſe Name was *Arſius*. When the two Armies were in ſight of one another, a

Dion. Hal. B. 5. *ibid. Val. Max. Plutarch.*

[24] This Foreſt, dedicated to *Arſius*, or to *Hora-*, according to *Dion. Hal.* is, by *Livy*, called *Syl-Arſia*. The Field of Battel was ſituated between Hill *Janiculus*, and the Place which is now called *Borghetto*. The *Romans* encamped in *The Meadows of* Junius, or *Vinius*, as they are called, by the Author of *The Antiquities*: But *Plutarch* calls them *The Eſurient Meadows*.

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Junius Brutus, and P. Valerius, Consuls.
Livy, *B.* 2. *ch.* 6.

Motion was made on both Sides to begin the Onset. *Brutus*, with his Cavalry, marched towards the Enemy, designing to bring them to an Engagement, by Skirmishes. *Arunx*, one of *Tarquin*'s Sons, was advancing boldly, with a Party of Horse, when *Brutus*'s Squadrons appeared within reach of their Darts. So that, when the two Generals had discovered each other, *There he is*, cry'd *Arunx*, *that Enemy of my Family, that Usurper of my Father's Throne!* This said, he pushed on his Horse; and *Brutus* flew to meet him. For single Combats, at the Head of Armies, were at that time still in Use. But in this, the two Champions were led on more by Hatred and Rage, than by the Love of Glory; and Passion had left no room on either Side, for the Exercise of Skill and Precaution: Insomuch, that the two Combatants levelling their Javelins, rushed on, and ran each other thro' the Body. Their Horses, meeting each other with a violent Shock, threw their dying Riders; and the Loss of the two Generals was the Prelude of the Battel.

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Then all the Bodies of the two Armies engaged at once, Cavalry against Cavalry, and Battalions against Battalions. The Wing which *Brutus* was to have commanded, being deprived of its Leader, and attacked by the Body of the *Tarquinians*, commanded by King *Tarquin* and his Sons; the *Romans* were on that Side defeated, and put to flight. They were soon obliged to give way, and were afterwards vigorously pursued, even to their Camp [25]; which a *Corps de Reserve*, of the best *Roman* Troops, defended with invincible Courage. On the Side where *Valerius* was engaged, the *Veientes* were routed, driven to their Camp, and they left the Field covered with their Slain. But never was the Success of a Battel more dubious; never was the Number of the Slain on both Sides more equal: till at length, Night coming on, put an end to this doubtful Action, and left the two Camps uncertain, which had gain'd the Victory, or which was defeated. Each saw the Fields round about them, strewed with the Carcasses of their Countrymen; and they were both in a Consternation, each thinking themselves conquered: when, if any Credit is to be given to a Fable, which was handed about at that time, a Voice was heard out of the Wood of *Arsius*, which encouraged the *Romans*, by assuring them, that the Victory was theirs. This was perhaps a Stratagem of the expert *Valerius*, who either contrived, that a Voice should actually be heard, or pretended that it had been heard. But, be that as it will, it's certain that the *Romans* had more Constancy and Resolution than the *Hetrurians*. The latter, as well *Tarquinians* as *Veientes*, abandoned their Camp in great Confusion, disbanded themselves, and returned to their own Country. So that *Valerius*, who, by this means, remained sole Master of the Field of Battel, ordered the Slain to be stripped and numbered. Upon which, he found, that the Enemy had lost eleven thousand and three hundred Men, and that the *Romans* Loss was but one Man short of the same Number. Early the next Morning, *Valerius* went and plundered the forsaken Camp of the *Hetrurians*: And as the Number of their wounded was great, several of them were retarded in their Flight: these the *Romans* attacked, and took about five thousand of them Prisoners. This Battel was fought the Day before the *Calends of* March.

§. XII. Nevertheless, this Success did not comfort *Rome* for the Loss of the generous *Brutus*. The better the Commonwealth was secured by the Defeat of the *Tarquins*, the more she regretted the Death of her Founder. The first Funeral Honours were paid him in the Camp, where his Head was [26] crowned with Laurel. After this,

25 According to *Dion. Hal.* this *Corps de Reserve* consisted of the *Triarii*. For all the *Roman Legions* were composed of *four* sorts of Soldiers. The *first*, and the least considerable, were called *Velites*, who had no particular Rank in the Lines of the *Legion*; but hover'd about, both before, and between, the Lines. The *first Line* of the *Roman Legion*, consisted of those who were called *Hastati*, from their Weapon *Hasta*, which was a kind of Lance, or short Javelin, which they threw at their Enemies. For this was their manner of fighting. The *second Line* consisted of those, who were called *Principes*. But there is nothing more uncertain, than the Reason of their being so called: it's thought it might be, because they formerly were the *first Line*, and fought with their Swords; but that that Order was afterwards altered, and the *Hastati* placed there in their stead. In the *last Line* were posted those who were called *Triarii*, q.d. *Tertiarii*; because they formed the *third* Line. These never exceeded the Number of six hundred, how numerous soever the *Legion* it self might be. They were the best Men, the oldest, and the bravest Soldiers, to be found in the whole *Legion*; and, in Battel, were always a Help ready at hand, upon the least Signal, and a *Corps de Reserve*, upon all important Occasions. These *Triarii* preserved the *Roman* Camp, at this time, from being pillaged, after the Defeat of one of the Wings of their Army.

26 *Romulus* was the first who introduced, at *Rome*, the Custom of crowning Conquerors with *Laurel*: since which time, that Crown became the Mark and Symbol of *Victory* and *Triumphs*.

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Corpſe was carried to *Rome*; and the whole City being divided betwixt Mourn- for the Loſs it had ſuſtained, and Joy for the Victory it had gained, gave De- nſtrations of both ſucceſſively. *Valerius*'s Triumph was celebrated [27] on the Day of *March*. All the People went out to meet the Conqueror: And in ry Street, there were Tables ſet out before the Doors; ſo that the Soldiers nd Refreſhments wherever they paſſed. The Conqueror himſelf, in a Chariot wn by four Horſes, made his Entrance into the City, amidſt the Acclamations the People, and of the Army. This Pomp was magnificent enough to excite Emulation of the *Roman* Generals, but not ſtately enough to expoſe the Con- ror to the Hatred of the Citizens. The Spoils of the Vanquiſhed were dedica- to the Gods; and the whole Day was ſpent in ſacrificing and rejoicing.

The next Day, the Face of the City was changed: The *Conſul* put on a urning Habit; and after he had cauſed *Brutus*'s Corpſe to be brought into the *rum*, in a magnificent Litter, he aſcended *The Tribune*; and then gave *Rome* the Example of thoſe Funeral Orations, which were ever after made in Praiſe of eat Men. Nay, it's pretended, that the *Romans* [28] were earlier than the *Greeks*, his Practice; tho' theſe were afterwards remarkable for making extravagant Pa- gyricks upon their Heroes. *Valerius* ſignalized his Eloquence, by the Enco- um he made upon his Collegue, which was received with univerſal Applauſe. e Ladies, in particular, diſtinguiſhed themſelves by the ſame Demonſtrations of fection for the Avenger of the Honour of the Sex; as if they had all loſt their mmon Father [29]. They went into Mourning for ten Months; and did them- ves Honour, by the Honours they paid to the incomparable *Brutus*. It may be d, that in the few Months, wherein he diſplayed his Wiſdom, he compenſated the many Years he was obliged to conceal it. He reſtored Liberty to his Coun- ; cemented it with the Blood of his own Sons; ſecured *Rome* a *Conſul*, in whom own Temper, Judgment, and all his Virtues were remarkably conſpicuous; d in defending her againſt an Uſurper; and at his Death, left her in a Condition have no further Want of his Zeal. The *Romans* themſelves ſaid, that *Brutus* had undergone more Hardſhips and Hazards, in eſtabliſhing the Commonwealth, than *Romulus* had in founding the City. In ſhort, he deſerved, by one Year's Conduct at the Helm of State, to be conſidered, on the Account of his Love to his Country, and the great Endowments of his Mind, as the moſt illuſtrious Citizen which *Rome*, tho' very fruitful in Heroes, had ever produced. It plainly appears, that he left no Poſterity. That Branch of the *Junian* Family, from which he de- ſcended, was *Patrician*; and yet the *Junian* Family, for a long time after, was no more than [30] *Plebeian* in *Rome*. A ſure Proof, that it was deſcended only from a collateral Branch of the Family of *Junius* [31] *Brutus*, the *Conſul*. *VA-*

Silver

Silver.

[27] The Battel was fought the Day before the lends of *March*, or the laſt Day of *February*, as utarch aſſures us. The next Day, *i. e.* the firſt *March*, was remarkable for the Triumph of *Va- ius*. The *Faſti Capitolini* place this Triumph on ſame Day, in the Year 244, ſince *Romulus*.

[28] Funeral Orations were not uſed in *Greece*, after the Battle of *Marathon*, *i. e.* ſixteen Years er the Death of *Brutus*. Before that Time, the nerals of great Men, among the *Greeks*, were noured by publick Games, and Carouſals. We d indeed, in the Writings of the Tragick Poets, t *Theſeus* publickly pronounced an *Encomium* on the ſeven Captains, who loſt their Lives be- e *Thebes*; but this Circumſtance is mere poetick vention. *Diodorus Siculus* aſſures us, that the *henians* eſtabliſhed Funeral Orations, by an ex- eſs Law, upon the account of thoſe who were in in the Wars againſt the *Perſians*. *Anaximenes* the Rhetorician, as quoted by *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, falſely aſcribes this Law to *Solon*.

[29] We have already obſerved, that the *Roman* Women's Year of Mourning conſiſted but of ten Months; for in this Caſe, they retained the antient Cuſtom, of reckoning the Year as *Romulus* did; and mourned for *Brutus* as long, as if they had loſt their Husbands: This Cuſtom is mentioned by *Ovid*, *Faſt. B.* 1.

Per totidem menſes a funere conjugis uxor
Suſtinet in viduâ triſtia ſigna domo.

[30] *Tully* indeed does *Lucius Brutus*, who murdered *Julius Cæſar*, the Honour of mentioning him, as lineally deſcended from the firſt *Conſul*; and *Brutus* himſelf pretended to that Honour. But in this the *Roman* Orator is contradicted by the concurrent Teſtimony of all Writers, *Plutarch* and *Eutropius* only excepted. Beſides, it's evident, that the firſt *Brutus* left no Iſſue.

[31] The *Romans* afterwards erected a Statue to *Brutus*,

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§. XIII. *VALERIUS* was left in peaceable Poſſeſſion of his Glory. But as he, for ſome time, deferred calling the People to a new Electiõn, either thro' Negligence, or thro' Deſpair of being able to provide *Rome* immediately with a *Conſul*, who would fill *Brutus*'s Place with Dignity; or thro' a ſecret Deſire of being, in a few Days, the ſole Author of his Country's Welfare: the *Romans* (who, in thoſe Times, carried their Love of Liberty to an Exceſs of Diſtruſt) put a bad Conſtruction upon his Delays. *He is an ambitious Man*, ſaid they, *who is trying the Peoples Patience; and after he has accuſtomed us to bear the Yoke, and thereby made it tolerable, he will then uſurp the ſole Dominion over us. Why does not he imitate* Brutus, *whom he ſo highly extolled? That great Man, after* Collatinus *was baniſhed, did not defer the Election of his Collegue, one Day.* And theſe Murmurs ſeemed to be countenanced by a Circumſtance, the Conſequences of which, *Valerius* had not foreſeen. He was then building a fine Houſe [32], on the Brow of the Hill *Palatinus*, on that Side where the Hill commanded the *Forum Romanum*, and the *Comitium* [33]. That Part of the Hill was very ſteep, and difficult of Acceſs. The Situation therefore of this Houſe, made the People conſider it as a Citadel, from whence the new Monarch would command the City, without any Danger of being inveſted. Theſe Reports ſpread very faſt, and were heard by every body, but the Perſon concerned. How happy is it, in ſuch a Conjuncture as this, to have ſincere Friends, and to be of a Temper to liſten to them. The *Conſul* himſelf, knowing his Intentions to be upright, did not think it poſſible, that any body ſhould ſuſpect the contrary. But as ſoon as he was informed of what the People thought of him, he, without ſhewing any Uneaſineſs, came to a Reſolution, which he kept to himſelf. This was, to ſend for a great Number of Workmen, to pull down his Houſe, the very next Night. Nor was he content with ſeeing this executed: for as ſoon as it was Day, he called the People together, and ſpoke to them in the following manner. *How much does* Brutus's *Fate deſerve my Envy! He died in the Service of his Country, with his Sword in his Hand, and carried off his Glory entire. Your unjuſt Suſpicions*, Romans, *never ſullied it, in his Lifetime: whilſt I have ſurvived him, only to ſee my Name ranked with thoſe of the* Vitellii *and* Aquilii. *How could your Diſtruſts fall upon the moſt approved Virtues, and the firmeſt Supports of your Liberty? Is it poſſible, that my Deſigns could make you believe, that the greateſt Adverſary of Regal Power, intended to uſurp it? Had I made the* Capitol *itſelf the Place of my Reſidence, my paſt Conduct ought to have kept you eaſy. Is it poſſible, that I ſhould loſe the Confidence, which you ought to repoſe in me, for ſo frivolous a Circumſtance, as the Situation of my Houſe? Do you conſider me, only as a Perſon, who lives in this or that Place, and not as that* Conſul, *who has always been ſo zealous for your Intereſts? Go*, Romans, *and ſee the Ruins of that Building, which has given you ſo much Umbrage. I have changed my Habitation, and have made choice of the Valley; that from the Top of the Hill, where I was building my Houſe, you may cruſh me to pieces with Stones, if I am ſtill the Object of your Jealouſy.*

Livy, B. 2. ch. 7.

When he had ended his Speech, he ordered the *Comitia* to aſſemble: And the People met accordingly in the *Campus Martius*, on the Day appointed. *Valerius* left them entirely free, in the Choice of a new *Conſul:* and on this Occaſion, *Rome* gave a freſh Proof of her Gratitude to the firſt Authors of her Liberty.

Brutus, in the *Capitol*; where he was placed in the midſt of the Kings of *Rome*, with a naked Sword in his Hand. There are two Medals ſtill remaining, which, it's thought, were ſtruck after the Murder of *Julius Cæſar*. On one, we ſee the Head of old *Brutus*: the other repreſents *Liberty*, with this Word, Libertas. On the Reverſe, are the *Lictors*, armed with their *Axes* and *Faſces*, with which, *Brutus* was the firſt who was guarded as *Conſul*, after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*; according to this Paſſage in *Virgil*,

——*Conſulis imperium hic, ſævaſque ſecures*
Accipiet. Æneid. B. 6.

32 That is, upon that Part of the Hill *Palatinus*, which *Livy*, and others, call *Summa Velia*, to diſtinguiſh it from the Valley, which was called *Ima Velia*, *i.e.* the *upper*, and *lower*, *Velia*. *Varro* derives this Word from the *Latin* Word *vellere*; becauſe, ſays he, the Shepherds uſed to lead their Sheep to feed in that Place, and there *pluck off* their Wool, before Shearing was invented.

33 This occaſioned the unjuſt Suſpicions of the *Romans* againſt *Valerius*, who was afterwards called *Poplicola*. His *Prænomen* was *Publius*; the moſt natural Etymology of which, is, that thoſe were ſo called, who had been brought up in their Infancy, at the *publick* Charge. Publius, *quaſi* Publicus.

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P. VALERIUS, and Sp. LUCRETIUS, Conſuls.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, Conſul.

Sp. Lucretius, the Father of *Lucretia*, was the only Perſon that remained unewarded, of the four *Patricians*, who had firſt bound themſelves by Oath, to deiver her from Slavery. He therefore, tho' he was very old, was pitch'd upon to ucceed *Brutus* in the *Conſulſhip*. But *Rome* did not long gather the Fruits ſhe oped to receive, from the Government of ſo wiſe an old Man. Death ſnatch'd im from her a few Days after his Election.

THE *Roman* People, as they came out of the *Comitia*, were aſhamed of having njuſtly ſuſpected the Probity of the *Conſul Valerius*; and were equally ſurprized the ſudden Demolition of his Houſe, and at his Diſintereſtedneſs in ſacrificing to the Peoples Uneaſineſs. As therefore the Publick would not bear that ſo reat a Man ſhould live in a borrow'd Houſe, they complimented him with a large round-Plat, in an agreeable Place, where they built him a Houſe [35]; not indeed ſo high a Situation, but full as convenient, as that which he had pull'd down.

§. XIV. IN the Interval betwixt the Death of *Lucretius*, and the Election of a Sucſſor, *Valerius* gave the People ſuch ſenſible Proofs of his Zeal for their Intereſt, hat they could not refuſe him the glorious [36] Surname of *Poplicola*. From that ime forwards, he went by no other Name; and therefore we ſhall mention him y this only, thro' the Courſe of a Life which was remarkably diſtinguiſh'd by a reat Number of *Conſulſhips*. He begun his Adminiſtration, by making an Alration with reſpect to the *Faſces*, which had always been carried before the *ings* and *Conſuls*. He order'd the *Axes*, which were ſo apt to ſtrike Terror, to be ken out of the *Faſces*; and even oblig'd the *Lictors* to lower the *Faſces* with which ey were arm'd, before the Aſſembly of the People. This he did, doubtleſs, in order pave the Way to that very humane Law which he made, whilſt he was ſole *onſul*, and by [37] which every Criminal was allow'd to appeal to the People, and o final Sentence could be given, but by the Decree of the *Curiæ*. He made likeiſe another, in Favour of Artificers; *Poplicola* diſcharged them from all Tribute, he did alſo the Widows, and Old Men, who had no Children in a Condition relieve them. Indeed a third Law, which he made, preſcribed an abſolute Subiſſion to the Orders of the *Conſuls*; but the Fine [38] lay'd upon thoſe who diſobey'd them, was limited to the Value of five Oxen, and two Rams. He alſo ubliſh'd a fourth, which Hiſtorians themſelves have blamed, but which was very reeable to the People whom he then govern'd. He thereby permitted any one, ho ſhould know of any form'd Deſign of uſurping the regal Power, to kill the uthor of it, without waiting till he was legally condemned. Impunity was proiſed to the Murderer, provided he could prove that the Perſon he had kill'd

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

34 Modern Authors give this *Conſul* the Surname *Tricipitinus* alſo; tho' it was not the Name of Family. It is ſaid that this Surname was comon to the *Lucretii*. At leaſt, the Father of *Lucretia* was ſurnamed *Tricipitinus*, according to *Cuſian*. But this is a very diſputable Opinion.

35 *Livy* adds, that this Houſe was ſituated in the ace, where, in his Time, ſtood an Oratory, or tle Temple, dedicated to the Goddeſs *Vicæpota*, *Vicepoca*, according to the antient Reading re'd by *Rhenanus*; or *Viriplaca*, as we ſtill read it ſome of the antient Deſcriptions of the City of me. *Sigonius* was perſuaded that an Error had p'd into the Text, and that it ought to be read, *i nunc via publica*; i. e. *where there is now a blick Road.* And he endeavours to prove it by Authority of *Plutarch* and *Frontinus*. *Juſtus ipſius* prefers *Vicæpota*; under which Name *Victo*was honour'd by the antient *Romans*. The Gramarians derive *Vicæpota* from the *Latin* Words *vinre* and *potiri*. *Lipſius*'s Opinion ſeems to us to be more rational: for the ancient Writers, and *Livy* mſelf, mention a Temple erected to *Victory*, up the Declivity of the Hill *Palatinus*, where *Poplia*'s Houſe was built.

36 In ſome Editions of the *Latin* Hiſtorians, we d *Publicola*, inſtead of *Poplicola*; but 'tis a Fault, hich ought to be corrected. For the *Faſti Capini*, *Dion. Hal.*, *Plutarch*, and *Dio*, call him *Pocola*; which is an Abreviation of *Populicola*.

37 This was a popular Law; but in Proceſs of me, it brought many Miſchiefs upon the Commonwealth. It was the Occaſion of leſſening the Authority of the *Conſuls*, and of putting the Government into other Hands, as *Livy* obſerves, *B.* 4. The *Conſuls* therefore often ſtruck at this Law, and *Tully* was baniſh'd for having broken it. The *Dictators* were excepted in this Law: There lay no Appeal to the People from *their* Decrees of Life and Death. *Plutarch* adds, but without quoting any Authority, that *Poplicola* ſuffer'd all the *Romans*, without obſerving the Diſtinction of *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, when vacant by the Death of *Sp. Lucretius*. But a little Knowledge of the Hiſtory of the *Roman* Commonwealth, is ſufficient to convince us, that in thoſe early Ages, the *Patricians* only, had a Right to be Candidates, for the Honour of the *Conſulſhip*.

38 It is not improbable, that the Fine laid upon thoſe who diſobey'd the *Conſuls*, was five of thoſe Pieces of Money which were ſtampt with the Figure of a Bull, and two of thoſe which bore that of a Ram. *Pollux*, *B.* 9. ſpeaks of a Piece of Money, which in antient Times was current at *Athens*, under the Name of βοῦς; either becauſe, as he pretends, it was ſtampt with the Figure of an *Ox*, or, as *Sperling* will have it, becauſe that Piece of Money was the fix'd Price at which an *Ox* was ſold. But *Plutarch* inſiſts, that the Fine was of real Oxen and Rams; or, at leaſt, of an Equivalent for five of the former, and two of the latter. And he adds, that there was very little Money in thoſe Days, and that Traffick was chiefly carried on by Barter.

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had been guilty of an Attempt againſt the publick Liberty. And in ſhort, the ſame Puniſhment was appointed for all thoſe who uſurped any publick Office, without the Peoples Conſent.

P. Valerius Poplicola, Conſul.

Thus *Poplicola* gained the Affections of all *Rome*, by theſe popular Laws; but what entirely won him the Hearts of the People, was his laying down the moſt odious Part of his Adminiſtration. He found, that the *Conſuls* were overburden'd with the Management of the publick Money. *This*, ſaid he, *is perpetually the Occaſion of a thouſand Suſpicions among the Populace, who, at beſt, are uneaſy under the Weight of the Taxes and Contributions.* *Poplicola* therefore made the People chooſe two Men of Probity, to whom they gave the Name of *Queſtors*, and committed the Care of the publick Treaſure; which he order'd to be removed from his Houſe, to the [39] Temple of *Saturn*, where it was ever after lodged. The [40] firſt *Queſtors* that were choſen, were *P. Veturius* and *M. Minutius*.

P. Valerius Poplicola, and M. Horatius Pulvillus, Conſuls.

The lopping off ſo conſiderable a Branch of the *Conſular* Office, which was afterwards follow'd by the cutting off many others, procured *Poplicola* more Leiſure, and reſtrained the Heat of thoſe who envy'd him. And as the Law he had made, whilſt he was ſole *Conſul*, had no other Aim but the Peoples Intereſt, he was now no longer ſuſpected of aſpiring to *Regal* Power. Nor was he any longer afraid to take a Collegue, which he had deferr'd doing, only becauſe he apprehended that he might poſſibly oppoſe his Deſign of diminiſhing the *Conſular* Authority. He order'd the People to meet in the *Campus Martius*, where *M. Horatius*, furnamed *Pulvillus*, was choſen to ſucceed *Sp. Lucretius*. He was the fifth *Conſul* who govern'd *Rome*, within the firſt nineteen Months, or thereabouts, after *Tarquin* was [41] depoſed. It's true, ſome Hiſtorians have left out the Name of *Sp. Lucretius*, in the Liſt they have given of this firſt Year's *Conſuls*; but this was doubtleſs becauſe his *Conſulſhip* was ſhort, and not diſtinguiſh'd by any memorable Event. As for *Horatius* [42] *Pulvillus*, it's uncertain whether he dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* in this his firſt *Conſulſhip*, which he enjoy'd but a few Months, or in that other, which, as we ſhall ſee by and by, he diſcharged with Honour, during a whole Year.

§. XV. [43] When the Time of the firſt *Conſulate* was expired, the *Romans* having

39 The publick Treaſury was called *Ærarium*; becauſe at firſt nothing was lodg'd in it but *unſtamp'd Braſs*, which went by Weight, and which was called *Æs rude*. Afterwards *ſtamp'd* Pieces of *Braſs* were lodged there, which were called *Æs grave*, or *Æs leve*, according to the different Weight of the ſeveral Coins. This Treaſure had been kept at the Houſes of the *Kings* and *Conſuls*, till the Time of *Poplicola*, who removed it to the Temple of *Saturn*, which was ſituated at the Foot of the Hill *Saturnius*, or the *Capitol*. He pitch'd upon the Temple of *Saturn*; either becauſe the Coin of *Italy*, before the Foundation of *Rome*, was ſtamp'd with *Saturn*'s Head, or becauſe he thought that the publick Treaſure would be better ſecured in a ſacred Place, and ſo near the Citadel of *Rome*. In After-Times, the publick Treaſury was divided into two Branches; the one was called, *The Common Treaſury*, or *Ærarium vulgare*; the other was called, *the Sacred Treaſury*, or *Ærarium Sanctius*; in which the *Aurum viceſimarium* was reſerved, for the extraordinary Occaſions of the Commonwealth. Of this we ſhall ſpeak in a proper Place.

40 I ſay here, upon *Plutarch*'s Authority, that there were no *Queſtors* in *Rome*, till *Poplicola*'s Time; and that this Office was originally a Branch of that of the *Conſuls*. But *Ulpian* pretends, on the contrary, and quotes ſeveral Authors for it, that there were *Quæſtors*, even in *Tullius Hoſtilius*'s Time. It is therefore to be obſerved, that the Name of *Quæſtors*, among the *Romans*, had two different Significations. Sometimes it ſignified Commiſſioners, by whom capital Crimes were cognizable, and ſometimes Magiſtrates who were put in Commiſſion for recovering the publick Money. *Ulpian* might ſpeak of the former Sort of *Quæſtors*, which was in being in the Time of the *Kings*; and *Plutarch* of the other Sort, which was introduced by *Poplicola*, in the Time of the Commonwealth. Theſe latter *Quæſtors* were choſen by the People aſſembled in *Comitia*.

41 *Livy* aſſures us, that he did not find the Name of *Sp. Lucretius* among the *Conſuls*, in ſome Annals. However, he puts him in the Number of the five *Conſuls* of this firſt Year; and in this he agrees with *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* Without doubt, *Lucretius* was omitted in thoſe Annals, for the Reaſon we have mentioned in the Body of the Hiſtory.

42 *Plutarch* and *Livy* agree, that *Horatius Pulvillus* dedicated the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; and they both ſeem to place this Dedication in his firſt *Conſulſhip*. But *Dion. Hal.* places it in the ſecond. And certainly, the Circumſtance of performing that Ceremony agrees better with the Year in which *Dion. Hal.* has placed it. We have therefore preferr'd his Opinion, as to the Order of Time, and have borrow'd ſome Circumſtances of the Fact from the two other Hiſtorians.

43 We have fix'd the Beginning of *Brutus*'s *Conſulſhip* to the ſecond *Regifugium*, which *Ovid*, in his *Faſti*, places on the ninth of the *Calends of June*, or the twenty fourth of *May*. According to *Dion. Hal.* he govern'd only four Months; and conſequently, *Collatinus* muſt have been depoſed much about the *Calends of October*. *Valerius Poplicola*, who ſucceeded him, ſhared the Government of the Commonwealth with *Brutus*, till the Death of the latter, which happen'd, according to *Plutarch*, the Day before the *Calends of March*; and after this, during the ſeven Months which remained to compleat the *Conſular* Year, *Valerius* govern'd partly alone, from the Death of *Brutus*, and partly with two ſucceſſive Collegues, *Sp. Lucretius*, and *Horatius Pulvillus*, till the *Calends of October*, in the following Year; where the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Valerius* ended.

thoughts of coming to a new Election of *Conſuls*, *Poplicola* was too agreeable the People, to be forgotten in the new Promotion. It was even thought neceſry for the Commonwealth, that the Government ſhould again be committed to e Care of a Hero, who was equally a Friend to the People, and an Enemy to the *arquins*. The baniſh'd King had not yet loſt all Hopes of redreſſing his Misfornes, nor try'd his laſt Remedy. It was known at *Rome*, that *Mamilius* his Son-law was making a Party for him among the *Latins*; that *Tarquin* himſelf had ken Refuge with *Porſena*, King of *Cluſium*; and that that formidable *Lucumony* the *Hetrurians* was diſpoſed to favour him. *Poplicola* was therefore judged to more capable than any other, both of diſconcerting *Tarquin*'s Projects, and of ſiſting his Attacks. Upon which Conſiderations, he was made *Conſul* a ſecond me; and had for his Collegue *T. Lucretius* 44, the Son, as is ſuppoſed, of old *. Lucretius*, who died in the *Conſulſhip*, and the Brother of the famous *Lucretia*. t however that might be, this was a Recompence due to a Family, who had ſigliz'd their Virtue, and from whoſe Zeal for Liberty there was nothing which *Rome* ight not expect. It happen'd, however, that this Year was very little diſtinguiſh'd, cept for Works of Peace, or Preparations for War. The *Conſuls* began their Gornment with renewing the antient Inſtitutions of King *Servius Tullius*, which had en aboliſh'd in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. They order'd the People to be umber'd, and found a hundred and thirty thouſand Men 45 in *Rome*, who were , or paſt, the Age of *Puberty*. And as the *Roman Cenſus* was moſt commonly folw'd by the *Luſtrum*, or by the Expiation of the *Centuries* aſſembled by *Claſſes* in e *Campus Martius*, this may be reckoned the 46 fifth *Roman Luſtrum*.

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Year of *ROME* CCXLV. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, and T. LUCRETIUS, Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 293.

It was from the *Latin* Quarter that the *Romans* were, at this Time, moſt appreenſive of a War: And therefore, in order to prevent it, the *Conſuls* fortified a conenient Poſt to keep their Enemies in Awe. They ſent Troops to *Sinquirinum*, hich perhaps was the ſame City which *Plutarch* calls 47 *Sigliuria*: And they forfied it with ſtrong Walls, built at a great Expence. The Deſign of the *Romans* in this, was to ſhew that their Treaſure was not exhauſted; and to raiſe a Barrier

44 There is indeed no Certainty that *Titus Lucretius*, who was *Valerius*'s Collegue in his ſecond *Conſulſhip*, was the Brother of *Lucretia*. It has ly been imagin'd that he was, and that upon ve weak Conjectures. However, two Things are tain: 1*ſt*. That he was of the *Lucretian* Family, hich became famous by the Death of the brave *ucretia*. And, 2*dly*. That he was the Grandfaer of another *Lucretius*, who was alſo *Conſul* in Year of *Rome* 291.

45 The Learned differ about the Number of Perns, which the Hiſtorians mention, as given in up each *Roman Cenſus*. Some will have it, that in s Multitude, all the *Roman Citizens* were comehended, without excepting their Wives, Children, idows, Orphans, or Pupils. But is it credible, t the Commonwealth, when *Rome* was become Capital of the World, ſhould reckon but three ndred, four hundred, and never ſo much as five ndred thouſand Citizens, in all the *Roman Terory*, and in the whole Extent of its *municipal wns*? For we don't find that the moſt numerous *nſus* ever exceeded five hundred thouſand, for ave ſeven hundred Years together. Others think t the Number mention'd by the *Greek* and *La* Authors, comprehended only the Heads of Falies. But this Opinion can't be ſupported. For, t to ſay that it cannot be reconciled with the Acunt the Hiſtorians give us, we ſhall never be perded, that under the *Conſulſhip* of *Valerius*, for ance, the *Roman* State, which was confined with narrow Limits, and almoſt reduced to the ſingle y of *Rome*, ſhould be able to reckon up a hund and thirty thouſand Heads of Families; and nſequently, ſeveral Millions of Souls, including ildren, Slaves, Widows, Orphans, Pupils, Strans, &c. whoſe Names were not taken down in *Cenſus*. It is therefore more reaſonable to conde, with *Fabius Pictor*, as quoted by *Livy*, that ne but thoſe who were able to bear Arms, were included in this Reckoning; *i. e.* thoſe only who were above ſeventeen Years of Age, and under forty ſix. Thus we are to underſtand *Dion. Hal.* when, ſpeaking of this fifth *Roman Cenſus*, he ſays, that the Number of thoſe who were arrived to the Age of *Puberty*, ἐν ἥβῃ, amounted to an hundred and thirty thouſand Men. He ſpeaks in much the ſame Manner, whenever he mentions the *Cenſus*, always excepting the Women, Children, Orphans, Handycraftſmen, Slaves, and People of mean Trades, and low Condition of Life, who in the early Times of the *Republick* were excluded from the *Roman Militia*; as we are inform'd by credible Authors. And in ſhort, if we do but conſider, that at the End of *Romulus*'s Reign the *Roman* Army conſiſted of forty ſix thouſand Foot, and very near a thouſand Horſe, it will not appear at all ſurprizing, that *Rome*, which was now become more powerful, and better peopled, ſhould be able to raiſe an hundred and thirty thouſand fighting Men; eſpecially ſince the Inhabitants of *Alba*, and the other conquered Cities, had removed thither.

46 The *Cenſus* was uſually follow'd by the *Luſtrum*. And accordingly, as the *Roman Cenſus* is placed in this Year by *Dion. Hal.* ſo is the *Luſtrum*, by the Commentators on the *Faſti Capitolini*, tho' it be worn out of the Marble. This therefore was the *fifth Luſtrum*; ſince there were but four in the Time of *Servius Tullius*, and none in the Time of *Tarquin the Proud*, or the firſt Year of the *Conſuls*.

47 The Name of this City, which *Plutarch* calls *Sigliuria*, varies in the different Editions of *Dion. Hal.* In *Gelenius* it is called *Syncerion*, in the *Vatican* Manuſcript *Tiſionyrion*, and *Signia* in the Edition of *Lapus*. *Dion. Hal.* ſays that this Place, by its Situation, was as it were the Key of the Countries of the *Latins*, and of the *Hernici*; whence *Cluverius* conjectured, that *Sigliuria* was not a different Place from *Signia*, which is indeed ſituated on the Borders of thoſe two Nations.

againſt

Year of *ROME* CCXLV. P. Valerius Poplicola, Consul.

against the Incursions of the *Latins*, and of the *Hernici*: And they soon found by Experience, that this was not an useless Precaution. For, in a little time, *Porsena* sent a haughty and threatning Embassy to them, requiring them either to restore the *Tarquins* to the Throne, or at least to give them back their Estates. But they absolutely refused to comply with the first Article: And as to the second, made Excuses; pretending, that as Part of those Estates had been consecrated to the God *Mars*, they could not be resumed, without incurring the Guilt of Sacrilege; and that it would be impossible to recover the rest from that great Number of indigent People, amongst whom it was distributed.

The *Romans* had their Thoughts wholly employ'd about making a generous Resistance; when the Time came to assemble the *Centuries*, and elect new *Consuls*. And now the Fears and Wants of the Publick speaking again in Favour of *Poplicola*, no Regard was had to the Danger which might arise from lodging the Government three Years successively in the same Hands, in the Infancy of the Commonwealth. *Poplicola* was appointed *Consul*, the third Time; and this judicious Choice deliver'd *Rome* from the greatest Danger in which it had ever been.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVI. P. Valerius Poplicola, and M. Horatius Pulvillus, Consuls.

48 *Horatius Pulvillus*, who had before been *Consul* for a few Months, enter'd upon that Office in the most critical Year of *Rome*. Their Wisdom, and their Valour, supported it in War; and at length, obtain'd a glorious Peace, which left the *Romans* in Possession of their Liberty. Insomuch, that this Age of the Commonwealth may, by way of Eminence, be called the Age of *Roman* Probity, Constancy, and Intrepidity.

Liv. B.2. c.9. Plutarch Life of *Poplic. Dion. Hal.* ib.

§. XVI. *PORSENA*, to whom some give the 49 *Prænomen*, *Lars*, and others that of *Claras*, had marched from *Clusium* with the most formidable Army, *Rome* had ever yet been obliged to engage with. The 50 Riches of that *Lucumo* were immense, for those Times; and one would have thought, that he came before *Rome*, merely to make a Shew of them: But he had more Motives than one, to engage in this Enterprize. He was in hopes, either of making himself King of *Rome*, or of placing a King on that Throne, who was of *Hetrurian* Extraction, or at least of obtaining the Glory of having revenged the common Cause of *Kings*. The *Hetrurian* took with him his Son *Arunx*, a young Prince, whose Genius and Velour were extraordinary, for his Age. The *Tarquins* followed the King their Protector, and by their Experience in the military Art, assisted him in regulating his Marches and Battels, and disciplining his prodigious, but somewhat confused, Multitude of *Hetrurians*. And in the mean time, *Mamilius* was ready to join the *Lucumo*'s Troops with a considerable Body of the *Latins*. The whole *Latin* Nation had not indeed joined in the Interest of the *Tarquins*; but the Cantons of *Tusculum* 51, of *Cameria*, and of *Antemnæ*, had, and followed the Standards of *Mamilius*. The other Cantons remained neuter.

The *Consuls* first Care, was, to preserve the *Roman* Territory from the Ravages, which that Inundation of *Hetrurians* and *Latins* were ready to commit, in those Parts of it which were near their respective Territories. In order to which, they ordered the Peasants to carry their Effects into Strong-holds, which were well fortified, and situated upon steep Rocks, in different Parts of the Country. After this, they applied

48 We here prefer *Dion. Hal.*'s Opinion to that of the other Historians. *Plutarch* does not give *Poplicola* any Collegue, in this his third *Consulship*. Which I am not at all surprized at. He did not write a *Roman* History, he only proposed to give an Account of *Poplicola*'s Actions, in which his Collegue bore no great Part. *Livy* joins one *Publius Lucretius* with *Valerius*, in the *Consulship* for this Year. But this Author has so confounded the first *Consuls*, that his own Interpreters abandon him. I therefore adhere to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Poplicola Consul* the third Time, and *Horatius Pulvillus* the second, in this third Year of the Republick. His is thought the most authentick Account, by *Onuphrius*, *Sigonius*, *&c.* *Cassiodorus* has not set down any *Consuls* for this Year. Doubtless, the Disagreement of Authors left him in Uncertainty.

49 It may be doubted whether the Word *Lars*, or *Lartes*, was *Porsena*'s *Prænomen*, or a Title of Honour. Some pretend, that *Lars* is an old *Hetrurian* Word, which signifies *a Monarch*. Indeed, *Porsena* was the most powerful *King* of any in the twelve *Lucumonies*, and the other *Lucumonies* were in some measure dependent upon him. And if this was the Case, *Plutarch* who gives him the *Prænomen* of *Claras*, must have given him his true *Prænomen*; and those who call him *Lars*, must have called him by the Title which was suitable to his Dignity. But some modern Authors think the Word *Claras* only an Error of the Copyists, who wrote it for *Lars*.

50 We may judge of *Porsena*'s Wealth, by the famous Labyrinth this *King* built for his Burial-Place. *Pliny* assures us, after *Varro*, that this Work was not inferior to the most sumptuous Buildings of the East.

51 *Tusculum* was a City of old *Latium*, thirteen or fourteen Miles from *Rome*, formerly famous for its excellent Waters, fruitful Soil, and pleasant Hills. At some Distance from the Ruins of *Tusculum*, we find the City of *Frascati*.

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emſelves chiefly to ſecure the Hill *Janiculus*, an important Poſt, which overlooked e whole City. The *Janiculus* was ſeparated from *Rome*, only by the *Tyber*; and the ſſage from the one to the other, was over a wooden Bridge, which was wholly ſup-rted by the Union of its Parts, which were mortiſed one to another, without ſo uch as a ſingle Nail, or Bar of Iron, to bind the croſs Timber to the Piles. In a ord, the *Janiculus* was the only Fortification *Rome* had, beyond the River. The City as ſeparated from it, only by a ſlight Wall, which was built at ſome diſtance om the *Tyber*, in order to leave room enough for Inundations, to extend them-lves over a large Strand.

WITHIN the City, the *Conſuls*, in order to keep the Populace in Temper, be-ved themſelves towards them, in a very popular manner, and made Laws, in eir favour, ſuitable to the preſent Neceſſity. The meaner ſort of People were r ever exempted from thoſe toilſome ſervile Labours, with which *Tarquin* had er-burdened them, and from paying a certain Tribute, towards the Expences of e *Militia*, which had been always exacted in Times of War. The Tax upon tries was taken off, and Proviſions came free into the City. Every body was owed to ſell Salt publickly, and it was no longer engroſſed by the Exchequer. ſhort, the *Conſuls* ſent to the *Volſci* for Corn; and Barks were ordered to ſail, bring ſome from *Cumæ* [52], and from *Campania*. So that theſe good Regulations de the meaneſt of the Citizens ſenſible of the Difference between the preſent overnment, and the former. All appeared as zealouſly diſpoſed to avoid the an-nt Servitude, as the *Patricians* themſelves: and Concord reigned in *Rome*, even the time of the Famine, with which it was grievouſly afflicted, during the ge.

§. XVII. THUS were all the neceſſary Diſpoſitions made, both in City and in Coun-, when *Porſena* diſplayed his Banners along the *Tyber*. The firſt Poſt he attacked, s the Fort of the *Janiculus*; and the Number of the Aſſailants over-powering *Roman* Garriſon, they drove them out; and the *Romans*, obliged to give way the ſuperior Force of the Enemy, retreated haſtily to the City, over the Bridge. This firſt Shock put them into a Conſternation; but they were recovered out of it, the Intrepidity of the *Conſuls*, who made all their Troops paſs the River, with utmoſt Expedition, and drew them up in Order of Battel, beyond the Bridge, ecure the Paſs. Upon which, *Porſena* immediately advanced his Army good Order, and prepared to begin a Battel, on which, he ſaid, the Over-w of *Rome* depended, if he ſhould happen to gain it. The Right Wing his Army was commanded by *Mamilius*, who was at the Head of the *Latins*. Left Wing was led by the *Tarquins*, who commanded a ſmall Number of *Ro-s*, who adhered to them; and the *Gabini*, who continued faithful in their Ser-: And laſtly, *Porſena*, followed by his *Hetrurians*, gave Orders to the main y of the Army. As to the *Romans*, their Right Wing, under the Command *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, faced the *Tarquins*. *M. Valerius*, *Poplicola's* ther, and *T. Lucretius* [53], who had been *Conſul* the Year before, were at the d of the Left Wing, facing *Mamilius*, and his *Latins:* and *Poplicola*, with his legue, were to engage *Porſena*, in the Center. The Battel continued long, re Numbers could get the better of Valour and Skill: but at length it hap-ed unfortunately, that [54] *Valerius* and *Lucretius* were both wounded at the time; and as they were carried into the City, it was perceived by the Left g, where it occaſioned a general Terror. Upon which, this Wing, which firſt way, ran over the Bridge, and returned to the City; and their precipitate

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 294.

Cumæ, a City of *Campania*, was thought to been a Colony of the People of *Eubœa*, who ne the Founders and Maſters of it. But they afterwards driven out of it by the Natives of ountry. *Cumæ* ſtood upon an high Hill, the of which was waſhed with the Waves of the The Ruins of this City bear the ſame Name s Day. Four Miles from it, near the Lake *us*, there is a Cave, which paſſes in the Coun-the *Sybil's* Grotto, *Grotta della Sybilla*.

Plutarch and *Livy* place this Expedition of *a* againſt the *Romans*, in *Poplicola's* ſecond *Conſulſhip*. And conſequently, according to them, *Titus Lucretius* was then *Conſul*. But *Dion. Hal.* ſeems to us to deſerve the Preference before them, eſpecially with reſpect to the Order of the *Conſular* Years.

54 It was not *Poplicola*, as *Plutarch* pretends, but *Marcus Valerius*, who was wounded with *Titus Lucretius*. We need no other Proof of it, than the Rout of the *Roman* Army, which begun in the Left Wing, which had loſt both its Commanders, who had been carried out of the Field of Battel.

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Flight brought on that of the Right Wing, and of the main Body. In ſhort the whole *Roman* Army was led away by this bad Example.

The Bridge was in a moment covered with Fugitives: The Soldiers, in a hurry to reach it, ran in Crouds, tumbling down, and ſtifling one another. In vain did *Horatius* [55], a brave *Roman*, who was of the ſame Extraction with the three Heroes, who had formerly engaged, and conquered the *Curiatii*; in vain did he endeavour to rally the terrified *Legions*, and to make them change a ſhameful Flight into an honourable Retreat. He was not regarded. Nevertheleſs, his Memory deſerves to be immortalized, for the Reſolution he took upon this Occaſion. He let the whole *Roman* Army paſs over the Bridge; and ſince Flight was neceſſary, reſolved, however, to be the laſt Man that ſhould fly. The two Commanders of the Right Wing, *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Herminius*, who had already broke the Wing

Silver.

of the *Tarquins*, joined the gallant *Horatius*, and made a reſolute Stand, till the Fugitives had all paſſed the Bridge, and the Enemy offered to purſue them over. Then the brave *Cocles* (for he was ſo ſurnamed, for having formerly loſt an Eye in a Battel) poſted himſelf, with the two valiant Officers, in the Defile which led to the Bridge; and at the ſame time called out to the *Romans*, to break it down without delay. It was eaſy to be demoliſhed, ſince they had no more to do than to disjoint Pieces of Timber, which were only mortiſed together. But, while this was done, the three Heroes bore up againſt the furious Attack of a whole Army; received the Arrows, which were ſhot at them from a diſtance, upon their Shields; and defended themſelves againſt thoſe who attacked them near, with their Swords. However, they let the Enemy gain Ground, by retreating a little, now and then, without turning their Backs. And when the Demolition of the Bridge was almoſt completed, *Horatius*, by his Entreaties, prevailed upon his two Companions to leave him, and croſs the River, upon a few Planks that remained. After which, when *Horatius* was thus let alone to oppoſe the Enemy, he did Feats above human Valour. He had deſired *Herminius* to ſpeak to the *Conſuls*, that the Demolition of the Bridge might be completed; and that as for himſelf, he would find a Way to return to the City. The Heaps of Bodies, which had fallen by the Hands of the three Heroes, in the Defile, formed a kind of Rampart, which defended *Horatius* from being aſſaulted with the Sword. And tho' the Enemy threw at him, from a diſtance, Stones, and Darts, and the Shields of the Slain, in order to bear him down, with them; yet he warded them all off, with an inconceivable Dexterity: whilſt none of the Javelins, which he threw, miſſed doing Execution in a narrow Paſs, which was crowded with Enemies. But at length, he was wounded in the Thigh with a Dart, and covered with Wounds all over his Body; when perceiving, by the Signal given from the other Shore, that the Bridge was entirely demoliſhed, he leaped, in his Armour, into the River; and had now new Dangers to ſtruggle with, in the Water. For the River, being ſtreightned by the Piles of the Bridge, had rapid Currents under each Arch, acroſs which, it was difficult for a Man to ſwim, who was out of Breath with long fighting, and was ſtill bleeding. Nevertheleſs, he gained the Shore, after he had paſſed thro' a Shower of Arrows, which the Enemy had ſhot at him, from the oppoſite Bank [56]. And

55 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that *Horatius* was the Son of the Brother of *Marcus Horatius*, who was one of the *Conſuls*. The Antients have conveyed down to us a Medal, on which is a Head of *Rome*, with the Word *Cocles*, the Surname of *Horatius*. This Medal ſeems to have been ſtruck firſt by ſome of the *Horatian* Family, and afterwards renewed, in *Trajan*'s Reign, as appears by the Inſcription on the Reverſe.

56 Here the Hiſtorians have all given us laboured Deſcriptions of this gallant Action of *Horatius*. He was ſirnamed *Cocles*, according to ſome, becauſe he had loſt an Eye, in a former Battel; according to others, becauſe his Noſe was bent

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ſt of Valour, which Poſterity will never forget, and whereby the Shame of the *omans* was repaired, and their Republick ſaved from Ruin. The whole City was ſenſible of this, that they haſted to pay their Acknowledgments to their Deli- rer. They crowned him at his Arrival, they carried him on their Arms, as a ero, from the Strand into the City; and afterwards, a 57 Statue of Braſs was ected to him, in the *Forum*. Whilſt he kept within doors, and till he was quite covered of his Wounds, his Houſe was never empty. The Senate aſſigned him real Eſtate, conſiſting of as much Land as one Plough could encloſe, within a circular rrow, in one Day. And tho' there was a great Scarcity in *Rome*, yet all the Inhabi- nts, Men, Women, and Children, aſſeſſed themſelves as much as each ſpent in a Day, make him a Preſent: The Number of thoſe, who contributed to make him up a rge Sum 58, amounted to three hundred thouſand Perſons. In ſhort, there was a neral Uneaſineſs, for fear he ſhould die of his Wounds. However, *Horatius* covered; but, as he had but one Eye, and continued lame the remaining Part of is Life, his Deformity prevented his ever being elected *Conſul*. So great care did e *Romans* take, in thoſe Days, that no Perfection of Mind, or Body, ſhould be anting, in thoſe whom they placed at the Head of the Republick.

§. XVIII. Nevertheless, if on the one hand, the Valour of *Horatius* aſtoniſhed *Porſena*; the ſhameful Flight of the *Romans*, on the other, encouraged him to con- nue the War. He fixed his Quarters upon the Hill *Janiculus*, and made *Ma- ilius*, and the *Tarquins*, paſs over in Barks, with their Troops, to the Shore, on hich *Rome* ſtood; where they formed a Camp, and thence ſent out Parties, to avage the Countries round about *Rome*. As therefore the Enemy were Maſters f the Country on both Sides of the River, it became very difficult for the City be ſupplied with Proviſions. As for the Corn-Veſſels, few of them eſcaped e Vigilance of the Enemy, who were poſted on both Banks of the *Tyber*. By is means, a Famine began to be felt in *Rome*; and then the Slaves, who, in ſuch aſes, are always the firſt Sufferers, and the indigent Populace, went to ſeek Bread in the Camp of the *Tarquins*. However, the *Conſuls* kept up the Reſolutions of the beſt Citizens, by the Hopes of a Convoy of Corn, which was expected every Hour from *Pometia*. And their Expectations were not diſappointed. The Boats arrived in time, and ſafely entered the Port of *Rome*, in the Night, by help of the Darkneſs. But theſe Refreſhments did not laſt long; and in a little time the City as again reduced to the ſame Scarcity as before. *Porſena* therefore hearing this, y the Deſerters, ſent the *Romans* word, that if they would receive their old Maſ- rs, he would deliver them from the Hunger they ſuffered. But the Averſion ey had conceived againſt the *Tarquins*, made them untractable. Notwithſtanding eir preſent Diſtreſs, their Anſwer was, that Hunger was a leſs Evil, than Slavery nd Oppreſſion.

In the mean while, the *Conſuls* ſent out but few Parties, to engage thoſe of e Enemy, who ranged thro' their Country, in ſmall Bodies, with Impunity. hey thought it would be more to their purpoſe, to draw a great Number of the nemy at once into an Ambuſcade, where they might eaſily be cut in pieces. To this nd, a Report was ſpread in *Rome*, that the next Day, all the Cattel which had been rought thither, from all their Territories, would be ſent to Paſture under a Guard; *Livy, B. 2. ch.* 11.

at in his Face, and his Eyes were ſo near to one nother, that he looked like a *Cyclops*, and ſeemed o have but one Eye. The particular Circumſtances f this memorable Exploit of his, at the Head of e Bridge *Sublicius*, are here collected out of ſeve- al Authors, eſpecially *Plutarch*, *Livy*, and *Dion. Hal.* But we thought it proper to omit the ſeveral udied Diſcourſes, which *Livy* puts in his Mouth, n the heat of this warm Action; they appearing to s, not very probable.

57 *Livy* ſays, this Statue was erected to *Hora- ius*, in the Place where the *Comitia* was held. *A. Gel- ius* places it in the *Campus Martius*; *Plutarch*, in he Temple of *Vulcan*. And *Aulus-Gellius* tells us, n what Occaſion it was removed to this Temple. The Statue, ſays he, having been ſtruck with Light- ing, the *Aruſpices* of *Hetruria* were conſulted, and gave an Anſwer, contrary to what the Gods had determined. They perſuaded the *Romans* to place the Statue, in the loweſt Part of the *Forum*; ſo that the Sun could not ſhine upon it. But the Impoſ- ture of the *Aruſpices* was diſcovered, they puniſhed for it, and the Statue placed in the Temple of *Vul- can*. *Aulus-Gellius* quotes *The great Annals*, and the firſt Book of the memorable Hiſtories of *Ver- rius Flaccus*, as his Vouchers for this Story.

58 The 300000 Men, who taxed themſelves in favour of *Horatius*, are an unanſwerable Proof, againſt thoſe who pretend, that every *Cenſus* com- prehended all the Inhabitants of *Rome*, without Ex- ception. According to *Dion. Hal.* and other antient Authors, the laſt *Cenſus* amounted to 130000 Men. And yet *Dion. Hal.* himſelf here reckons up 300000 Perſons in *Rome*. So that, we can no otherwiſe make him conſiſtent, than by ſaying, that the former Com- putation included only ſuch Men as were of Age to bear Arms.

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and were to paſs thro' the *Gate Eſquilina* [59]; which was moſt out of the reach of the Enemy. This News being carried to the Enemy by the Slaves, who ſerved them as Spies, it was a Bait to draw them nearer to *Rome:* And accordingly a Reſolution was taken, in their Council, to go and ſeize thoſe Cattel, which was all the *Romans* had left to ſubſiſt upon. So that the Hopes of ſo fine a Booty drew a conſiderable Detachment from *Porſena*'s Camp: Whilſt, on the other hand, *Poplicola* ordered *T. Herminius* to march out of the City privately, with a Company of *Romans*, who lay in Ambuſcade in the Road to *Gabii*; commanded *Sp. Lartius*, and *T. Lucretius*, to be in a readineſs to make a Sally with their Troops, the former at the Gate *Collina* [60], the latter at the Gate *Nævia* [61]; and reſerved himſelf for beginning the Attack, on the Side of the Hill *Cælius*. As ſoon therefore as the Enemy appeared, *Poplicola* came and fell upon them, with great Shouts: *Herminius*, hearing this, came out of his Ambuſcade; and the other *Roman* Generals made Sallies at different Gates. So that the *Hetrurians* were ſurrounded on all Sides, and all periſhed in the Battel. Five thouſand of them were killed: and *Porſena*, from that time, dropped all Thoughts of diſturbing the *Romans* on that Side, or ſending any Parties into their Territories.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

§. XIX. But tho' the City was not entirely inveſted, it having ſeveral Avenues open, it was yet very difficult to find Subſiſtence for ſo great a Number of Inhabitants, as could hardly ſubſiſt there, even in time of Peace. *Rome* was wearied out with this long Siege, when *Mucius Cordus*, a young *Roman*, of an illuſtrious Birth, great Innocence of Life, and an approved Valour, formed a Deſign, which raiſed the depreſſed Courage of the People. He got the *Conſuls* to conſent to it, and communicated it to the Senators, for fear his leaving *Rome* ſhould be taken for Deſertion. *The Scheme I have formed,* ſaid he to them, *is neither too great for my Courage, nor beyond my Induſtry to execute. It will indeed be difficult to avoid loſing my Life, in the Attempt: But,* Rome! *I readily ſacrifice it to thy Deliverance. And if Death, which will threaten me every Moment, ſhould prevent the Succeſs of my Deſign, at leaſt, let not the Glory of it be buried in Oblivion. What Gratitude will the People, who muſt be kept in ignorance of my Intentions, and whom I cannot entruſt with it, without Imprudence; what Gratitude will they have for me, on that Account, if you neglect to proclaim it after my Death? That is indeed the only Recompence I expect, for a dangerous Attempt, which may ſet* Rome *at liberty for ever. O ye Gods! who are the Protectors of my Country, proſper the Deſigns, with which you have inſpired me!*

The *Conſuls* and the Senate encouraged the young Hero to undertake any thing, in the preſent deplorable State of *Rome.* He went out of the City, with a Ponyard hid under his Robe, and mixed with the Deſerters. He was dreſſed in an *Hetrurian* Habit; and had learned the *Hetrurian* Language, from his Infancy. As ſoon as he came to the Enemy's Camp, he mixed with the *Hetrurian* Soldiers,

59 The Gate *Eſquilina* led to the Field *Eſquilinus.* Criminals paſſed through it, to Execution; and dead Carcaſſes, and Filth, were carried out of the City that Way:

Poſt inſepulta membra different lupi
Et Æſquilinæ Alites, ſays *Horace*, *l.* 9. *Epod.*

This Gate was probably called *Porta Mæcia* formerly; at leaſt *Plautus* ſpeaks of the latter in ſuch a manner, as very well agrees with the former.

Illum Ædepol videre ardentem extra Portam Mæciam
Credo ecaſtor velle. Caſin.

There was the Figure of the Head of a Bull upon this Gate, which gave it the Name of *Porta Taurina.* Some Authors call it *Porta Labicana*, and *Porta Prænestina*; becauſe, ſay they, it led to two Roads, one of which went to *Labicum*, and the other to *Præneste.* But ſeveral pretend, that theſe different Names ſignify different Gates. All the Antiquaries have tired themſelves with enquiring into the Situation and Number of the Gates of old *Rome*; and, after all their Enquiries, have not been able to riſe higher, than to Conjectures, about it: which makes one ready to lament the Pains they have taken.

60 The Gate *Collina* was ſo called, (from the Word *Collis*, which ſignifies *a little Hill*) becauſe it joined the two Hills *Quirinalis* and *Viminalis.* It had alſo the Name of the Gate *Quirinalis*, either from the Hill *Quirinalis* it ſelf, or from a little Temple, in that Neighbourhood, which was dedicated to *Quirinus.* This Gate led to the *Salarian Way*, whence it was afterwards called *Porta Salaria.* And, as there ſtood near this Gate, a Temple, dedicated to *Salus*, or *Health*; it is therefore called by ſome Authors, *Porta Salutaris.* It's firſt Name was that of *The Gate Agonenſis*, which was given it, either from the *Agonalian* Sports, which were celebrated before it, when the *Circus* was overflowed with the Inundations of the *Tyber*; or, according to *Feſtus*, becauſe Hills were formerly called *Agones.*

61 Some place the Gate *Nævia* between the Gate *Capena*, and the *Tyber.* Others think it ſtood on the Eaſt Side of the City, near the Gate *Eſquilina.* And in this diverſity of Opinions, it is difficult to ſay which is right. Antient Authors are not exact enough, to enable us to come to any Certainty about it.

and made his Way quite to the King's Tent. It happened to be the Day on which the Troops were all reviewed, and payed. A Secretary of State, magnificently dreſs'd, then ſat on the ſame Tribunal with the King, gave Audience to the Soldiers, and received Petitions. *Mucius* heſitated for ſome Time, not knowing which was *Porſena*, and which the Secretary: Nor durſt he remove his Doubts by an Enquiry, for fear his Ignorance ſhould make him ſuſpected. In this Uncertainty therefore, he ſteals near the Officer, who then did the Office of King, taking him, to whom the People were moſt earneſt to approach, to be undoubtedly the Maſter. And then *Cordus*, full of that Fury which had long raged in his Boſom, with ſparkling Eyes, and his Dagger in his Hand, leaps upon the Tribunal, and with one Stroke on the Miniſter's Head, lays him dead at the King's Feet. After this, he leaps down inſtantly from the Tribunal, and being armed with his Ponyard, makes his Way thro' the Multitude, who ſtood amazed at this ſudden and unexpected Attempt. But he was at laſt ſurrounded by the Soldiers, who were upon Guard at the Tent-door, and brought back to the Place which he had juſt ſtained with Blood. When he came to the Foot of the Throne, he appeared with an haughty and threatening Countenance, and ſeemed more capable of filling others with Fear, than receiving any ſuch Impreſſions himſelf. But *Porſena* ſaid to him, *Thou execrable Aſſaſſin, thy Arm has deceiv'd thee. Thy Fury aimed thy Blows at me. Who art thou? Whence comeſt thou? Who are thine Accomplices?* To which Words *Mutius*, who was leſs affrighted than his Judge, made this Reply: *I am a* Roman; *and my Name is* Mucius Cordus. *All my Crime is that of deſiring to deliver* Rome *from her moſt cruel Enemy. Diſcharge therefore all thy Fury upon me. Thou haſt already been an Eye-witneſs of my Courage; now try my Conſtancy with Tortures; and then thou wilt, perhaps, be forced to confeſs, that* Roman *Bravery has made me capable, both of attempting any thing that Man can do, and ſuffering any thing that human Nature can endure.* And this Diſcourſe fill'd *Porſena* with Amazement; but he was yet much more ſurprized, when he ſaw the *Roman* voluntarily execute what he had that Inſtant ſo reſolutely promiſed. A Pan of burning Coals had juſt then been brought into the Tent; which was doubtleſs done by *Porſena*'s Order, with Deſign to offer Sacrifice to the Gods his Deliverers, and return them Thanks for his Life, which they had preſerved. This Pan *Mucius* draws near to, and keeping his Eyes fixed on the King, with a Look that ſtifled his inward Rage at having miſs'd his Blow, lays his Hand upon the Fire. Then, with a ſteady Countenance, and without ſhewing any Signs of Pain, he thruſt his Hand into the midſt of the Flame, and let it broil a great while. So ſurprizing a Sight therefore changed the King's Reſentment into an Admiration of the *Roman*. *Porſena* thought him worthy both of Life and Liberty. And to give him a yet greater Proof, how much he eſteemed his Courage, he reſtored this brave Enemy the Dagger he had made uſe of with Deſign to take away his Life. *Mucius* who had now loſt the Uſe of his right Hand, took it with his left: And from thence he had the Surname of *Scævola*, that is, *left-handed*; upon which he always valued himſelf. Wonderful Examples, if ſtrictly [62] true, both of an Intrepidity more than human, on one Part, and a ſurprizing Moderation on the other!

MUCIUS, in his Turn, ſeemed charmed with the Generoſity of his Enemy. And in this tranſient Fit of Tranſport and Joy, had Preſence of Mind enough to ſhew his Gratitude by a Lie, which he thought innocent, becauſe told for the Service of his Country. He pretended to diſcover to the King a falſe Plot, which he ſaid was entered into at *Rome*, againſt his Life. *I cannot now, in Gratitude*, ſaid to the King, *refuſe diſcovering a Secret to you, which the moſt violent Torments could never have extorted from me. Three hundred young* Romans, *all as reſolute as my ſelf, have conſpired together to take away your Life. They are diſperſed abroad in your Camp, mixed with your own Soldiers, and will all come in their Turns, and try the Strength of their Arms, upon the Head of the Enemies of* Rome.

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Liv. B. 2. c. 12. *Plut.* Life of *Poplic.*

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 299.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

[62] All the *Latin* Hiſtorians unanimouſly, and *Plutarch* with them, agree in the Circumſtance of *Mucius*'s putting his right Hand into a Pan of burning Coals. Which makes it ſurprizing, that it ſhould be omitted by *Dion. Hal.* who never refuſes giving the *Romans* the Glory that is due to them. Does not this amount to a ſtrong Preſumption, that he did not find this Fact, which is ſo much boaſted of, related in thoſe antient Memoirs, which were the Ground-work of his Hiſtory?

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We bound our ſelves to do this, by the moſt ſacred Oaths. It fell to my Lot to run the Hazard of making the firſt Attempt; and alas! how many more Dangers of the ſame kind have you ſtill to avoid! What my Hand could not do, perhaps a bolder may accompliſh. Can your Guard, or your Army, prevent the fatal Blow I dread? Some other will certainly be daring enough to try again, what your Generoſity to me makes me repent ever having attempted; and every one will invent a new Artifice to ſurprize you. May Heaven preſerve the Life of a King, whoſe Virtues make him worthy of being a Friend and an Ally to the Romans!

This Diſcourſe fill'd *Porſena* with Terror: And when *Mucius* was retired, he called a Council to deliberate about the Means of preſerving himſelf from the Attempts with which he believed himſelf to be threatened. But he thought all the Precautions his Counſellors ſuggeſted, vain; none of them were ſufficient to remove his Uneaſineſs. His Son *Arunx* was the only Man, whoſe Advice he thought wiſe; and indeed, it proceeded both from a Tenderneſs and Affection for his Father, and a Mind prepoſſeſſed with an Eſteem for the *Romans*. *To what Purpoſe*, ſaid he, *are all theſe Precautions? The ſureſt Way is to put our ſelves into a Condition of not being obliged to take them. If we make the* Romans, *the generous* Romans, *our Friends, and prefer an Alliance with them, to that with four unworthy Exiles; this will at one Blow put an End to all the Plots, the Conſequences of which we ſo much apprehend.* Theſe Words made an Impreſſion on *Porſena*, and he ſeemed from that time to incline to Peace. But this Inclination is ſaid not to have proceeded ſo much from any Fear of the three hundred Conſpirators, as from an Admiration of the *Roman* Virtue. However, the *Hetrurians* already began to murmur at the Length of ſo tedious a Siege, and at the Loſſes they had ſo lately ſuffered, when they attacked the Convoy of the Cattle. This was a happy Circumſtance for the *Romans*. The King of the *Hetrurians* ſent Deputies [63] to *Rome*; whoſe Inſtructions were ſuch as might plainly ſhew the Senate how much *Porſena* had abated of his Pretenſions. He no longer inſiſted on the Reſtoration of the *Tarquins*, but only on the Reſtitution of their Eſtates, or an Equivalent. And in regard to his own Nation, he required, that the *Romans* ſhould reinſtate the *Veientes* in the Poſſeſſion of [64] ſeven Villages, which they had taken from them in former Wars.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 301.

This Deputation was received at *Rome* with Joy. The Envoys were brought into the Senate, and when they had declared the Terms upon which they were empowered to treat, *Poplicola* prevailed on the Senators to comply with them all. Being in continual Pain for the Miſery the People ſuffer'd, his greateſt Ambition was to ſee them ſoon delivered from it. But the aſſembled *Centuries* acted a Part more worthy of the Magnanimity of *Romans*. Tho' the People were moſt nearly concerned in Intereſt to get a Peace concluded, yet they would not conſent to the reſtoring the *Tarquins* the Eſtates they had taken from them, till they had firſt left it to the Arbitration of *Porſena* himſelf. As for the *Hetrurians*, they made no Difficulty of reſtoring to them the Villages they demanded of them. Nay, they offered to ſend them Hoſtages as Pledges of the Fidelity of the *Romans*, till the Surrendry was completed.

§. XX. These Conferences about a Peace, and the following Truce, to which both Parties agreed, gave *Rome* ſome [65] Days to breathe. The *Hetrurians* had quitted their Poſt on the *Janiculus*, becauſe their being there incommoded the City; and they had encamped at ſome Diſtance from the *Tyber*. Then the *Romans* ſent away their Deputies to *Porſena*'s Camp, to plead their Cauſe againſt the *Tarquins*; and with the Deputies, the Hoſtages they had promiſed. Theſe were ten Boys, and ten Girls of the moſt illuſtrious of the *Roman* Nobility. The Son of *Horatius* the Conſ

63 *Livy* ſays *Porſena* gave *Mucius* Leave to return to *Rome*, before the *Hetrurian* Ambaſſadors went thither to treat of a Peace. But *Dion. Hal.* relates, that he was firſt bound with Cords, and kept cloſely confined in Priſon; and afterwards was detained as an Hoſtage in the Camp, till ſuch time as the Peace was concluded. And ſome antient Writers quoted by that *Greek* Author, pretend, that *Mucius* did not get Leave to go to *Rome*, till after he had ſworn he would return

64 This ſeems to have been that Tract of Ground, which *Romulus* had formerly demanded of the Veientes, as the Purchaſe of the Peace which he had granted them. This Tract of Land, which lay between the *Tyber* and the *Arno*, and reached to the Sea, had ſeven Villages in it, as we learn from *Plutarch* and *Dion. Hal.* Nevertheleſs, *Livy* aſſures us that *Porſena* retained this little Country for himſelf, and afterwards reſtored it to the *Romans*.

65 *Plutarch* tells us, that *Porſena*, depending on the Succeſs of the Treaty, had already diſbanded the greateſt Part of his Army.

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Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

Dion. Hal. B. 5. *p.* 301.

s one; and among the young Women, were *Valeria*, the Daughter of *Poplicola*, o was already marriageable; and the famous *Clœlia*. The Reception *Porſena* ve the *Roman* Envoys, raiſed the Jealouſy of the *Tarquins*. They could ill brook King's abating any thing at all of their Pretenſions, and his not inſiſting upon ir Re-eſtabliſhment on the Throne. And, ſtill retaining their Pride, notwithding their Misfortunes, they refuſed to admit *Porſena* himſelf to be a Judge the Affair of their Eſtates. But the *Hetrurian* King had no Regard to their Opitions: He was reſolved to ſatisfy himſelf, by an exact Enquiry, whether the otection he had given the Exiles was juſt, and whether he was not rather defend the Injuſtice of *Tarquin*, than the common Cauſe of *Kings*. Nevertheleſs, as Determination was of Importance, he joined his Son with him, as an Aſſociate, hearing and deciding the Cauſe. The Preſence of *Arunx*, who ſate on the ſame ibunal with his Father, gave the *Romans* great Hopes. And the Cauſe was juſt dy to be opened, the Senators whom the *Romans* had ſent on this Deputation, ng aſſembled in order thereto, when News was brought that the Girls, who re ſent *Porſena* for Hoſtages, had ventured to [66] ſwim back croſs the Ri-. This none could at firſt believe, without Difficulty; but the Truth of the t, which was ſoon cleared up, increaſed *Porſena*'s Surprize, and *Arunx*'s Eſteem the Bravery of the *Romans*. They admired to ſee ſuch Courage, in the moſt icate and tender of the weaker Sex. Theſe young Girls, who always kept toher, had indeed gone to bathe in a private Place, where the *Tyber* made a little y, and where no Body could ſee them. The River was calm, and not a Breath Wind ſtirred it. When they were in the Water, *Clœlia* caſt her Eyes upon *me*, and the Sight of her native City immediately raiſed in her a Deſire of rening to it. She therefore ſwims away, and invites her Companions to follow . She encourages them; inſtructs them how to make their Way through the aves after her; and they, following her Example croſs the River, and coming e to the oppoſite Shore, return to their Father's Houſes. It muſt be ſuppoſed, that the frequent Uſe of bathing at that time, made it common for both Sexes to ſwim.

BUT the Return of theſe Hoſtages to the City without Orders, gave the *Conſul Poplicola* Uneaſineſs. He was afraid this raſh Action would be imputed to the *mans* Want of Fidelity. And indeed, the *Tarquins* took Advantage of it, ſo as to make the *Hetrurians* ſuſpect the Probity of the *Romans*. *Such weak rſons as theſe*, ſaid they, *could never have returned thro' the River, if it had been with the Aſſiſtance and Advice of their Fellow-Citizens. Judge therefore, what Fidelity you are to expect from the* Romans *for the future, by their pre Treachery*. However, *Poplicola* foreſaw theſe Suſpicions, and endeavoured to ove them. He ſent a Deputation to the *Hetrurian* Camp, to aſſure the King, t the fooliſh Deſign of the young *Roman* Girls, was nothing elſe but the Effect their own Capriciouſneſs, which was pardonable in Perſons of their Age; and t *Rome* had no Share in it: And as a Proof of his Sincerity, he promiſed, that Fugitives ſhould be immediately ſent back to the Camp from which they had . *Porſena* was not difficult to be appeaſed; but the News of the ſpeedy Return he ten Hoſtages, led the *Tarquins* to a Reſolution, which was agreeable to their rupt Minds. They, without any Regard to the Truce, and without the Privity the King their Protector, lay in Ambuſh on the Road, to ſurprize this young mpany as they paſſed. But *Poplicola* happened to put himſelf at the Head of weak Guard which conducted back the young *Romans*. And he was not far m the Gate of *Porſena*'s new Camp, when *Mamilius* and the *Tarquins*, followby a great Body of Horſe, came and fell upon the *Roman* Squadron, and gave Alarm to the young Girls; who trembled at the very Name of *Tarquin*. *Va*ia was ſo much terrified at it, that ſhe rode away with ſuch Speed, attended y by two Perſons, that ſhe brought to the *Hetrurian* Camp the News of the

Plutarch and *Dion. Hal.* B. 5. *p.* 302.

[66] Authors vary as to the Circumſtances of this t. *Livy* ſays, without any manner of Probay, that theſe Girls paſſed the River in Sight of *Hetrurians*, who lined the Shore, and in the ſt of the Darts which were thrown at them, n all Parts. *Aurelius Victor* and *Florus* add an dent, which no other Hiſtorians mention; in all Probability, only for the ſake of adorning Narratives. They ſay *Clelia* paſſed the River on an Horſe, which ſhe accidentally found, and ſeized. *Polyenus*, *Stratagem.* B. 8. and *Plutarch*, *De Virtutibus Mulierum*, add, that the Girls had tied their Cloaths upon their Heads, in order to put them on before they appeared in *Rome*. Which indeed is probable.

Danger

Year of *ROME* CCXLVI.

P. Valerius Poplicola, and M. Horatius Pulvillus, Conſuls.

Danger which threatened her Father, and her Companions. In the mean time *Poplicola* ſuſtained the unexpected Attack of the *Tarquins*, with very great Valour; whilſt *Arunx* flies to his Aſſiſtance with a good Body of Horſe. And with his Troop he took likewiſe the advanced Guard of the Camp. Theſe *Hetrurian* Foot readily obeyed the Commands of their King's Son. Then the *Tarquins* were ſoon diſperſed, and deprived of their Hopes of ſecuring the Reſtitution of their Eſtates by theſe Hoſtages.

§. XXI. This notorious Piece of Treachery in the *Tarquins*, which *Porſena* thought a Breach of the Law of Nations, gave him ſtrong Suſpicions of the Badneſs of their Cauſe. He therefore made Haſte to aſſemble the chief Commanders of the *Hetrurians*, and in their Preſence heard the Complaints of the *Romans*, and their Juſtification of their Proceedings againſt the *Tarquins*. They enlarged on all the Miſeries the *Tarquins* had brought upon *Rome*, from the Time of the Aſſaſſination of King *Servius*, and their unlawful Uſurpation of an elective Crown, which they had poſſeſſed themſelves of, without the Conſent of the People, or Senate; and the *Romans* cloſed their Relation with the Violence offered to the chaſt *Lucretia*. The Recital of ſo many Crimes filled the *Hetrurians* with Horror; and the Conduct of the *Romans* was unanimouſly approved. In Conſequence of which, *Porſena* ſent the ſame Day to ſignify to the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius*, that he renounced the Alliance he had made with them, and would no longer continue the Hoſpitality he had ſhewn them. He ordered them to leave his Camp immediately, and appear no more in his Preſence. Thus the Conſtancy of the *Romans*, and the Wiſdom of an equitable King, ſaved them from Ruin. Thus the *Tarquins* diſobliged even their own Protectors, by their imperious and perfidious Behaviour. And in ſhort, thus did the Virtue of the *Romans* ſhine out with the greateſt Splendor, when they were ſurrounded with the greateſt Misfortunes. Providence waited till the *Romans* were on the Brink of Deſtruction, before it would deliver them from it. The Protection it then gave the riſing Republic was a ſignal Reward for their Love of Continence, and their Hatred to Debauchery.

In the mean time, *Porſena* ordered the young *Romans*, whoſe Courage he admired, to be brought into his Preſence. He was, above all, deſirous of knowing who was the firſt Author and chief Manager of the Enterprize. But they were all afraid for *Clœlia*, and kept Silence: Till at length, the Heroine her ſelf confeſſed, with an Air of Intrepidity, that ſhe alone was guilty, and that ſhe had emboldened the reſt, by her Advice. Upon this, the King was as much ſurprized with her Steadineſs, as he had been with her Courage: He addreſſed himſelf to her in the moſt kind and gracious Manner, extolled her Adventure above the Bravery of *Horatius*, and the Intrepidity of *Mucius*; and made her a Preſent of a very fine Horſe, with ſumptuous Furniture. And from hence, perhaps, might ariſe the Fable, which is mentioned by ſeveral Authors, that ſhe croſs'd the River on Horſeback. This likewiſe, according to ſome, gave Occaſion to the *Equeſtrian* [67] Statue of her, which was erected in the *Via Sacra*, and was afterwards melted in a Fire: A Statue which, according to others, was erected in Honour to *Valeria*, *Poplicola*'s Daughter; doubtleſs in Memory of the Expedition with which this excellent Horſe-Woman carried Advice of the Danger of her Father, and her Companions. Not that the King of the *Hetrurians* confined himſelf to Praiſes only. He reſtored [68] the *Romans* the Hoſtages he had demanded of them; and told the *Conſul*, that he thought his Probity was his beſt Guarantee. In ſhort, he made a Treaty of Peace with the *Romans*, and now thought of nothing elſe but ſetting out for *Cluſium*.

67 Who are we to believe? *Dion. Hal.* who ſays this Statue was conſumed by Fire; or *Plutarch*, who affirms, in his *Life of Poplicola*, that this Piece of Antiquity was in being in his Time? The Authority of the former, ſeems to us to be of moſt Weight. Nevertheleſs, *Pliny* ſeems to agree with the latter. His Words are theſe, *B.* 34. *Equeſtrium tamen origo pervetus eſt, cum fœminis etiam honore communicato. Clœliæ enim ſtatua eſt equeſtris.*

68 *Livy* differs from *Dion. Hal.* in this Particular. He ſays *Porſena* reſtored only a Part of the Hoſtages, which he ſuffered *Clœlia* to chooſe, in regard to her Courage. But how judicious ſoever he may make *Clœlia* appear, in preferring ſuch whoſe Modeſty would expoſe them to moſt Dangers in a Camp; the Silence of other Writers, makes us believe that this Flouriſh is purely an Invention of the *Latin* Hiſtorian, to give the more Luſtre to his Relation. *Porſena*'s Generoſity on all other Accounts leaves no room to ſuppoſe there could have been any ſuch Diviſion.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVI.

P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, and M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, Conſuls.

BUT before *Porſena* began his Journey, all Antiquity agrees in aſcribing an Action to him, which equalled his Glory to that of the *Romans*. He is ſaid to have ſignalized his Departure by an Act of Liberality, which was the more valuable in it ſelf, the leſs Appearance it had of any Affectation. *Porſena* knew the Scarcity of Proviſions there was among the *Roman* People; but he was afraid of offending them, if he relieved them in a direct manner. He therefore found means to ſupply their Wants, without ſeeming to intend it. His Camp abounded with Proviſions of all ſorts: And he ordered his *Hetrurians* to carry nothing but their Arms with them, and leave both their Tents and Proviſions behind them. He left all the Effects of his Army for his new Friends, in the ſame manner, as if he had been forced to decamp on a ſudden: and *Rome* was much relieved by it in her Wants. The Republick ſold the Moveables, and Corn of the *Hetrurians*, to private Perſons, by Auction. And the *Romans*, to ſhew their Gratitude for a Preſent ſo ſeaſonably, and ſo genteely made, from thence took up the Cuſtom, of making Proclamation by an Herald, whenever any Effects belonging to the Publick were to be ſold, in the following Words, *Theſe are* Porſena's *Goods*. Their Intention in it was to ſhew, that the Goods of the Republick were *Porſena*'s; and that ſhe was indebted to him for all ſhe poſſeſſed. Beſides which, the Herald likewiſe declared by it, that the Effects which were to be ſold, would be ſold cheap. Nay, the Senators did yet more than this: They erected a Statue of the King of the *Hetrurians*, cloſe by the Place where the Aſſemblies met, and ſent an Embaſſy to him with a Preſent, of a Throne adorned with Ivory, a Scepter, a Crown of Gold, and a triumphant Robe. By which we may judge, whether what *Livy* relates, be probable. He, a little jealous of the Glory of this foreign King, leſſens it as much as he can. He even pretends, that *Porſena* made another Attempt after this, to reeſtabliſh the *Tarquins* on the Throne.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 303. Livy, B. 2. ch. 4 and Plutarch.

§. XXII. AND now the *Romans*, after their Deliverance, made it their whole Buſineſs to reward thoſe, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves, during the Siege. Among whom, *Mucius Scævola* was not forgotten. The Republick gave him a large Piece of Ground, belonging to the State, which afterwards took his Name, and was called *Mucius*'s *Meadows* [69]. His Valour, and the great Services he had done *Rome*, well deſerved likewiſe, the Statue which was erected to his Honour. After this, the *Romans* had nothing now left to do, but to ſhew their Gratitude to the Gods, by ſome ſignal Act of Religion. They then valued themſelves as much upon their Religion, as their Bravery; and their religious Worſhip, ſuperſtitious as it was, kept them in Order, and both preſerved and encreaſed their Probity. The Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus* therefore, which had been begun by *Tarquin the Firſt*, and far advanced by the Care of *Tarquin the Proud*, was then finiſhed; and wanted nothing to fit it for publick Service, but to be firſt dedicated, and then opened: And as it belonged to the Republick to order the Conſecration of it; that devolved upon the *Conſuls*. This would prove an eternal Glory to him, who ſhould be honoured with performing the Ceremony; and therefore if the Choice of the Conſecrator had been in the People, *Poplicola* would have gained it from his Colegue. But it belonged to the 70 Senate to nominate the Man. And the *Patricians* had long been jealous of the Glory which *Poplicola* had acquired in his three *Conſulſhips*. They were tired with ſeeing all ſorts of Honours heaped upon the ſame Head. And indeed, the Senior *Conſul*'s Superiority of Merit, had reduced his Colegues to be no better than his Subalterns. For which Reaſon, the Senators took malicious pleaſure in robbing *Poplicola* of a Mark of Diſtinction, which it was in their Power to beſtow on another, without doing Injury to the Publick. And in order to do this, they took their Opportunity of making the Commiſſion for conſecrating the Temple fall, as it were naturally, upon *Horatius Pulvillus*. It happened at that time, that ſome Remains of the *Latin* Troops came and committed

Livy, B. 2. ch. 13.

Plut. Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 304.

[69] It was formerly cuſtomary among the *Romans*, to make the Soldiers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Battel, a Preſent of Corn. This Reward was called *Adorea*. But to others was given the Fee of a Piece of Ground: And in this conſiſted all the Riches of the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*, in theſe early Times. He was thought a dangerous Citizen, who was not content with ſeven Acres of Land, at the moſt.

[70] *Livy*, and ſome Authors *Plutarch* mentions, pretend, that the thing was determined by Lot. But if this had been the Caſe, the Determination would have been looked upon, as an irreverſible Decree of the Gods; and *Poplicola*'s Brother would not have dared to diſturb *Horatius* in the Exerciſe of his Commiſſion, as in Fact he did.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVI.

P. Valerius Poplicola, and M. Horatius Pulvillus, Conſuls.

Ravages in the *Roman* Territory, under the Command of *Mamilius*. *Poplicola* was ordered to march againſt the Enemy: and *Horatius*, the Son of the Junior *Conſul*, attended him, in order, doubtleſs, to learn the Art of War, under this great Maſter. So that, the Senate did not fail to ſeize this Opportunity of *Poplicola*'s Abſence, which was ſo favourable to their Deſigns. They immediately ordered the Temple to be dedicated, and nominated *Horatius* [71] *Pulvillus*, to perform that Office. *Poplicola*'s Friends indeed made a ſtrong Oppoſition to the Cabal which favoured the Junior *Conſul*; but the Majority carried it for him. Every thing was got ready for the Ceremony, without delay, and *Horatius* aſcended the *Capitol*, with all the Pomp which became ſo great a Solemnity. At the Entrance into the Temple, he was to read a Form of Words to this Purpoſe, *That the Senate and People of* Rome, *put* Jupiter *in Poſſeſſion of the magnificent Structure, which they had raiſed to his Honour, and to be uſed in his Worſhip.* And the *Conſul* had already began to pronounce theſe Words, which were thought eſſential to the Dedication, at the ſame time touching one of the Lintels which ſupported the Gate of the Temple with his Hand, when one of *Poplicola*'s Party interrupted him. He cried out to him, *I give you notice, that your Son has loſt his Life in a Battel. So that, by the Law of the* [72] Pontifices, *you are performing an Office, which is forbidden the Head of any Family in Mourning.* To which *Horatius*, either perceiving the Cheat, or out of a *Roman* Magnanimity, coldly replied, *Then let him be buried*; and finiſhed the Conſecration, without ſhewing any Concern. After the Ceremony was over, he was informed, that the Story of his Son's Death was falſe, and only told him by one of *Poplicola*'s Friends, to delay the Dedication, till he ſhould return from the Army. Thus *M. Valerius Poplicola* ended the glorious Year of his third *Conſulſhip*, with receiving a Mortification, which could not but ſenſibly affect him.

Silver

71 The Honour of dedicating a Temple, was a Mark of Diſtinction, which the Great Men in *Rome* earneſtly ſollicited. This Office, in the firſt Age, belonged to him of the two *Conſuls*, whom the Senate ſhould appoint. Afterwards, this Election was left to the People aſſembled by *Tribes*. And at laſt, it was left at the Diſpoſal of the Senate, even in the Time of the *Roman Emperors*. The Dedication of a Temple was a ſolemn Feſtival, accompanied with extraordinary Rejoicings. The Altars were then adorned with Flowers, and Fillets; Sacrifices were offered up, and Hymns ſung to Inſtruments. The Magiſtrate who was to preſide at the Ceremony, gave the College of the *Pontifices* notice of the Day of the Dedication. He ſummoned the *Pontifex Maximus*, to appear at the Temple, and pronounce the Words of Conſecration. After whom, this Magiſtrate repeated them, Word for Word, with his Hand upon the Side-Poſt of the Door of the Temple. And he was obliged to be extremely exact in doing it. A Syllable forgotten, or ill-pronounced, gave the People an Alarm, and they thought it an inauſpicious Omen to the Conſecrator. Therefore *Metellus*, the *Pontifex Maximus*, who had an Impediment in his Speech, was ſeveral Months learning to articulate the Word *Opifera* well. It was not lawful to appear, at this Solemnity, in Mourning, but only in white Clothes. *Cicero*, in his *Oration pro Domo ſua*, has tranſmitted to us one Form of inviting the *Pontifices* to the Ceremony of a Dedication; which is this: *Ades, ades*, Luculle Servili, *dum dedico Ædem hanc, ut mihi præeatis, poſtemque teneatis. Livy*, and ſeveral Pieces of Antiquity, have alſo conveyed down to us, different Forms of Conſecration, which *Briſſon* has collected, *B.* 1. *de Formulis*. But theſe Forms were not pronounced without ſome external Action; as we learn from *Cicero*, *B.* 1. *de Legibus. Bene vero quod Pietas, Virtus, Fides conſecratur manu, quarum omnium* Romæ *dedicata Templa ſunt. Ovid* alſo ſays the ſame thing,

Sacra vocant auguſta Patres *auguſta vocantur*
Templa ſacerdotum rite dicata manu.

The Names of the Magiſtrates who performed the Ceremonies of the Conſecrations, were uſually inſcribed on the Frontiſpieces or the Temples.

72 The *Romans* divided their Preſages into two ſorts, which they called *Oblativa* and *Impetrativa*. The former were thoſe, which they deſired of the Gods, before the Execution of any Enterprize. And then they were obliged to act accordingly. The others, which were unexpected, and accidental, were not thought obligatory; but every one was at liberty to govern himſelf by them, or entirely neglect them, as he found it for his Intereſt. Of this kind, was the News which was brought *Horatius*, of the Death of his Son. If theſe Preſages were auſpicious ones, they were accepted, and Thanks were returned to the Gods for them. If not, the Thoughts of them were rejected with Horror, and no Pains ſpared to avert the ill Effects of them.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVII.

SP. LARTIUS, and T. HERMINIUS, Conſuls.

XXIII. As for the Republick, it enjoyed Tranquillity, after the Troubles of the ding Year. So that no Neceſſities of State obliged the People to continue *Popli-* in his Office. And therefore, in the Election of new *Conſuls*, the *Romans* ght no more of him, but were wholly intent upon rewarding the Merit of two who had ſignalized themſelves moſt in the War with *Porſena*. *Sp.* 73 *Lar-* and *T. Herminius*, had acted the chief Parts in it, after *Poplicola*. They had been at the Head of the Wing, which oppoſed that of the *Tarquins*, had bro- through it, and had both joined with *Horatius Cocles*, in defending the Bridge, the unexpected Rout of their Troops. Theſe conſiderable Services therefore, theſe ſignal Proofs of Valour, drew the Eyes of the People upon them. And declared them *Conſuls*, for a Year, which was not diſtinguiſhed by any War, riumph.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. ibid.

EVERTHELESS, the *Conſuls* did not loſe the Opportunity which offered, of g the *Hetrurians* a Part of that Debt of Gratitude, which the *Romans* owed *ena*. This King had no ſooner raiſed the Siege of *Rome*, but he grew aſhamed ading back ſo numerous an Army into his own Country, before it had ſig- ed itſelf by any remarkable Exploit. And he had the Glory of his Son more art than his own. He therefore gave the Command of his Army to young *nx*, a lovely Prince, who was formed for Heroiſm, upon the Model of the *Ro-* Virtue.

RUNX ſet out for a new War, leaving his Father to return to *Cluſium*. ame, and fell ſuddenly upon *Aricia* 74, a City of *Latium*, which he was de- s to ſeize, in order to get himſelf a Poſſeſſion, purely by his own Valour. unexpected Attack put the *Aricians* into Diſorder at firſt; but they afterwards vered themſelves, and got Succours from *Latium* and *Campania*. *Cumæ* eſpe- y lent them Troops; and out of all theſe Reinforcements, they formed an y, ſufficient to appear in the Field. The brave *Arunx* did not long delay ing Battel. And at the firſt Onſet, he broke thro' the *Aricians*, who fought againſt the Body he commanded. But the *Cumæans*, being commanded by good Officers, made a Motion, which recovered the Victory to their own Party. They retired, by degrees, from the main Body, which was warmly attacked by the Ge- ral of the *Hetrurians*, and thereby left the Field clear for them. Upon which, *nx* fell with great Fury on the routed *Aricians*, and his Troops left their Ranks, purſued the Fugitives in great Diſorder. Then the *Cumæans*, taking advantage his favourable Moment, fell upon the *Hetrurians*, charged them in the Rear, rpowered them, and cut them in pieces. In the mean time, *Arunx*, who was ſported with the ardent Deſire of a firſt Victory, unhappily loſt his Life in the el. A young Hero, worthy of a better Fate; and exceedingly regretted by the *nans*, whoſe Love for him did not fall ſhort of his Affection for *Rome*.

HE ſcattered Remains of his Army fled into the Villages about *Rome*, and e ſought for Protection, as in a Friend's Country. But the *Conſuls* would not er the *Hetrurians* to continue there, where they were in danger of being at-

tacked,

73 It is a Diſpute, whether the Name of the Se- *Conſul*, for this Year, was *Largius*, or *Lartius*. here to the *Greek* Hiſtorians, who always call Λάρκιος. But it is matter of more Importance now, whether theſe were really the two *Conſuls*, the fourth Year, after the Expulſion of the *Tar-* s. It is true, we don't find their Names on Marbles of the *Faſti Capitolini*; and *Livy* has omitted them in his Hiſtory. But as to the *Faſti itolini*, what is effaced out of this antient Mo- ent, does not prejudice the Truth. The Order he *Conſulſhips*, which we find inſcribed on them, nly ſhews, that Time has effaced two of them. as for *Livy*, he either omits the two *Conſuls* this Year, out of Inadvertency, or it is the Fault his Editors, or Copyiſts. We ought therefore to ere to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Spurius Lartius* *Titus Herminius*, Succeſſors to *Poplicola* and *atius Pulvillus*. And herein he is followed by *ſiodorus*, and *Cuſpinian*. The latter, ranks one *ſus*, and one *Aquilinus*, here, in the Order of *Conſuls*: and theſe are exactly the Surnames of *Lartius* and *Herminius*. *Lartius* was fair, but inclining to *red*; for which Reaſon, the *Faſti Capitolini* give him the Surname of *Flavus*, when they ſpeak of his ſecond *Conſulſhip*. *Aquilinus* was, doubtleſs, a *Nickname* given to *Herminius*, becauſe he had an hooked or *Aquiline* Noſe.

74 *Aricia* was formerly a conſiderable City of *Latium*, a Mile beyond the antient City of *Alba*. It is now only a ſmall Town, which is at preſent called *La Riccia*. It ſtood in the *Appian Way*, not ſixty *Stadia* from *Rome*, as *Strabo* pretends; but 120 *Stadia* from thence, according to *Dion. Hal. i. e.* 15000 Paces, or thereabouts. Near this City was the Lake of *Aricia*, at preſent, *Lago di Nemi*, and a Foreſt and Fountain of the ſame Name, which became famous, among the Antients, for the ſecret Converſations between *Numa*, and the Nymph *Egeria*. Afterwards, *Aricia* became a *Municipal* City. But we muſt not confound the Grove and Fountain of *Egeria*, which *Numa* had conſecrated at *Rome*, near the Gate *Capena*, with the Foreſt and Fountain of *Aricia*.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVII. Sp. Lartius, and T. Herminius, Conſuls.

tacked, and had no Defence againſt their Enemies. They ſent Carriages for th and brought them to *Rome*; where they were received with the moſt cordial fection, Gratitude can inſpire. They were furniſhed with Quarters, were and cured of their Wounds, at the Expence of the Publick. The *Romans* were joiced, that it was in their Power, by their Care of them, to repay the *Hetrurians* ſome Part of the Obligations they had received from *Porſena*; and they g ſuch of them as deſired it, leave to return home, to ſhew their Countrymen, the *Romans* were not forgetful of their former Services. And laſtly, the *Ro* allotted a particular Quarter of the City for thoſe *Hetrurians*, which were wil to ſettle in it: and the Place where they dwelt, was ever after called, *The Tuſcan* or *The Hetrurian Street*. Thus two of the braveſt Soldiers *Rome* had bred, gai no other Glory in their *Conſulſhip*, but that of having ſhewn the neighbou Nations, that the *Romans* were a grateful People. Tho' the *Latins* afterwa charged it as a Crime upon the *Romans*, that they had ſhewn ſo much Huma to an haughty and conquered Nation.

The Republick ſtill ſubſiſted, after the firſt Shocks it had received from *Porſena*; but in ſuch a Condition, that it ſeemed no difficult Matter to foretel Ruin was approaching. The *Sabines*, a People ever jealous of the Riſe of *Ro* had Thoughts of taking Advantage of its Weakneſs, in order to put it out of Power of this imperious City, to give Law to her Neighbours any more. Tho' merly conquered, and quiet, they were now grown proud, and active. Beſi the *Romans* had now loſt all thoſe forced Alliances, which they had obliged *Hetrurians* and *Latins* to enter into with them. After they had changed the Fo of their Government, all their Neighbours were either grown indifferent tow them, or were become deſirous of invading them, or took an ill-natured Pleaſ in ſeeing them humbled. Whilſt the *Tarquins*, who were diſperſed in differ Nations, ſtirred them up, and made them all Enemies to *Rome*, tho' they co raiſe but little Compaſſion for themſelves. So that *Rome* was reduced to her o Forces, without Hopes of any Succours, and without having ſo much as any ſingle People in Confederacy with her; and had likewiſe reaſon to be afraid of ill-extinguiſhed Fire of the Royaliſt Party at home, which was always ready, u the firſt Opportunity, to break out into a Flame.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVIII. M. Valerius, and P. Posthumius, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. Such was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when 76 *M. Valerius*, a *P. Poſthumius*, were nominated *Conſuls*. *Valerius* was Brother to the illuſtrio *Poplicola*: and the People's Perſuaſion, that he would govern himſelf by his fa ther's Advice, contributed not a little to his Election.

Soon after this, the War which the *Romans* were apprehenſive of, on the Pa of the *Sabines*, was begun, with Incurſions and Devaſtations in the *Roman* Ter tory. The Husbandmen could no longer appear in the Country, with Safety; th were often carried off by the new Enemy, as they were returning from thi Work. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* were not over-haſty in revenging the Cauſe *Rome*; the preſent Circumſtances of Affairs would not admit of it. They firſ ſent an Embaſſy to the *Sabines*, to demand Satisfaction for their Loſſes, and th Puniſhment of the Robbers, who had committed theſe Ravages, upon their Lan But when the *Sabines* had given the *Roman* Envoys a contemptuous Anſwe *M. Valerius*, one of the *Conſuls*, marched againſt the Aggreſſors, ſurprized them as they were diſperſed about the Country in ſmall Parties, and made a great Slaug ter of them. Thus was the War firſt declared by the ſpilling of *Sabine* Blo

75 *Dion. Hal.* ſays, the Senate gave the *Hetrurians* a kind of Valley, about four *Stadia* long, that they might ſettle there, between the Hill *Palatinus* and the *Capitol*. This Street was in the Way from the *Forum* to the *Great Circus*. But *Tacitus*, *Annal.* 4. gives us another Derivation of the Name of this Street. He ſays, that *Cælius Vibenna*, a Chief of the *Hetrurians*, having brought Succours to *Tarquin the Firſt*, obtained this Quarter for himſelf and his Followers: Whereas, if we believe *Varro*, it was in *Romulus*'s Reign, that this *Vibenna*, to whom he gives the *Prænomen* of *Cælius*, ſettled upon one of the ſeven Hills of *Rome*, which was afterwards called *Mons Cælius*. After the Death of *Romulus*, adds the ſame Author, *Vibenna* was obliged to remo into a lower Quarter, becauſe the Eminence *Hetrurians* poſſeſſed, commanded the City, and g the *Romans* Umbrage.

76 There is no Diſpute about the Names of th two *Conſuls*; all agree, they exerciſed their Of the ſame Year. But ſome injudiciouſly change *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, which all good Authors g *Valerius*, into *Publius*. *Poſthumius*'s Surname *Tubertus*. *Cicero* ſpeaks of him, in one of his Boo *de Legibus*, in theſe Words: *Tuberto virtutis ca tributum eſt, ut in urbe ſepeliretur; quod ejus poſ tenuerunt.*

t length, both Enemies appeared in the Field. The *Sabines* were commanded y an able General, whoſe Name the Hiſtorians have not tranſmitted to us. And e *Romans* divided their Troops into two Armies, ſeparately commanded by the vo *Conſuls*. The Fear they were then in, leſt the *Tarquins* ſhould take Advan- ge of the Intereſt they ſtill had in *Rome*, and come and fall upon her, when her roops were at a great Diſtance, made the *Conſuls* reſolve, always to have an Ar- y poſted in the Neighbourhood of the City. *Poſthumius* therefore fixed his amp on the Hills which ſurrounded it: *M. Valerius* his Collegue encamped ar the 77 *Anio*, and found the *Sabines* already poſſeſſed of one of the Banks of The *Anio*, now called the *Teverone*, was then 78 the Boundary of the *Roman* ate, and divided it from the Country of the *Sabines*. It was at 79 *Tibur*, that *. Valerius* encamped, at the Place where the *Anio* falls from the Top of a Rock 80 ith a great Noiſe. The Enemy was poſted on the oppoſite Shore, on an Emi- nce not far from the River. And whilſt the Armies in the two Camps were atching one another, and deliberating which ſhould paſs the River, to begin the ttack, an unexpected Accident brought them to a Battle. The famous *Poplicola* s with his Brother, and was the Soul of the Undertaking, tho' he had no Au- ority in the Army.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVIII. M. VALERIUS, and P. POSTHUMIUS, Conſuls.

IT happened, that ſome *Roman*, or *Sabine* Soldiers, it is uncertain which, led eir Horſes to the River to water them: And the *Anio* not being deep at the atering-place, the melted Snows not having yet ſwelled it, they rode thro' it to e oppoſite Shore, and were ſcarce up to their Horſes Knees. Upon this, thoſe o were encamped on the Shore to which they came, ran in Crowds to drive k theſe bold Fellows, and began the Fight. Then the Soldiers of both Armies cked without any Order, to aſſiſt thoſe who were firſt engaged; and, as it al- ys happens in theſe tumultuary Frays, this became a bloody one, and the Bank s immediately covered with dead Bodies. In the mean time, the *Conſul* calls k his Soldiers, and reſolves to paſs the River in the Place which appeared, by is Accident, to be fordable. Accordingly, he paſſes it with all his Troops, and aws them up in Battalia, on that Side of the River where the *Sabines* were en- mped. The latter, who were not yet armed, when they ſaw the Enemy ad- cing towards them in good Order, were ſurprized at the unexpected Boldneſs the *Romans*, and running to their Arms in Haſte, made Head againſt them, be- e they had Time to form themſelves into regular Battalions.

Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 306.

THE *Sabine* Army deſpiſed the *Roman* Forces, becauſe they ſaw but one of the Bodies of their Army, and only one *Conſul* at the Head of it. Then the tle began, with all the Ardour that might be expected from two of the moſt like Nations in *Italy*, and with all the Skill of two experienced Generals. But ides his own Experience, the *Roman Conſul* was aſſiſted with wiſe Counſels. *erius* 81, accompanied by his Brother, preſſed hard upon the Enemy, with his t Wing, in which he commanded. Whilſt his left Wing loſt Ground, and be- cloſely preſſed by the Enemy, retired to the Brink of the River, and was like be immediately forced into it. But *Poſthumius*, who commanded the other y of the *Roman* Troops, had timely Notice of the Action, advanced with his my to ſhare the Dangers and the Glory of it, and receiving Intelligence of the order of the left Wing, whilſt he was upon his March, he immediately ordered

7 The *Anio* riſes in the Hills of *Trebia*.

8 We may judge from hence how narrow the an Territory was on its broadeſt Part. It is oned to be but eighteen Miles from *Rome* to li, where the Battle was fought with the *Sa-*, on the Confines of *Sabinia* and the *Roman* e. It is ſurprizing that *Rome* ſhould not have rged her Territory more, after gaining ſo many ories in the Times of the *Kings*.

9 The City of *Tibur*, now *Tivoli*, was famous ng the old Inhabitants of *Italy*, for the Tem- ure of its Climate, and its being watered with eat Number of Springs.

0 The Caſcade of the *Anio*, or the *Teverone*, is y fine Sight to this Day. Modern Travellers it here makes a fine Sheet of Water, but its is not a very high one. Probably, the Rock may have been gradually worn down by the Water, and have loſt a great deal of its Height, ſince the Times of *Dion. Hal.* and *Strabo*, who both give the ſame Account of it.

81 Here *Dion. Hal.* is fallen into a great Miſtake. He makes this firſt Battle to have been fought by *Poſthumius*; whereas it was certainly fought by his Collegue *Valerius*. He ſeems to have forgotten what he himſelf had ſaid a little before, namely, that *Poſthumius* continued with his Body of Troops near *Rome*, and that only *Valerius* came and encamped on the Bank of the *Anio*. But I cannot charge this Fault on ſo judicious an Author. I lay it upon the Copyiſts or Editors of his Works. We ought then to put Ὀυαλέριος, in the Text, inſtead of Ποστούμιος, and then the reſt will be both clear and probable.

Year of ROME CCXLVIII. M. VALERIUS, and P. POSTHUMIUS, Conſuls.

Sp. Lartius, the *Conſul* for the preceding Year, to advance with Speed, at the Head of the Cavalry. Theſe paſſed the Ford without Difficulty, and came and attacked the Enemy's Cavalry in Flank, with incredible Expedition. So that *Lartius*'s Preſence, who with his Darts fought the *Sabine* Squadrons at a Diſtance, a great while, ſuſpended for ſome time the Ardour of their right Wing, in preſſing upon the *Roman* Infantry. And in the mean while, *Poſthumius* arrives with his *Legions*. Then the Battle became more furious than ever. The *Sabine* Infantry, which had hitherto been victorious on one Side, gives way, retires, is routed; and, if the Night had not put an End to the Battle, the Defeat of the *Sabines* had been complete. The *Roman* Cavalry, which was ſuperior to that of the Enemy in Strength, had already ſurrounded the whole *Sabine* Army; but the Darkneſs of the Night favoured the Flight of the Conquered. Some eſcaped without their Arms, and fled to their native Cities, without returning to the Camp; which the *Romans* took Poſſeſſion of without Oppoſition. For thoſe who had been left to guard it, had deſerted it: And it was given up to be plundered by the Soldiers, who returned to *Rome* laden with Booty. A memorable Victory! as it was the firſt which the Republick gained, and as it revived the old Confidence of the *Romans*, and gave them the ſame Aſcendant over their Neighbours, which they had formerly had in the Time of their *Kings*. The continual Proſperity of this ſingle City, (which tho' Miſtreſs of only a ſmall Tract of Ground, was yet ſtill victorious, even after the Defection of all her Allies,) filled her Neighbours with Terror. They found that the Valour of the *Romans* was ſtill the ſame, tho' the Form of their Government was altered. And indeed their Virtue, which increaſed, now that the *Tarquins* no longer corrupted *Rome* by their Licentiouſneſs, was even then a Preſage of its future Grandeur. The two *Conſuls* had deſerved the Honours of a Triumph, and the Republick was not content with granting them thoſe only. The *Romans* indeed ordered them to enter *Rome*, both in the ſame Chariot; but they likewiſe added ſome new Preſents, to the Glory of their [82] Triumph. As for *Valerius*, as he had gained two Victories over the *Sabines*, in the ſame Year, the firſt of which had been ſo happy a one, that he is ſaid to have defeated thirteen thouſand Men, without the Loſs of one; he was rewarded according to his Merit. The *Romans* built an Houſe for him, at the Expence of the Publick; and, to diſtinguiſh it from all others, ordered his [83] Door ſhould be ſo hung as to open outwards into the Street; whereas the Doors of all other Houſes opened inwards. And as for *Poſthumius*, he was rewarded with a Privilege never

Plut. and *Plin. B.* 36. *c.* 15.

Silver.

82 Tho' *Tarquin the Firſt*, according to moſt Authors, begun to introduce State and Expence into the Triumphant Entries of Victors; yet the Pomp of that Ceremony was ſtill ſuitable to the Poverty of a riſing Republick. It was not then performed with that ſtately and numerous Train of Attendants, and thoſe coſtly Equipages, with which Triumphs were afterwards more and more adorned, in Proportion as the *Romans* extended their Dominions, and brought to *Rome* the Pageantry and Profuſeneſs, as well as the Riches, of the conquered Provinces. Under the following *Conſuls*, we ſhall ſee the triumphant Victor, making a Shew of himſelf to the People, riding in a Chariot drawn by four Horſes, with a Triumphal Crown on his Head, an Ivory Sceptre in his Hand, ſitting in the *Curule Chair*, dreſſed in a Robe and Tunick embroidered with Gold, and attended by the *Lictors*, with their *Axes* and *Faſces*. We find the Repreſentation of an antient Triumph on the Reverſe of a Medal of the *Manlian* Family. On it we ſee a winged *Victory* crowning the Head of the Victor.

83 The *Romans* had a very different Way of making the Doors of their Houſes, from the *Greeks*. The latter never opened their Doors inwards; according to *Plutarch*, they always turned outwards into the Street. This appears, ſays that Author, by the old *Greek* Comedies, in which we find [one] who wanted to go out of his Houſe, ſtriking against the Inſide of his Door, to give thoſe who paſſed by in the Street Notice to keep out of the Way. Whereas the *Romans* did juſt the contrary. Their Doors opened inwards: And the Honour which was done *M. Valerius*, in allowing his to be hung otherwiſe, was ſymbolical. The Deſign of it was to put him in mind, as oft as he went in or out, that he was indebted to the Publick for his Houſe. *Dion. Hal.* ſaw, even in his Time, a brazen Bull, which had been erected before this Houſe.

fore [84] granted to any. He was empowered to have a Burial-Place for himſelf d his Family, within the Walls of *Rome*. Thus did the firſt *Romans* keep up Emulation among their Generals, rather by giving them diſtinguiſhing Marks Honour, than ſubſtantial Rewards. They did not increaſe their Wealth too uch; but taught them to prefer the Glory which attends great Actions, to exor- tant Riches, which often give Umbrage, and are always odious, in a Republick. §. XXV. But the *Sabines*, tho' vanquiſhed in the Battle of *Tibur*, entered into new agues, and deſigned to unite together in a National Body, againſt *Rome*, and up the *Latins* to join with them. *Poplicola* was become a Refuge for the publick, whenever preſſed with great Difficulties. The People of *Rome* were t ignorant of the Services he had done them in the preceding War. They ribed to him the Direction of the Valour and Prudence of his Brother, in that rious Campaign, which was of ſo much Service to the *Roman* Name. They erefore would have him govern *Rome* in Perſon, the fourth Time. The Col- gue the aſſembled *Centuries* gave him, was the ſame *T. Lucretius*, who had been *nſul* with *Poplicola*, when *Rome* was beſieged; had always acted in Concert with m; and had ſhared with him the Glory of having delivered the City. Under e Adminiſtration of theſe two great Men, the Republick thought they had nothing fear, either from Attacks Abroad, or Commotions at Home.

Year of *ROME* CCXLVIII. M. Valerius, and P. Posthumius, Conſuls. *Cicero, de Leg. B.* 2.

Year of *ROME* CCXLIX. P. Valerius Poplicola, and T. Lucretius, Conſuls.

And indeed, *Poplicola* was equally expert, in governing the Minds of the Ci- ens of *Rome*, in carrying on Negotiations Abroad with the neighbouring Na- ns, and in conquering an Enemy, either by Stratagem or Force. Nevertheleſs, perſtition now took Poſſeſſion of the Peoples Minds all at once, and ſeemed ely to make his fourth *Conſulſhip* a Year of Inactivity and Dejection. It hap- ned, that ſome Women had been delivered of monſtrous Births, having brought th no Children, but ſuch as wanted ſome of their Limbs. It is alſo ſaid, that oſt of them were ſtill-born. And this was enough, for ſome ſecret Enemies to e *Conſul* and their Country, to ſpread a Report, that a Year diſtinguiſhed by ſuch d Preſages, would prove fatal to the Republick. But the wiſe *Poplicola* ſoon moved ſuch dangerous Suſpicions. He cauſed the Books of the *Sybils* to be conſulted, and interpreted the Anſwers he received, ſo as beſt ſuited his own Pur- oſes. He ordered [85] Sacrifices to be offered to *Pluto*, and revived certain Feſti- vals

Plutarch Life of *Poplic.*

[84] The Law which forbad the burying any Body hin the Walls of any City, was very expreſs; *minem mortuum in urbe ne ſepelito, neve urito.* cero gives it us in his 2d Book *of Laws*. And Cuſtom was ſo religiouſly obſerved, that the gs of *Rome* themſelves were not buried in any ies, but on the Top, or at the Foot of Hills. is true, this Cuſtom was interrupted for ſome e, either thro' Negligence, or the Compliance of Magiſtrates; but it was eſtabliſhed again by the *cemviri*. The Emperor *Adrian* laid a conſider- e Fine, both upon thoſe who ſhould bury their ad in the City, and the Magiſtrates who ſhould fer this Abuſe. And he likewiſe commanded, t the Ground uſed for a Burial-Place, ſhould be feited to the Publick, and the Corps dug up a- n, and carried out of the City. At leaſt, this is *ian*'s Account of it. The Emperors *Antoninus*, *ocleſian*, and *Maximilian* alſo, enacted Laws ch like theſe, with very great Penalties. This ſtom of burying without the Walls of Cities, s a political Regulation, to preſerve the People m the Corruption of the Air which ſometimes ceeds from the Infection of dead Bodies. And ording to *Cicero*, *de Legib.* 2. the burning dead dies within the Walls of Cities was forbidden, *pter ignis periculum*, i. e. *for fear of Fire*. This s a neceſſary Precaution. But this Law was o founded in the Superſtition of the Pagans, who ught ſacred Places, and the Ceremonies of Re- on, prophaned, by dead Bodies being near them. e Conſequence of this general Law therefore, s this, that all the *Roman* Families made their Bu- l-Places in the Country, wherever they likeſt beſt, on their own Eſtates. A Garden and a Field were reſerved for this Purpoſe, which lay by the great Roads, in the Sight of Travellers. Hence the Style of antient Epitaphs ran thus: *Aſta Viator*, *Cave Viator*, *Aſpice Viator*: i. e. *Stay Traveller*, &c. We find this Cuſtom mentioned in the following Epigram of *Martial*.

Hoc ſub marmore Glaucias humatus
Juncto Flaminiæ jacet Sepulchro.
Quid fles talia? Nil fleas Viator. Epig. 6.

So that the granting *Poſthumius Tubertus* a Right to bury within the City, was giving him a conſiderable Privilege. The *Veſtals* indeed always enjoyed this Mark of Diſtinction; but it was very ſeldom granted to any others; and never but out of Regard to great Merit.

[85] *Val. Max. B.* 2. *c.* 1. gives us the Particulars of this Sacrifice which *Poplicola* offered to *Pluto*, and derives it from a remote Original. One *Voleſius*, ſays he, was likely to loſe his three Children, by an epidemical Diſtemper. He therefore prayed his domeſtick Gods to inflict that Death upon him, with which his Children were threatened. Upon this he heard a Voice, which commanded him to carry his three ſick Perſons down the *Tyber*, as far as *Tarentum*; and there make them drink Water warmed at a Fire on the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*. And tho' he thought it a long and difficult Voyage for him to undertake, to go as far as *Tarentum*, in the Condition his ſick People were, nevertheleſs he obeyed. He embarked on the *Tyber*, advanced towards *Oſtia*, and ſtoped in a Field dedicated to *Mars*, to warm ſome Water for the Sick. But finding no Fire, he asked if there was none in the Neighbourhood: And he was directed to go to *Tarentum*,

Year of ROME CCXLIX.

P. Valerius Poplicola, and T. Lucretius, Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 307. Liv. B. 2. c. 16. Plut. Life of *Poplic.*

vals and [86] Sports, which had been neglected, on account of the Difficulties the riſing Republick lay under, notwithſtanding that they had been appointed by the Oracle of *Apollo*. By theſe artful Methods, *Poplicola* revived the Confidence of the *Romans*, and filled them with new Hopes of Victory and Conqueſt.

§. XXVI. In the mean time, the Storm ſtill continued to threaten *Rome*, on the Side of the *Sabines*. The reſtleſs and the turbulent, were more numerous, in their national Aſſemblies, than the quiet and the peaceable. One of the *Tarquins* is ſaid to have put all the factious there in Motion. *Poplicola* endeavoured to bear down the Intereſt of the baniſhed King, by his Negotiations. He began with gaining over to the *Romans*, him who had the moſt Intereſt among the *Sabines* of any ſingle Man; which was *Actius Clauſus*. He was born in *Sabinia*, at *Regillum* [87], where he held the firſt Rank. He had a vaſt Eſtate, and a great Number of Vaſſals, as well as perſonal good Qualities, which made him the chief Man in his Country. A ſteady Courage, ſuperior even to that of the *Sabines*, a penetrating Mind, a lively Eloquence, great Strength of Body, together with great Valour and Prudence, all joined in raiſing him ſuch an Intereſt among his Countrymen, as eclipſed the Reputation of all the Nobles of his Nation. Such was the Hero, whom *Poplicola* found Means to prevail on, by his Sollicitations, zealouſly to eſpouſe the *Roman* Cauſe, in the *Sabine* Diets. And *Clauſus* was probably no leſs zealous for the true Intereſts of his Country. With theſe Inclinations and Diſpoſitions of Mind, he ſpoke in the Aſſemblies, againſt the Deſign of renewing the War, and took great Pains to quiet his Countrymen, whom the *Tarquins* made it their Buſineſs to exaſperate, only to involve them in the ſame Ruin with themſelves. And the Merit of the Speaker was too great, and too well known, not to raiſe an Oppoſition againſt him. Thoſe who were jealous of the Intereſt and great Wealth of *Clauſus*, put a bad Conſtruction upon the good Underſtanding he had with the *Romans*. *He is an ambitious Man*, ſaid they, *who, depending upon the Protection of the* Romans, *would fain uſurp a tyrannical Power over a free Nation, and enſlave it, by the Help of the* Roman Legions. And theſe Diſtruſts were ſo induſtriouſly ſpread all over *Sabinia*, that nothing leſs was propoſed, than to cite *Clauſus* to appear before the States General, and condemn him as a Traitor to his Country. The Injuſtice of the *Sabines* provoked the brave *Clauſus*. He therefore could not bear to ſee his Love for the Welfare of the Publick, made a Crime; and his Vexation ſoon turned into Wrath. He reckoned up the Number of his

Tarentum, meaning a neighbouring Field, which was ſo called. This therefore convinced *Valeſius* that the Gods had by their Anſwer ſent him thither, for the Cure of his Children. Accordingly, he drew Water out of the River, and when he came to the Place, from which he ſaw a Smoke ariſe, he found the Ground as hot as if a great Fire had been burning under it. There he then gathered together ſome dry Wood, blew under it a great while, made it take Fire, warmed his Water, and gave it to his Children. Upon drinking it, they were immediately cured, and had a good Night's Reſt. But in their Sleep they heard a Voice, which ordered them to ſacrifice ſome black Victims to *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, who had healed them, and to perform, by Night, all the Ceremonies of a ſolemn Sacrifice to their Honour, in the Place called *Tarentum*. The Father of the three Children therefore ran immediately to the City, to buy the neceſſary Materials for building an Altar, and ordered the Foundations to be dug, in the mean time. But as the Workmen were digging, they found an Altar, twenty Foot deep in the Ground, with this Inſcription, To Pluto and Proserpine. So that *Valeſius*, upon Notice of the Diſcovery, only bought the Victims in the City, and came and offered them up in Sacrifice at *Tarentum*, on the Altar which was newly diſcovered. The Ceremony continued three Nights, which were all ſpent in Thankſgiving. This made *Tarentum*, and the Altar of *Pluto* and *Proſerpine*, famous. To this very Place, continues *Val. Maximus*, *Poplicola* came, and here ſacrificed black Victims, in Behalf of the *Roman* People, for three Nights together, with the Ceremony of the *Latiſternium*, in Honour to theſe Deities. He likewiſe commanded Sports to be celebrated there: And afterwards ordered the Altar to be covered with Earth again. This Author likewiſe thought that the *Secular Games* took their Riſe from hence. But it is probable they began later than the Time of *Poplicola*. And this whole Story of *Valerius Maximus* is omitted by all ſenſible Hiſtorians, who doubtleſs thought it fabulous.

86 The Sports and Shews, both of the *Circus* and *Theatre*, were a Part of the Religion of the *Romans*. They were always celebrated in Honour to ſome Deity. Vows were often made to entertain the People with theſe Shews, in order to appeaſe the Wrath of Heaven; and they were called *Ludi votivi*. Whenever epidemical Diſtempers prevailed, or the State was threatened with a Sedition, or terrified with Prodigies, which were thought the Fore-runners of ſome Calamity, Sports were always celebrated. And there was ſome Policy, as well as Religion, in it. Theſe publick Rejoicings quieted the Fears and Uneaſineſſes of the People. Beſides, they were ſuch an Amuſement to the Mind, as might, poſſibly, contribute to the Health of the Body.

87 There are now no Footſteps remaining of this City, which the Antients called ſometimes *Regillæ*, and ſometimes *Regillum*. But we may conjecture, by the Deſcriptions which antient Writers have left us of it, that it was about twenty Miles diſtant from *Rome*, and about five from the *Tyber*. *Cluverius* places it beyond *Eretum* and *Nomentum*.

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Clients and Friends, and thought himſelf able, by their means, to begin a Civil War, which would ſoon communicate it ſelf from City to City, and put the whole Nation in a Flame.

As to the *Romans*, nothing, in all appearance, could turn more to their Advantage, than the raiſing inteſtine Broils among their Enemies. *Poplicola* was informed of the Motions which were made towards this Civil War; but, which may now ſeem very ſtrange, his *Roman* Probity was alarmed at it. The virtuous *Conſul* made uſe of the Correſpondence he kept with *Clauſus*, to divert him from polluting his Hands with the Blood of his Countrymen. He liked better to ſee the Virtue of his Friend, free from thoſe Stains which would have ſullied it, than to reap the Fruits of his Crime. *Poplicola* therefore informed *Clauſus*, That he very well knew, from what Misfortunes his Anger might preſerve *Rome*; but that he adviſed him, to pacify it, and lay aſide a Deſign which would prove inglorious to himſelf, and fatal to his Country: That there was another Way of revenging himſelf on thoſe who envied him, which he might undertake with Honour: That if he withdrew himſelf from them, he would puniſh them more effectually, than by making War upon them: That *Rome* offered Protection to him, and to as many of his Friends, as would come thither with him: And laſtly, that a Man of his Conſequence would be ſo much miſſed in *Sabinia*, that his Countrymen would one Day repent of their having been jealous of his Merit, and ungrateful to him, for his Zeal in their Service.

CLAUSUS continued long in Suſpence, which of theſe two Ways he ſhould chuſe to revenge himſelf on the *Sabines*. But at length he reſolved to leave his Country, which was already ſinking, and which the ill Government of a Sett of blind and paſſionate Men, would ſoon bring to Ruin. He therefore choſe to act rather a proud than an angry Part, and removed to *Rome*. He was followed thither by all his Friends and Clients, to the Number [88] of five thouſand Men, beſides Women, Children, and Servants. And the *Romans* looked on this Addition of ſo great a Number of Families, as a Conqueſt gained upon their Enemies. It was a new Reinforcement to them, and a Diminution of the Strength of their Rivals. For which Reaſon, they were wanting in no Inſtance of Reſpect to the Newcomers. They gave them all, the Right of Citizenſhip; and with it, two Acres of Land, lying between *Fidena* and *Peculia*, to each Man, to cultivate for his own Uſe [89]. The whole Tract of Land was afterwards called the *Claudian* [90] *Tribe*, from the Name of *Clauſus* their Leader, who changed his Name into *Appius Claudius*, when he came to *Rome*. As for himſelf, he was immediately declared a *Patrician*, and took his Place in the Senate. Reparation was alſo made him for the Effects he had left behind him, by giving him twenty-five Acres of Land in Fee, and aſſigning him a Quarter in the City, for himſelf and his Friends. All theſe Donations were made irrevocable, by a Decree of the Senate, confirmed by the Suffrages of the People. And now the Merit of the new *Patrician* ſoon ſhone with Luſtre,

88 *Dion. Hal.* ſays, that *Clauſus* took Refuge at *Rome*, with his Relations, Friends, Clients, and all their Families; among whom, were 5000 Men fit to bear Arms.

89 This City is called *Picetia*, in the *Vatican* MS. of *Dion. Hal.*'s *Roman Antiquities*. *Lapus* and *Denius* give it the Name of *Peculia*. *Glarean* imagines, that the Place here meant, is *Ficula*, or *Ficulea*; a City which lay at a little diſtance from the Place which is now called *S. Fælice*. And this Situation of *Ficula* agrees with the Relations of *Dion. Hal. Livy*, and *Plutarch*. The two laſt place the Tract of Ground, which was ſurrendered to the *Sabines*, who followed *Clauſus*, beyond, or along the Side of, the *Anio*. In other Editions indeed, we find *Picentia* inſtead of *Piculia*, or *Ficula*; but this is a manifeſt Miſtake, ſince the *Romans* had not then penetrated ſo far as into *Campania*; of which the Territory of *Picentia* was a ſmall Diſtrict.

90 There were among the *Romans*, *City-Tribes*, and *Country-Tribes*, from *Servius Tullius*'s Time. *Rome* itſelf, as we have obſerved, was divided into four *Tribes*, which took their Names from the ſeveral Quarters of the City. The firſt was called *Suburrana Tribus*, or the *Suburran Tribe*; the ſecond, *Tribus Palatina*; the third, *Tribus Eſquilina*; the fourth, *Tribus Collina*. The Country belonging to the *Romans* was alſo divided into *Tribes*, in the ſame manner; and they, for the moſt part, took their Names from ſome illuſtrious Families in *Rome*. It is probable, that there already was a *Tribe*, in the Territory, in which *Clauſus*, or *Claudius*'s Clients were placed; and that upon their coming, it took the Name of *Tribus Claudia*, in Honour to thoſe who were newly come to ſettle in it. Some will have their Diſtrict to have been on the Banks of the *Anio*: But others ſay, it lay between *Fidena* and *Ficula*. And we are not to imagine, that the *Tribes* in the Country, were inferior to thoſe in the City. On the contrary, *Pliny* informs us, *B.* 18. *ch.* 3 that the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*, who had Lands in the Country, and an Houſe in *Rome*, choſe rather to be enrolled in the *Tribe*, in which their Eſtates lay, than in the *Tribe*, or Quarter, where their Houſes ſtood in the City. They were by this means leſs ſubject to the troubleſome Juriſdiction of the *Cenſors*; and their Rights, as Citizens, were not at all impaired by it.

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both in the Senate, and in a City, where the People then gloried in rewarding it. Inſomuch, that we ſhall ſoon find him riſe by degrees to the *Conſulſhip*. By his means, the *Claudian* Family, which was already very noble in *Sabinia*, became much more illuſtrious at *Rome* 91. *Poplicola* had all the Glory of having made him a *Roman*; of having ſacrificed the Advantage he might have gained, by purſuing bloody Politicks, to Virtue; and of having, at the ſame time, brought over to his Country's Cauſe, five thouſand fighting Men, under a Leader, who was very well qualified to advance the Glory of the Republick.

§. XXVII. The *Sabines*, enraged at *Clauſus*'s Departure, became irreconcileable Enemies to *Rome*. So that thoſe who were for War, eaſily gained their Point, by their Clamours, in his Abſence. *Would it not be ſhameful for us*, ſaid they, *to follow the Advice of the fugitive* Clauſus, *after he has left us? Shall he, who could not ſucceed when preſent, prevail when abſent?* The *Sabines* therefore armed with all diligence, took the Field; and it was the good Fortune of *Rome*, that her Enemies were determined to come to a Battel, about the Cloſe of the laſt Year *Poplicola* was *Conſul*. The *Sabine* Army was divided into two Bodies, one of which encamped in the open Field, pretty near *Fidena*; the other ſhut it ſelf up in *Fidena*, to guard that City; to be near enough to aſſiſt the other Body, if there was Occaſion; and to ſecure a Retreat for it, in caſe of a Defeat. As for the *Conſuls*, they drew together all the Men of their little State, who were capable of bearing Arms: leaving only thoſe *Centuries* in *Rome*, whoſe Age exempted them from military Labours. But they had not far to march to meet the Enemy. *Fidena* was but five Miles from *Rome*. Thither therefore *Poplicola* haſtened with Expedition, and took his Poſt over againſt the Enemy, at a little diſtance from their Camp: While *Lucretius* encamped within reach of his Collegue, upon an Eminence, from whence he could ſee the Motions of the other *Roman* Camp. The *Romans* were exceeding earneſt to enter upon Action as ſoon as poſſible. As they had no Opportunity here of making uſe of Stratagems, ſeizing Paſſes, or ſurprizing advantageous Poſts, they deſired to come to an Engagement immediately, and end the Diſpute, at once, by one deciſive Battel 92. But the *Sabines*, on the contrary, were affrighted at the Poſture of the *Roman* Army, and durſt not come to a Battel, by Day-light. They reſolved to make a ſudden Attack upon the Enemy's Camp, in the dead of the Night. In order to this, they prepared great Quantities of Faſcines, to fill up the Ditch, and Scaling-Ladders to mount the Ramparts. One of *Tarquin's* 93 Sons, is ſaid to have been the Author of this Undertaking, and to have got it approved by the Officers of the *Sabine* Army, of which he was Commander-in-chief. But however that be, the *Sabine* General ordered the Body of Troops, which were left to guard *Fidena*, to arm themſelves lightly, march out of

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 308.

91 There were two *Claudian* Families in *Rome*. One was *Patrician*, of which *Appius Claudius* was probably the Founder. The other was *Plebeian*, but furniſhed the Republick with ſeveral Great Men. We ſhall often have occaſion to ſpeak of them both, in the Proſecution of this Hiſtory.

92 This Battel is very differently deſcribed by all the three Hiſtorians, who have given us Accounts of it. *Livy* ſays little of it, and does not make it a Night-Engagement. And *Plutarch*'s Account of it differs very much from *Dion. Hal.*'s. His Relation of it, is this: The *Sabines* began to uſe Stratagems. They poſted 2000 Men in hollow, and covered Places. The next Day, a Body of *Sabine* Horſe was to advance quite up to the Gates of *Rome*, and carry off the Cattel; but with Orders to fly, in caſe they were purſued, and retire, till they had drawn the *Romans* into the Place where their Ambuſh was. But *Poplicola*, being informed of the Deſigns of the *Sabine* Army, by Deſerters, detached 3000 Foot, the ſame Evening, under the Command of *Poſthumius Albus*, to go and ſeize the Eminencies, which covered the Ambuſcade: While the *Conſul Lucretius*, at the Head of a choſen Body of the Troops which were left at *Rome*, prepares to chaſe the Forragers. The next Morning, about Break of Day, by the help of a very thick Fog, *Poſthumius*, from the Eminencies on which he had poſted himſelf, falls furiouſly upon the *Sabines* in Ambuſh in the Valley: While *Lucretius* falls upon the Forragers, who were all ſurrounded. At the ſame time, *Poplicola* made a vigorous Attack on the Enemy's Camp; who being worſted on all Sides, fought to ſave themſelves by Flight, and reached *Fidena*. The Defeat was general; as was evident both from the Number of the Slain, and that of the Priſoners. But as the Circumſtances of this Action are more minutely related by *Dion. Hal.* we have therefore choſen to put his Account of it in the Text, rather than either of the others.

93 *Dion. Hal.* affirms, that the infamous *Sextus Tarquinius*, who had diſhonoured *Lucretia*, was the Man. But we durſt not ſay ſo much in the Body of the Hiſtory. *Livy* makes him to have died at *Gabii:* tho' he does not ſay, at what time. He only ſays, that *Sextus* retired to that City, after the Expulſion of his Father, as being the Place where he commanded; and was there, after ſome time, aſſaſſinated, by a Company of the *Gabini*, who had not forgotten the Cruelties and Robberies he had committed upon them, in his Father's Reign. *Sextus*'s Death ſeems to have preceded this laſt Expedition of the *Sabines* againſt the *Romans*. But the Reader is to judge of it, as he thinks fit. It is difficult to determine either Way, the Date of this Fact being very uncertain.

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Town on the firſt Signal, and taking a large Compaſs, to go lie in Ambuſh ind *Lucretius*'s Camp. The Deſign was, to ſurprize it, whenever *Lucretius* uld leave it, and march to the Aſſiſtance of his Collegue. After which, this dy of *Sabines* was to charge him in the Rear, or at leaſt, terrify him with their uts. And this well-laid Stratagem now wanted nothing but to be put in Exeion.

UT the wiſe *Poplicola* had his Correſpondents in the Enemy's Camp. In the inning of that very Night, in which the Attack was to be made, Information brought him of the Deſigns of the *Sabine* Army. And not only ſo, his Scouts ught him alſo ſome *Sabines*, whom they had ſurprized in a Foreſt, as they were ting Wood for Faſcines, Bridges, and Scaling Ladders. Upon theſe Informaand Diſcoveries, *Poplicola* took proper Meaſures, to render the artful Deſigns the Enemy againſt him, fatal to themſelves. He inſtantly diſpatched away his ther *Marcus* to *Lucretius*, in the other Camp, with the News of the Night-Expedition, reſolved upon by the *Sabines*. He informed him of the Ambuſcade they ended to prepare for him, behind his Camp. And then, the *Conſuls*, after they taken proper Precautions, waited for the Enemy, without ſuffering their Troops hew any Marks of ſuſpecting the deſigned Attack. They put out all the Fires oth Camps, in the beginning of the Night; and both Armies ſeemed as quiet, in as much Security as ever.

HE *Romans* had, even at that time, brought the 94 Art of encamping to ſome fection. Tho' it were but for a Night, they fortified their Camp with a Ditch, lve geometrical Feet broad, left a Space between the Ditch and the Rampart, a *Falſe-bray*, and behind it raiſed a Rampart of Turf, four geometrical Feet h, and ſupported by Palliſades. Such, or very like it, was the Camp the *Sabines* e preparing to attack. Accordingly, they marched ſilently out of their own mp, before Midnight, and before the Moon was up. No military Inſtrument heard among them, nor any Noiſe of Arms. As they marched, they wonred at the Stillneſs of their Enemies; and were yet more ſurprized, not to hear ſo much as the Voice of any Centinel, or perceive any Fire in the *Roman* Camp. This therefore made them depend on making themſelves Maſters of it immediately; they even hoped to enter it, before the Enemy ſhould perceive they were coming. y inſtantly fixed their Bridges in a proper Place, and filled up the Ditch with ines. They did not expect to find the *Roman Cohorts* ready prepared for them, he Space before the Wall; where they could not be ſeen, for the Darkneſs he Night. They ſtabbed the *Sabines*, as faſt as they drew near the Rampart, out any Noiſe, and laid them dead on the *Falſe-bray*. And new Enemies ſtill eeding the former ones, they likewiſe met with the ſame Fate. In ſhort, *Romans* did not put any Stop to the continued Slaughter, till the Moon aroſe, diſcovered to the *Sabines*, both the dead Bodies of their Companions lying in ps at the Foot of the Rampart, and the *Roman* Troops, which had ſtrewed the und with them, without being perceived. Then a ſudden Fright ſeized them. y all fled, and the *Romans* marched out of their Camps after them, with great uts. Theſe Shouts were heard in *Lucretius*'s Camp; and then he, in his Turn, t to fall on the Enemies which lay in Ambuſh. His Cavalry marched firſt, and cked the *Sabines*, who came from the Camp near *Fidena:* And his Infantry, ch followed, made an eaſy Conqueſt of theſe terrified, and in a manner, uned Men. In ſhort, the two Bodies of the *Sabine* Army, being both equally reſed and routed, diſperſed themſelves; and leaving their Camp to be plundered the Enemy, went to carry the News of their Defeat into their own Country. Return of Day filled the *Romans* with Joy, by giving them a View of that ious Victory, which the Darkneſs had helped them to gain. They found

Frontinus pretends, *B.* 4. *ch.* 1. that the *Ro*did not learn the Art of encamping, till their with *Pyrrhus*; and that, after they had taken amp, they, for the future, obſerved the Order Manner in which that was laid out. But in he is manifeſtly miſtaken. We ſee, thro' the e Courſe of their Hiſtory, that the *Roman* Ar, at leaſt, ſoon after their *Kings*, fortified their ps with a great deal of Care. *Pyrrhus* himſelf, ſays *Livy*, was charmed with the *Roman* Way of encamping. Beſides, this *Falſe-bray*, we here ſpeak of, on the Authority of *Dion. Hal.* was a Part of the Fortifications of the *Roman* Camp, which eſcaped *Juſtus Lipſius*'s Enquiries. I believe this Space between the Ditch and the Rampart, was the Place aſſigned for the Tradeſmen, Suttlers, and Boys, which followed the Army.

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thirteen thouſand *Sabines* dead upon the Spot, and had taken four thouſand two hundred Priſoners.

It was then evident, that the *Romans* were invincible, in what manner ſoever they engaged.

§. XXVIII. What now remained [95], was to bring *Fidena* into Subjection to the Republick. It had often been ſubdued, in the Time of the *Kings*, and as often rebelled; and now it had ſhaken off the Yoke anew, and had voluntarily ſubmitted to the Dominion of the *Sabines*. *Poplicola* therefore, for whom it ſeems to have been reſerved, to begin the Re-eſtabliſhment of *Rome* in her old Conqueſts, came and beſieged this City, which was ſo near *Rome*, and lay ſo very conveniently for the *Romans*. And the Reſiſtance of the *Fidenates* was neither long, nor remarkable for any conſiderable Exploits. The *Roman* General was too able a Commander to give them time to ſignalize either their Valour or Conſtancy. He ordered a general Aſſault to be made on the Town, and undertook to ſcale the Walls himſelf in Perſon, on that Side where the City was thought impregnable. *Poplicola* took Advantage of the Negligence of the Beſieged, in not having lined with Men thoſe Parts, which they thought ſtrong enough without it. At theſe Places therefore, he entered *Fidena*, and ſet up the *Roman* Standards in it. But the *Conſuls*, whoſe Humanity was equal to their Courage, did not make an ill Uſe of their Advantage by revenging themſelves cruelly on the rebellious *Fidenates*. They neither razed their City, nor reduced them to Slavery: nay, few of them loſt their Lives, except in Battel. The *Conſuls* were content, with giving up the Houſes to be plundered, and the Slaves to be a Booty, to their Soldiers. But they could not avoid puniſhing the Heads of the Revolt. This was a Cuſtom among the *Romans*, from which they did not think it proper to deviate. All the People of *Fidena* were therefore aſſembled in the *Forum*; and one of the *Conſuls* reproached them with their Treachery, and made them fear the Puniſhment they merited. They were given to underſtand, that by ſo many repeated Acts of Ingratitude, and ſuch frequent Revolts, they had deſerved to be delivered up, with their Wives and Children, to the Swords of the Conquerors. But they were at the ſame time told, that Favour would be ſhewn to the Multitude, and only the Heads of the Rebellion be put to Death. And this Order was immediately put in Execution. Some of the moſt conſiderable of the Citizens, were firſt beaten with Rods, and then beheaded. The reſt of the Inhabitants were ſuffered to continue in their City; but ſome *Roman* Troops were placed among them, and the *Fidenates* were obliged to give the Garriſon a Part of their Lands for its Support. Thus the *Roman* State, which was now become Republican, began to recover its old Demeſnes, which it had enjoyed in the Time of the *Kings*. But it was indebted to the Valour and Wiſdom of *Poplicola*, for the greateſt Part of its new Progreſs. He, upon his Return to the City, either enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph ſingly, or, as is moſt probable, jointly with his Collegue. The *Faſti Capitolini* make him to have triumphed over the *Veientes* alſo, in this laſt Year, in which he was *Conſul*. But there is little probability [97] of it. What is certain, is, that he did not enjoy his Glory long.

§. XXIX. *POPLI*

95 It is indeed ſurprizing, that neither *Livy*, nor *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Poplicola*, mention the Siege of *Fidena*. But ought this to prejudice us, againſt the Account *Dion. Hal.* gives of it? No, the Omiſſions of ſome, are no juſt Objection againſt the Relation of another, eſpecially of an Author, who has the Credit of being an exact and faithful Hiſtorian. This is a Rule of Criticiſm, which we have often governed ourſelves by, eſpecially with regard to conſiderable Facts.

96 Their Opinion, who think the two *Conſuls* triumphed together, is built upon great Authorities, even upon *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* And yet the contrary Opinion ſeems more probable; if it were only for this Reaſon, that the *Faſti Capitolini* make only *Poplicola* to have triumphed. The Deſign of the *Faſti*, is only to ſet down the *Conſuls*, and thoſe who triumphed. But to this we may add, that *Plutarch* alſo ſpeaks only of *Poplicola*'s Triumph; and that he even gives us the Reaſon for it. It was, ſays he, becauſe the Soldiers did *Poplicola* the Juſtice to declare, that he had delivered the Enemy into their Hands, *bound Hand and Foot*; or, as the *Greek* Text expreſſes it, *both blind and lame, that they might more eaſily diſpatch them.*

97 Notwithſtanding the Authority of the *Faſti Capitolini*, which I almoſt conſtantly adhere to, eſpecially with reſpect to Triumphs; yet I cannot believe, that *Poplicola* triumphed over the *Veientes* alſo in this Year. It ſeems plain, that he did not enter into any War with them. Neither *Livy*, nor *Plutarch*, nor *Dion. Hal.* mention any. Beſides, is it probable, that *Rome* could have maintained two different Wars, one with the *Hetrurian Veientes*, the other with the *Sabines*, in the ſame Year; and have fought two Battels under the ſame *Conſuls*, and have been victorious on both Sides, when her Strength was ſo much exhauſted? And yet the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, goes even further than the *Faſti Capitolini*. He gives *Poplicola* three Tri-

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Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 314.
Liv. B. 2. c. 16.
Plutarch.

Poplicola had ſcarce reſigned the *Conſulſhip* into the Hands of *P. Poſthumius*, who was now choſen the ſecond Time, and *Menenius* [98] *Agrippa* the firſt; before he was ſeized with the Diſtemper of which he died. And the *Romans* were very juſtly ſenſible, that in him they loſt the moſt virtuous Citizen, the greateſt General, and the wiſeſt and beſt-affected *Conſul* to the People, they had ever had. His publick Virtues ſhone forth very eminently in the Treaties he made with Foreigners, and the diſintereſted Advice he gave them. Fidelity, Probity, and Right Reaſon, were the conſtant, uniform, and only Motives of his actions. Conſidered in his private Capacity, he was content with a Fortune much below even a moderate one; and never ſought to increaſe it, by his Office as *Conſul*, which he enjoyed four times, or by his two Triumphs, or any of the Spoils of the Enemies which he conquered. He led a frugal Life, and took more Pains to tranſmit his Virtues to his Children, than to enrich them. He died as full of Glory, as deſtitute of the Goods of Fortune, leaving his Children little elſe but a great Character for their Imitation. As for Money, he did not leave enough in his Houſe to defray the Charges of his Funeral. The Great *Poplicola* was buried at the [99] publick Expence; not ſo much by way of Diſtinction, as on account of his Poverty. The *Romans* thought they could not refuſe him a Burial-Place in the [100] City, and therefore erected his Tomb near the *Forum*, and gave his Family a Right of Interrment in the ſame Place. But as they always affected Popularity, they never made any Uſe of this Privilege. They contented themſelves with only carrying the Bodies of the *Valerii*, who died in *Rome*, to this Sepulchre of the Founder of their [101] Family near the *Forum:* from thence they were conveyed without the Walls, there to be burnt upon a Funeral Pile; and their

triumphs, in this laſt Year that he was *Conſul*; one, for having conquered the *Veientes*; another, for having conquered the *Sabines*; and the third, for having conquered both, when united together. But let us give *Poplicola* only one Triumph, and that for having defeated the *Veientes* and the *Sabines*, (who were entered into a Confederacy againſt *Rome*) in the ſame Action: and then we ſhall agree with the *Faſti Capitolini*, in which are theſe equivocal words, *de Sabineis & Veientibus:* Which don't ſignify that *Poplicola* triumphed over the *Sabines* and *Veientes*, in two ſeparate Battels; but over the *Sabines* and *Veientes* together, when united in the ſame Army.

98 It is ſtill a Queſtion, whether we ought to call him *Menenius Agrippa*, or *Agrippa Menenius*; that is, whether *Menenius*, or *Agrippa*, was the Name of the *Conſul*'s Family. I am not of *Sigonius*'s Opinion, who makes *Menenius* to have been only a *Prænomen*, and *Agrippa* a proper Name, on the Authority of *Livy*, and the Author of the *Lives of Illuſtrious Men*. We read *Agrippa Menenius*, in the *Faſti Capitolini*; and *Dion. Hal.* agrees with them. He gives *Agrippa* the Surname, or Nick-name of *Lanatus*, doubtleſs becauſe his Hair was ſhort and curled, and looked like *Wool*. Sometimes he calls him, in another place, *Menenius Agrippa Caii filius*. *Val. Maximus* is miſtaken when he calls him *M. Menenius Agrippa*. *Feſtus* ſays, that the Name of *Agrippa* was given to thoſe, whoſe Mothers had hard Labours, *ab ægro partu*. But others ſay, it was commonly given to thoſe who could not well ſtand on their Feet, *ab ægris pedibus*.

99 *Plutarch* ſays, all the Citizens paid a little Piece of Money called *Quadrans*, *i. e.* the fourth Part of a *Roman Aſs*, *per* Head. But *Dion. Hal.* tells us, the Expences of *Poplicola*'s Burial were paid out of the publick Treaſury.

100 *Poplicola*'s Body was buried, according to *Plutarch*, near a Quarter of *Rome* called *Velia*, which was on the Hill *Palatinus*, and at the Extremity of the *Forum*. In which he agrees with *Dion. Hal.* who places his Tomb near the *Forum*. But they differ from one another, as to the Manner in which *Poplicola*'s Funeral Honours were performed. If we believe the Author of *The Roman Antiquities*, his Body was burnt on a Funeral Pile. But, according to *Plutarch*, he was buried. It was indeed cuſtomary enough for the *Greeks* and *Romans* to burn their dead: But it is nevertheleſs certain, that they ſometimes buried them, without burning. We have ſeveral Inſtances of it. It appears, by the earlieſt Accounts we have, that Inhumation was univerſally received at *Athens*, and other Places, according to *Cecrops*'s Law, quoted by *Cicero*, *Mortuum terræ humato*. His Words, in his ſecond Book *of Laws*, are theſe. *Antiquiſſimum Sepulturæ genus id fuiſſe videtur, quo apud Xenophontem Cyrus utitur. Redditur enim terræ corpus, & ita locatum ac ſitum quaſi operimento matris obducitur.* We are told by *Pliny*, *B.* 7. that antiently dead Bodies were not burnt. *Ipſum cremare apud Romanos non fuit veteris inſtituti.* This Cuſtom was introduced, according to him, when the *Romans* found that the Bodies of their Fellow-Citizens, which were buried in diſtant Countries, in Time of War, were often dug up again by their Enemies, and expoſed to the Inſults of the barbarous Nations. And *Pliny* adds, that the *Cornelian* Family continued this old Cuſtom, down to the Time of *Cornelius Sylla* the *Dictator*. *Primus Sylla a Patriciis Corneliis voluit cremari.* The Cuſtom of burning Bodies was continued down to the Time of *Theodoſius the Great*, as *Godfrey* obſerves, in his Remarks on the *Theodoſian Code*. And *Macrobius*, who wrote in the Time of *Theodoſius the Younger*, ſays that the Cuſtom of uſing Funeral-Piles, was entirely aboliſhed in his Time. Moreover, that the Ceremonies of Inhumation were performed by the *Romans*, in all Ages, *Gruter* and *Fabrelli* evidently prove, by antient Monuments and Inſcriptions.

101 *Plutarch* adds, that a Man attended the Corpſe to the Burial-Place, with a lighted Torch in his Hand.

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Bones were laid in a Tomb, which ſtood without the City. They were an illuſtrious Family, which always made a conſiderable Figure in *Rome*, and ſignaliz'd themſelves chiefly by their Modeſty, and an hereditary Affection for the People. And as *Poplicola*, in particular, had been one of thoſe who had ſtood up in Defence of the Chaſtity of the *Roman* Ladies, they ſhewed their Gratitude for him, even after his Death. They went into the ſame Mourning for him, as they had done for *Brutus*. But after all, his greateſt Glory was comprized under the Name of *Poplicola*, which the *Romans* had given him, and which his tender Regard for the People had deſerved.

THE
Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK VI.

§. I. THE Death of *Poplicola* reviv'd the Courage of the *Sabines*. They aſcrib'd the complete Victories, and uninterrupted Succeſs of the *Romans* to the Courage and Conduct of that great Man alone; and of this they made the *Romans* ſenſible, the very ſame Year in which they loſt him. In ſhort, the [1] *Sabines* raiſed a more formidable Army than they had done in the preceding Years, and were advanced towards *Rome*, before the *Conſuls* thought of taking the Field. It was uſual indeed with the *Sabines* to get the Start of their Enemies; but upon this Occaſion they did not immediately diſcover their whole Strength: The main Body of their Army lay conceal'd behind a Foreſt, and Detachments only were ſent out to pillage, even as far as the Gates of *Rome*. The Inſolence of the *Sabines* provok'd the *Conſul Poſthumius*, who with a pretty good Number of Men drawn together in a tumultuous Manner, ſallied out haſtily upon the Enemy; and the latter fled before him, and run towards the Foreſt. The *Romans* deſpiſed a frighted Party, left their Ranks, and purſued the *Sabines* in Diſorder. At the Borders of the Wood the *Sabines* rallied, faced about upon the Enemy, and making great Shouts gave the Signal to the whole *Sabine* Army, who came out of the Foreſt upon the Troops of the *Conſul*. *Poſthumius* then ſaw he had to do with all the *Sabine* Forces, and made what Reſiſtance he was able, with Men out of Breath, and in Diſorder. But to complete his Misfortune, he was intercepted in his Retreat, by a Body of *Sabines* poſted upon a Hill which he muſt neceſſarily paſs over, in his Return to *Rome*. He ſpent the Night, which came on ſeaſonably to his Relief, in the open Field, with his Troops ſurrounded on every Side by the Enemies Squadrons. As ſoon as the Defeat of *Poſthumius* was known at *Rome*, the Conſternation there was general. Every one, in a City where there were as many diſciplin'd Soldiers as Citizens, ran to the Ramparts, expecting that the Enemy would make the beſt of their Victory, and take the Advantage of the Night to ſcale their Walls. Nor were they leſs affected with the Condition to which *Poſthumius* and his Followers were reduced, in a narrow Paſſage of the Mountains, where they muſt periſh, either by Hunger or the Sword; early therefore in the Morning, *Menenius* drew out the braveſt of the *Roman* Youth, and march'd in good Order to the Relief of his Collegue: And he came time enough to reſcue the *Romans* from the Danger into which they had been brought, by the Imprudence of their Commander. The very Sight of the *Roman* Army oblig'd the *Sabines* to retire to their former Poſt, proud of their Victory, and enrich'd with the Spoil of the *Romans* ſlain the Evening before, with the Plunder of the Cattle they had carried off from the Country, with the Booty they had got

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1 *Livy* makes them a different Nation from what *Dion. Hal.* does. According to him, 'twas not the *Sabines* againſt whom *Menenius Agrippa*, and his Collegue fought; it was not over them that he triumph'd, but over the *Aurunci*, a *Latin* Nation; and that upon the Account of two Cities, *Pometia* and *Cora*, which they had taken from the *Romans*, and drawn to their Party. This Revolt was the Foundation of the War, which the Republick had with the *Aurunci*. Theſe, ſays the *Latin* Hiſtorian, had advanc'd even to the Gates of *Rome*. The *Conſuls* went out to meet the Enemy, and gave them Battle, in which the *Aurunci* were cut to Pieces. Thoſe who eſcaped the Fury of the Soldiers, fell almoſt all into the Hands of the Victor. The greateſt Part of theſe Priſoners were put to the Sword, as were the three hundred Hoſtages, who were to anſwer for the Fidelity of *Pometia* and *Cora:* For *Rome* did not think her ſelf obliged to ſpare them. But we reject this Account of *Livy*, and follow *Dion. Hal.* For, beſides that he is, in every reſpect, a more exact Writer, and more to be depended upon; his Account is alſo follow'd by the Author of the *Lives of the Illuſtrious Men.*

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from the Farms, and with the Slaves they had taken. *Rome* had too much Spirit not to revenge the Inſult ſhe had receiv'd; and therefore made Preparations to ravage, in her Turn, the Enemy's Country. The *Romans* were now more than ever convinc'd that the *Sabines* were a haughty People, whom a little Succeſs puff'd up, and ſo much the more, as it happen'd that they but ſeldom got the Advantage. This appear'd by the Summons they ſent, immediately after the Defeat of *Poſthumius*, to the *Roman* Republick, requiring the *Romans* to receive the King they had baniſh'd, to ſubmit to be govern'd by the *Sabines*, and to receive Laws from them. The Anſwer of the Senate and People was, That they commanded the *Sabine* Nation to their former Duty, under the Dominion of the ſuperior City which had ſo often ſubdued them; and That, if they deſired Peace, and the Friendſhip of the *Romans*, they ſhould come in a ſuppliant Manner, to beg Pardon for their Attempts againſt the Authority of their Maſters.

These mutual Bravadoes were follow'd with ſerious Expeditions, ſuitable, on the one hand, to the Reſentment of the *Romans*; and on the other, to the Obſtinacy of their Enemies. The *Conſuls* drew together all the Forces of the State, to have their Revenge before the Year of their *Conſulſhip* expired. They drain'd the Country of Labourers, and the Caſtles, which ſerv'd for a Refuge to the Peaſants, of their Garriſons; they march'd the *Legions* of the City, and the *Tribes* of the Country. The Walls were guarded only by *Centuries* of Old Men, and the Caſtles by Companies of Slaves. On the other Side, the *Sabines* rais'd the Flower of their Youth, throughout all their Cities and Villages, and came into the Field very finely cloathed. Nothing more ſpruce than the *Sabine* Army, or more formidable than the *Roman*. Both Armies encamp'd near *Eretum*, a City of the *Sabines*, about ten Miles from *Rome*. Could Numbers, and the Finery of Troops, have commanded Succeſs, the *Sabines* had certainly had the Victory; but the *Romans*, tho' fewer in Number, were inured to War, and many of their private Soldiers were fit to conduct an Army. Beſides, their Courage was increaſed by their Superſtition. For the Eve of the Battle, they ſaw Flames, as they imagin'd, glittering all Night upon the Tops of their [2] *Pila*, a Sort of Arms peculiar to the *Romans*. Theſe Arms were fix'd in the Ground before every Tent; and

2 The Shape of the *Pilum* has been long a Subject of Diſpute among Commentators. The little Agreement among the antient Writers, has given Birth to this Diverſity of Opinions among the modern Criticks. *Polybius* diſtinguiſhes two Sorts of *Pila*, the *greater* and the *leſs*. The Staff of the firſt Sort was either rounded or ſquared, of a Hand's Breadth Diameter, and three Cubits long. The upper Part of it ended in a ſquare Piece of Iron of equal length to the Staff, half of which Iron was driven into the Staff, to which it was fixed by Rivets and Hoops. The Iron of the *Pilum*, according to the Deſcription of *Polybius*, was jagged at certain Diſtances, βίλος σιδηροῦν ἀγκιστρωτὸν. *Appian* makes the *Pilum* of the Antients of a ſquare Form: and adds, that the Iron of it was made in ſuch a manner, that it bent with the firſt Stroke. So that the *Pilum* could be of no Uſe to the Enemy, againſt whom it had been once thrown. The little *Pilum*, which *Vegetius* alone is pleas'd to confound with the *Verutum*, did not differ from the greater, but in this, that the Handle or Staff of it was ſmaller and ſhorter. Such, according to *Polybius*, was the antient *Venabulum* of the Hunters. *Vegetius*, ſpeaking of the *Pilum* in general, ſays that the Iron of it was triangular. *Dion. Hal.* deſcribes this Sort of Weapon a little differently. It is, ſays he, a Sort of Dart, which the *Romans* uſed to throw in the Beginning of a Battle. The Wood or Staff of it is long, and big enough to fill the Hand. It is arm'd at the two Ends with an Iron Point, at leaſt three Feet long. *Plutarch* ſpeaks of a Sort of *Pilum*, which *Marius* invented, the Iron of which was partly faſten'd to the Staff by an iron Pin, and partly ſupported only by a wooden Peg, which the Force of the Stroke always broke. By this means, the Staff of the *Pilum* fell, by its own Weight, towards the Ground in a perpendicular Line, and ſticking faſt at the ſame time, by its crooked Point, it weighed down the Shield in which it ſtuck. From theſe different Repreſentations which Hiſtorians have given of the *Pilum*, it follows, that the Form of it varied at different Times. Without making a long Commentary on the Text of the Authors, who have ſpoken of this Kind of offenſive Weapons, I ſhall give in one Word the Idea which I had of it, after having read them with a great deal of Attention. I am perſuaded the *Pilum* of the *Romans* very much reſembled our preſent Halberds. I ſcarce find any Difference but one, which conſiſts more in the Uſe which was made of it, than in the Shape. The *Romans*, at the firſt Onſet, threw them, as a Lance is thrown; whereas we now uſe the Halberd only in our Defence, when the Enemy is cloſe to us; and not to attack them at any Diſtance. We are furniſh'd for that Purpoſe with Fire-Arms. However, it is evident, *1ſt*. That the *Pilum* was at leaſt about ſeven Feet long, and ſerv'd for a Reſt to the Soldiers who carried it. *Stabant innixi Pilis exercitus omnis. Sil. B.* 13. *2dly*. The Iron of it was broad and ſharp, ſo that it made a large Wound wherever it enter'd. To conceive what a deadly Weapon it was, we need only read what *Florus* ſays of the firſt Battle of the *Romans* with *Philip* King of *Macedon*: *Nihil terribilius fuit ipſo vulnerum aſpectu, quæ non ſpiculis neque Sagittis—— ſed ingentibus Pilis—— ultra Morem patebant*. *3dly*. This Iron had at certain Diſtances, ſmall Teeth, crooked like Hooks, by which it was hamper'd in the Body or Shield which it pierced. *4thly*. Every Soldier had two of them, one ſmaller, to reach the Enemy at a Diſtance; the other larger, to be thrown when they were nearer.

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he Iron at the End of them being poliſh'd, the Reflection of ſome Light, whether from the Sky, or from the Earth, made them ſhine in the Night-time; which was enough for the *Romans* to draw from it a happy Preſage. *Fire*, ſaid they, *conſumes every thing*; *our Arms are warm'd with it, and our Enemies ſhall feel their Heat.* And they experienced the next Day, the Influence of this favourable Prepoſſeſſion. The *Roman* Army march'd out of their Camp, and appear'd upon the Plain. *Menenius* commanded the right Wing, and *Poſthumius* purpoſely choſe the left, that he might face the right Wing of the *Sabine* Army. In the Battle *Poſthumius* perform'd prodigious Acts of Courage. The Shame of the Defeat he had receiv'd, and his Deſire to wipe it off, made him prodigal of his Life. He throws himſelf, like one deſperate, into the midſt of the Enemy's Troops, and every where marks his Way, by the Slaughter of all that oppos'd him. He penetrates into the thickeſt Battalions, breaks them, and puts them to Flight. *Menenius*, in the mean time, acted more faintly in the right Wing, and began even to loſe the Advantage; when the Fear of being ſurpaſs'd by his Collegue, and of receiving a Diſgrace, which in a ſhort time it wou'd be out of his Power to repair, rouz'd his Courage, and made it equal to that of *Poſthumius*. He falls upon the Enemy with a Fury, which his *Romans* needed only to ſee, in order to imitate it. The *Sabines* now univerſally give way; the *Romans* meet with no more Reſiſtance. The Fields are covered with the Slain, or filled with the Routed. As the Battel was fought in the *Sabine*'s Country, the Conquered made the beſt Advantage of the Knowledge they had of the narrow Paſſes, and fled to them for Shelter: The only Shift they had left, after their Defeat! Their two Camps were taken and plundered. The *Conſuls* ſpent the next Day after their Victory, in burning the Dead of their own Party, and ſtripping thoſe of the *Sabine*. Among the Arms which were picked up from the Field of Battel, they found ſome which belonged to certain *Romans* yet alive, who had dropped them, that they might run the ſwifter; but they were not Monuments of their Glory. In ſhort, beſides the Booty which every Soldier had made for his own private Advantage; that Part of the Spoil which was ſold for the Publick, defrayed the Charges of the War.

§. II. No ſooner had the News of this glorious Day reached the Senate, but they deliberated upon the Reception they ſhould give to the *Conſuls*, at their Return. It ſeemed unjuſt to confer the ſame Honours upon *Poſthumius*, as upon his Collegue. The Bravery he ſhew'd in the ſecond Action, had ſcarcely atoned for his bad Conduct in the firſt. At leaſt, the unblemiſhed Courage of *Menenius Agrippa*, ſeemed to merit a Diſtinction, which was not due to his Collegue. They invented therefore a ſecond kind of Triumph, till that Time unknown to the *Romans*, and gave it the new [3] Name of *Ovatio*. The Perſon to be honoured with it was to enter *Rome* on Foot [4], or at moſt on Horſeback; and to be attended at his Entry [5], by the Senate only. His Crown was to be of [6] Myrtle, not of Laurel: And laſtly, his Robe was only to be the *Prætexta*, the common Habit of Magiſtrates.

[3] Different Accounts are given of the Origin of the Word *Ovatio*. *Dion. Halicarn.* who gives, when-ever he can, a *Greek* Etymology to the *Latin* Words, derives this, from the Word ἐυάζης, or ἴυασμὸς, which ſignifies the Acclamations which were made on ſuch Publick Rejoicings. Others derive it from the Word *Eue! O! O!* which denoted the Admiration of the People, in theſe Ceremonies. Some refer the Original of it to the Cries ἰοὺ, ἰοὺ, with which the *Greek* Bacchanals rung. From thence the *Latin* Word *Evari*. *Evantes orgia circum ducebat Phrygias.* I rather come into *Plutarch*'s Opinion, who, in the Life of *Marcellus*, takes this Word from that kind of Victim which was offered to the Gods, in the Ceremony of the *Ovation*. When the Honour of a compleat Triumph was obtained, a Bull was ſacrificed in the *Capitol*. But in an imperfect Triumph, only *a Sheep*. So from the Word *Ovis* came *Ovatio*.

[4] It is certain, that afterwards, ſome who had the Honour of the *Ovation*, entered *Rome* on Horſeback. An Ambition of Honours encreaſes with Time, and the antient Simplicity, changes even in the wiſeſt Republicks. *Dio*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Symmachus*, tell us, that in their Time, the *Ovation* was performed on Horſeback. *Suetonius* adds, that *Tiberius*, altho' then he received only the Honour of the *Ovation*, entered *Rome*, even in a Triumphal Chariot. At the Time we are ſpeaking of, it appears, that *Poſthumius* entered the City on Foot. *Dion. Hal.* expreſly aſſures us of it. This Practice appears to have laſted, till the Time of the *Emperors*, who corrupted the antient Cuſtoms.

[5] In the *Great Triumphs*, the Army and Senate went before, or followed, the Perſon who triumphed. In the *Ovation*, the Senate alone attended; as *Aulus Gellius* informs us. Yet here, according to the Relation of *Dion. Halicarn. Poſthumius* appeared at the Head of the Army. I believe, that the Ceremonies of the *Ovation* varied; and that the Senate granted more or fewer Marks of Honour, as the Merit of the Action was greater or leſs.

[6] *Pliny* aſſures us of it, *B.* 15. *ch.* 29. in theſe Terms. *Bellicis ſe quoque rebus myrthus inſeruit,*

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Magiſtrates. The *Ovatio* then was the Honour decreed for *Poſthumius*; and the modeſt *Conſul* accepted it: For, in thoſe Times of the primitive Virtue of the *Romans*, a blind Submiſſion was paid to the Decrees of the Senate and People. Hereafter, we ſhall find they had Generals 7, who refuſed the Myrtle-Crown, out of Pride.

POSTHUMIUS returned to the City, two Days before his Collegue, and entered it with the ſame Crown that had been ordered him. This firſt *Ovation* that was ſeen at *Rome*, is marked in the *Faſti Capitolini*, on the third of the *Nones of April*. Two Days after, that is, the Day before the *Nones* of the ſame Month, *Menenius Agrippa* appeared with all the Magnificence of a Triumph. Being mounted on a Chariot, ſeated in a *Curule Chair*, clothed with the Robe embroidered with Palm-branches; he was conducted to the *Capitol*, with Sound of Trumpets, and the Acclamations of the Army and People. *Menenius* had more than one kind of Merit, as will appear in the Sequel; and ſo exactly copied after *Poplicola*, that he ſeemed to have been reſtored to the Republick. Thus the *Roman* Virtue was preſerved, and perpetuated, by a Succeſſion of Heroes.

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Sp. Cassius Uscellinus, and Opiter Virginius Tricostus, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 315.*

§. III. The *Sabine* War continued under the new *Conſuls*, *Sp.* [8] *Caſſius Uſcellinus*, and *Opiter Virginius Tricoſtus*, whom the People choſe in the room of *Poſthumius* and *Menenius Agrippa*. The two *Conſuls* now no longer commanded in the ſame Army, but divided their Forces, to carry on the War in different Parts. *Sp. Caſſius* was commiſſioned to give the laſt Blow to the *Sabine* Republick, already very much weakned by the Loſs of ſo many Battels. He advanced into the Enemy's Country as far as *Cures*, the *Capital* of *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* then did their utmoſt, and once more faced the *Romans* in a pitched Battel. But Fortune was no more favourable to them in the Heart of their Country, than when they fought at the Gates of *Rome*. Their Army was cut in pieces, tho' but half of the *Roman* Forces were employed againſt it. Ten thouſand, three hundred, were killed in the Battel; and four thouſand taken Priſoners. From that Time, the Obſtinacy of the *Sabines* could hold out no longer againſt the *Roman* Valour. Humbled at laſt after ſo many Loſſes, they applied immediately to the Clemency of the Conqueror, without delaying their Submiſſion, till their Capital had been razed, or burnt to Aſhes. The Embaſſy which they ſent to the *Conſul*, was modeſt and reſpectful, without any thing mean and ſervile. They made him an Offer of their Friendſhip. *Caſſius* did not forget himſelf, but ſent their Requeſt to the Senate of *Rome*. There the *Sabine* Ambaſſadors met with a ſuitable Return for the former Pride of their Na-

triumphanſque de Sabinis Poſthumius Tubertus in Conſulatu——— Myrtho Veneris victricis coronatus inceſſit, &c. But *Dion. Halicarn.* gives him a Crown of Laurel. *Pliny* miſtook in this, as well as in the Reaſon he alledges, why *Poſthumius* received only the Honour of an *Ovation*. It was, ſays he, becauſe the Victory did not coſt him much; and becauſe he had not ſhed Blood. *Quoniam rem leviter ſine cruore geſſerat*. I agree, that commonly he who was honoured with the *Ovation*, was crowned only with Myrtle, a little Tree, conſecrated to *Venus*. The *Ovation* was not always granted for Victories. The Honours of it were decreed to thoſe, who by prudent Negotiations, engaged the Enemy to lay down their Arms, or Cities to ſubmit, without ſhedding of Blood. In ſuch Caſes, they wore in their *Ovation*, only Myrtle Crowns; and inſtead of Trumpets, were accompanied only with Flutes, and other Inſtruments of Peace. When the *Ovation* was granted for Victories, gained either over Nations of little Note, or over Pyrates, or rebellious Slaves, the Crown of Myrtle, and Inſtruments of Peace, were not proper. Accordingly, *Dion. Halicarn.* gives *Poſthumius* a Crown of Laurel in his *Ovation*. But from one Example, or from a certain Number of Examples, we ought not to draw general Rules, as all the Antiquaries do in the preſent Caſe. Such general Rules are frequently contradicted by contrary Examples. Once more; there was nothing fixed in general, by the Senate, as to the *Ovation*. Every time they granted it, they diminiſhed or enlarged the Honours of it, according to the Merit of the Action they intended to reward.

7 *Marcus Craſſus*, who was Victor in the War againſt the Fugitives, (as we ſhall ſee hereafter) refuſed the Myrtle Crown, and had it changed, by a Decree of the Senate, into a Crown of Laurel. So true is it, that there was nothing fixed, as to the Ceremonies of the *Ovation*.

8 It is allowed, that in the preſent Year, *Caſſius* and *Virginius* were *Conſuls*. The only things which are doubted of, are, 1. Whether the Surname of *Caſſius* was *Uſcellinus*, which *Dion. Halicarn.* gives him. In other Authors he is called *Viſcellinus*, and *Vitellinus*, and in *Cicero*'s *Lælius*, *Becillinus*; which ſeems to be the Fault of the Editors. 2. It is doubted, whether the Surname of *Virginius* was *Tricoſtus*. Some read *Tricaſtus*, but without Ground. *Tricoſtus* was a common Surname in the Family of the *Virginii*. 3. The *Prænomen* of the ſame *Virginius* is *Opiter*. Every one knows, that theſe *Prænomina* had commonly a Signification taken from the Circumſtances of the Birth of the Perſon, who was called by them; as the *Prænomen Caius* meant, that the Birth of this Child gave much Joy to his Family; that of *Spurius*, that the Child was born after the Death of his Father, and this latter was commonly written *S. P.* which ſtood for *ſine Patre*. But to *Opiter*, it ſignified ſomething more than the *S. P.* namely, that not only the Father of the Child was dead, at the time of his Birth, but alſo that the Grandfather was yet alive. This Senſe of the *Prænomen Opiter*, we learn from *Feſtus* and *Valerius*.

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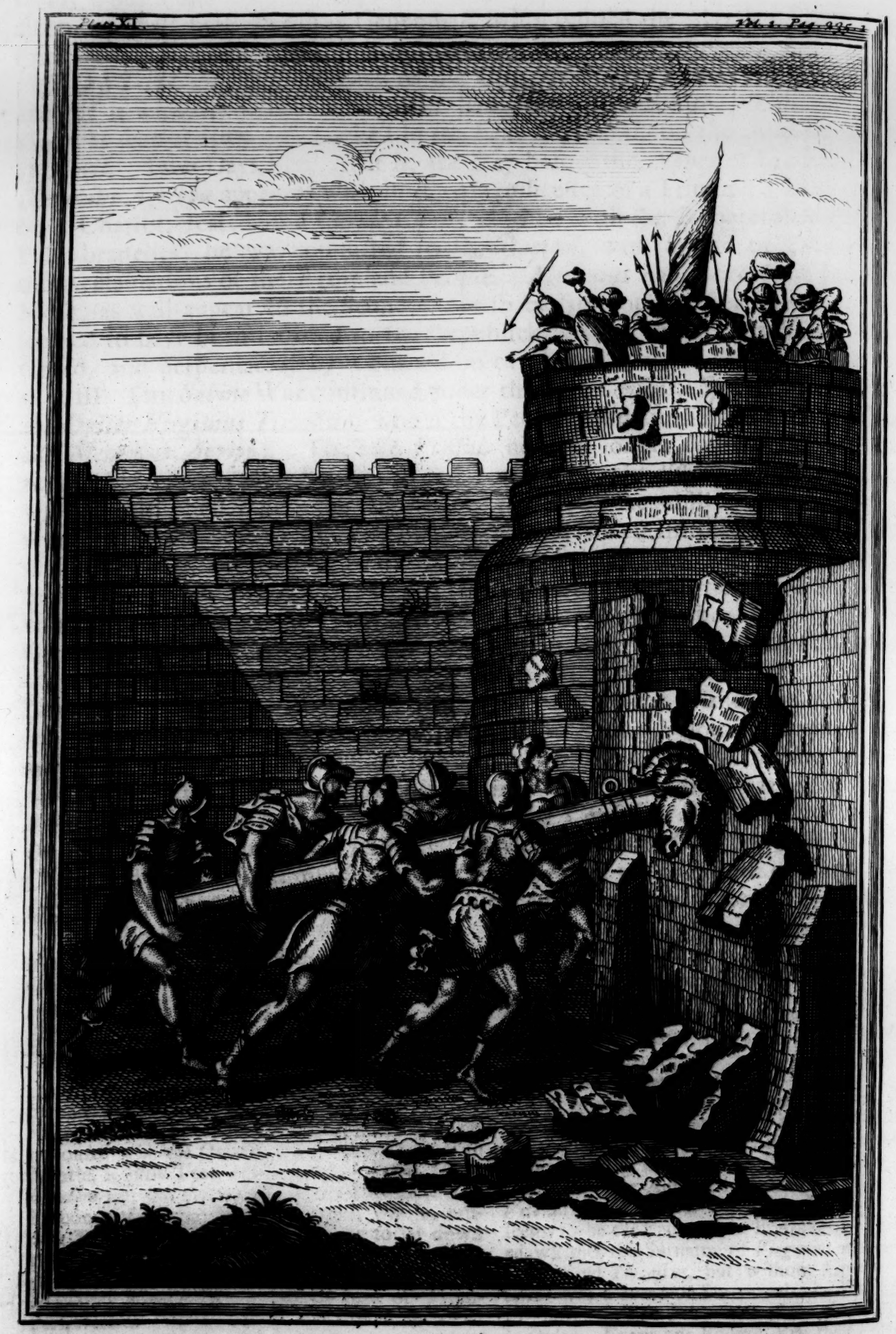
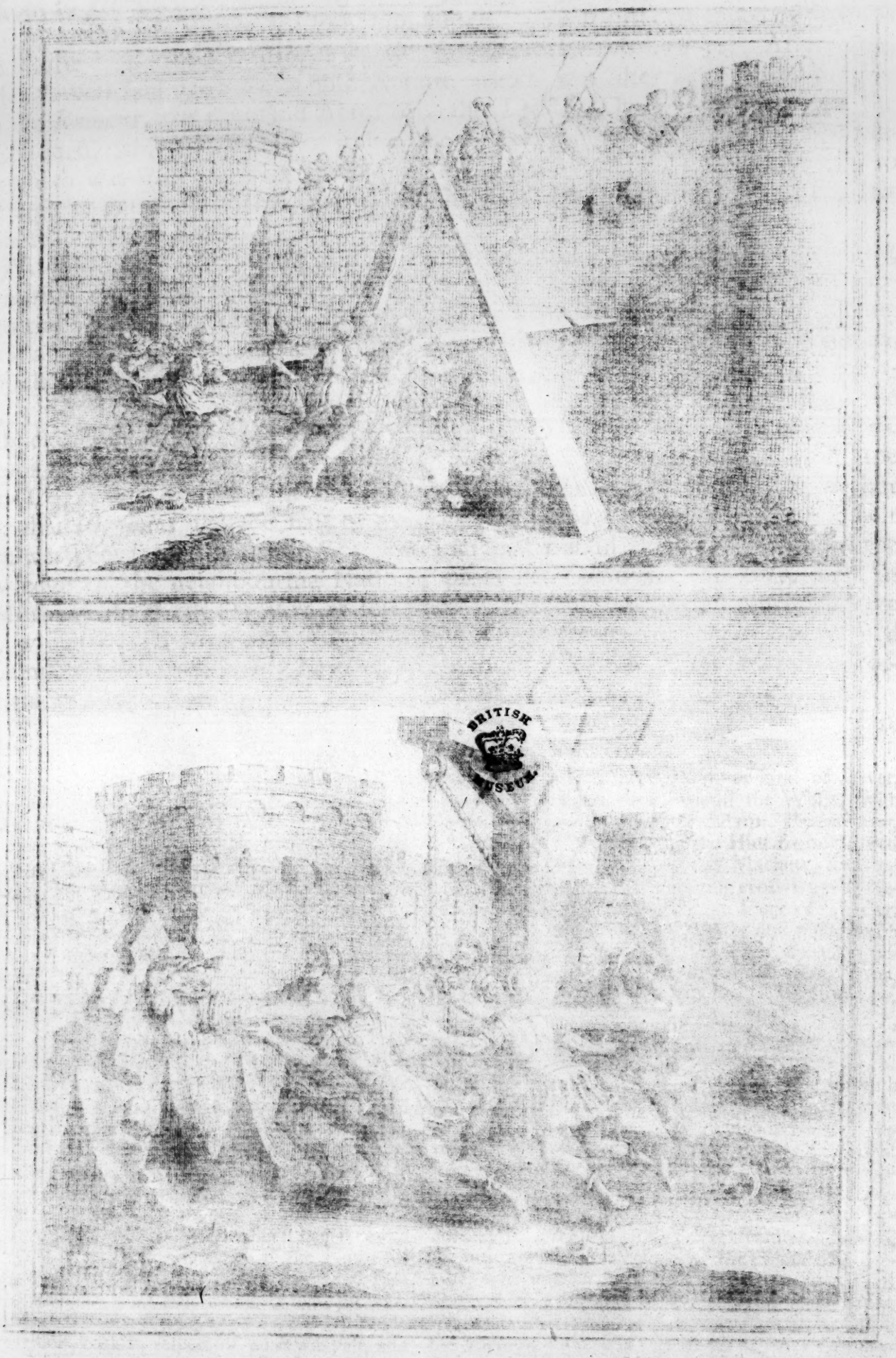


A Ram *worked by the Soldiers by mere Strength of arm.*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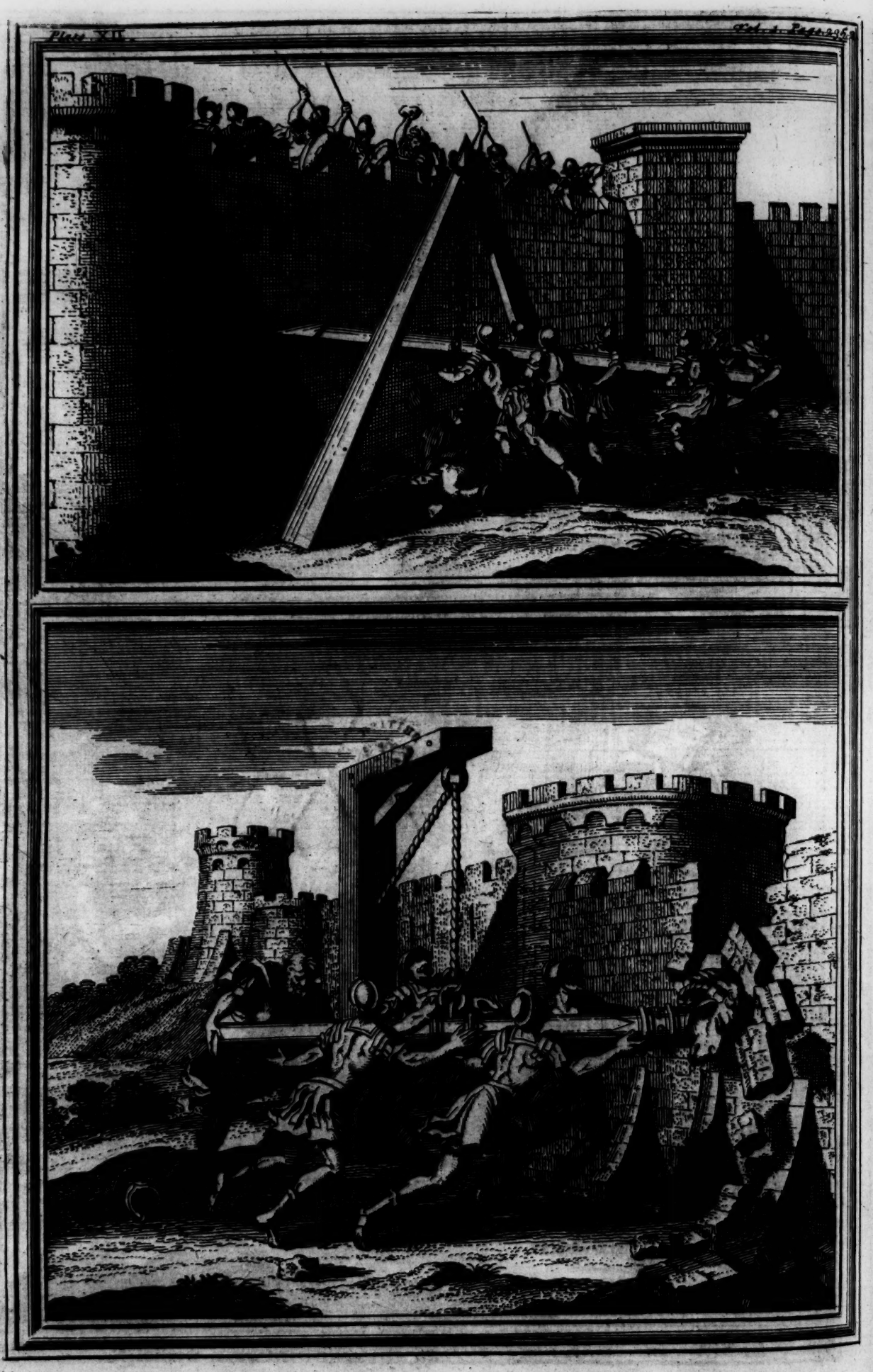

Two different sorts of **Rams** *hung different ways.*

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Sp. Cassius Uscellinus, and Opiter Virginius Tricostus, Conſuls.

n. The *Romans* made them purchaſe with many Submiſſions, the Peace, which y pretended to make a Difficulty of granting: tho' at the ſame time, the War, with ch they were threatned from *Latium*, made the *Romans* the more glad to be from ſo troubleſome an Enemy as the *Sabines*: And they therefore contented mſelves with inflicting only a light Puniſhment. *Caſſius* firſt demanded of them, as ch Corn as he thought proper for the Subſiſtence of his Troops. Afterwards, oll-Tax was laid upon the whole Nation, which was likewiſe obliged to give o the *Romans*, ten thouſand Acres of arable Land. Thus 9 was completed the Conqueſt, which *Rome*, ſince it became a Republick, made of an entire Na-, which was formerly ſubdued by her *Kings*. Her Dominion now began to enlarged: But how many Battels had ſhe ſtill to fight, in order to extend her pire from Eaſt to Weſt!

. IV. Whilst *Caſſius* ſignalized his Valour in *Sabinia*, *Virginius* was beſieging *nerium*. This City of *Latium*, in the Neighbourhood of *Alba*, had been ſub- to the *Romans*, almoſt from the very Foundation of *Rome*; *Romulus*, having de it a *Roman* Colony, about the fifth Year of his Reign. Since the Revolution, ich changed the Monarchy into a Republick, *Camerium*, like all the other Na-s, which formerly were ſubject to the *Roman Kings*, had revolted from the ublick; had lately refuſed to aſſiſt the *Romans* in their moſt urgent Occaſions, looked upon herſelf as a City delivered from the Yoke, and exempt from the ent Conditions of her Alliance. It [10] was in order to bring her back to her y, that *Virginius* led the half of the *Roman* Troops before the Place. Their rch was kept ſecret by the *Conſul*; who marched out in the Night, without the owledge of the neighbouring Nations, or of the *Camerini*. So that, early in Morning, he ſhewed himſelf at the Foot of their Ramparts, and ſurprized the y, which was far from expecting a Siege. *Virginius*, even before he had formed Camp, ſet the [11] Battering-Ram to work, made a Breach in the Wall, and of-ed to ſcale it.

The

9 Nothing perhaps makes it better appear, how ective an Author *Livy* is, than his Omiſſion of War with the *Sabines*. He does not lead the d gradually into that Series of Succeſſes, by ch *Rome* roſe to its Grandeur; but compiled his ory, rather like an Orator, than an exact and ical Writer. *Dion. Halicarn.* eclipſes him much the little Part of the Hiſtory which he has handled. hat pity it is, we have not the reſt from the ſame d Hand!

o *Livy* makes *Pometia* to be the City which was eged by one of the *Conſuls*, who at firſt met h an unlucky Accident before the Place, was gerouſly wounded, and carried back to *Rome*; afterwards returned with new Recruits, to make nſelf Maſter of the Town, which ſurrendered on Terms, but nevertheleſs was deſtroyed. *Livy* not foreſee, that he was to tell us, that nine ars after, *Pometia* was yet ſtanding, and forced *Romans* to retire from the Country of the *Volſci*. even forgot, that *Pometia* was already demo-ed, and that *Sueſſa Pometia*, which had received Inhabitants of it, and had added the Name of *metia* to that of *Sueſſa*, had been raſed by *Tar-in the Proud*. This Hiſtorian here has jumbled d confounded every thing; and made a double ontradiction, both in reſpect of what was paſt, and what was to come: for which Reaſon, we have t followed him. The ſame Writer adds, that the *runci*, who came to the Aſſiſtance of *Pometia*, ere cut in pieces; that their principal Commanders ere puniſhed with Death; and the reſt of the Pri-ners expoſed to publick Sale.

11 The *Battering Ram* was a great wooden Beam, ound about with Iron at the End, or armed with Head of Iron, repreſenting that of a *Ram*. The ntients uſed it, to beat down the Walls of a City. *truvius* aſcribes the Invention of the *Battering am* to the *Carthaginians*. They made uſe, ſays he, this ſort of Battery at the Siege of *Cadiz*. At firſt, it was only a mere Beam, or kind of Lever, which the Beſiegers drove againſt the Walls, with repeated Blows, by Strength of Arm. *Pephaſmenos*, a Carpenter of *Tyre*, taking the Hint from the firſt Tryal which was made of this Machine, fixed up a Maſt of a Ship, to which he hung croſs-ways by Cables and Iron Chains, on a huge Piece of Timber. This heavy, unwieldy Maſs, poiſed and puſhed with Violence, threw down the Walls of the City beſieged. After this manner, as *Joſephus* tells us, *B.* 3. the *Romans* ſet their Ram againſt *Jeruſalem*. To guard the Machine, and thoſe who worked it, from the Attacks of the Enemy, *Cetras* of *Chalcedon*, was the firſt who made a Lodgment in the Shape of a Penthouſe, or Gallery, covered over with Skins ſoaked in Water, for fear of Fire. It went upon Wheels, that the *Ram*, which was hung up within, upon one or two Rafters, might be brought forward with greater Eaſe. This Lodgment, covered with a Roof, was afterwards call'd the *Ram-Tortoiſe*, either becauſe its Motion was ſlow, according to *Vitruvius*; or, as *Vegetius* has obſerved, becauſe the Machine reſembled the Figure of a *Tortoiſe*, who carries his Head out of his Shell, and draws it in again, in like manner as the Head of the *Ram* moved out and in, as there was Occaſion. Above the *Tortoiſe*, there was ſometimes raiſed a Century-Box, in the Form of a Turret, where two Soldiers were poſted, to obſerve the Motions of the Beſieged. *Vitruvius* aſſures us, that *Polydus* of *Theſſaly*, perfected the *Tortoiſe* at the Siege, which *Philip* of *Macedon*, Son of *Amyntas*, laid to *Byzantium*. The Make and Diſpoſition of the Machine was in this manner. He made a covered Gallery, thirty Cubits wide, and fifteen high, without reckoning the Roof, which it ſelf was ſeven from the Platform to the Ridge. Over the Roof, he raiſed a little Tower, at leaſt twelve Cubits wide. It contained four Stories, in the uppermoſt of which were put the *Scorpions*, and the *Catapults*. In the lower Stories was placed

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Sp. Cassius Uscellinus, and Opiter Virginius Tricostus, Conſuls.

The Fear which ſome of the *Camerini* had, that they ſhould be put to Death, and the Hopes which others entertain'd of a Pardon, made them of two very contrary Opinions: The one, was for appeaſing the *Conſul* by Submiſſions; the other for receiving his Attacks, and risking all, to preſerve their Liberty. Whilſt they were ſtill deliberating, the *Conſul* aſſaulted the Town in the weakeſt Place. He made a Breach in the Walls, broke down the Gates, ſcaled the Ramparts, and Sword in Hand, made himſelf Maſter of the City. All that Day in which it was taken, and the Night following, the Houſes were left to be plundered by the Soldiers. The Day after, the Citizens were all brought together; and when the *Lictors* had beheaded with their *Axes* the moſt guilty, the others were ſold by Auction. As for the City, it was razed.

The Expeditions of both the *Conſuls* were glorious, but not rewarded with equal Honours. [12] *Caſſius* only triumph'd, notwithſtanding what *Livy* ſays to the contrary. The Senate, no doubt, did not think that an Advantage gain'd with very little Danger, over rebellious Subjects, was to be compared with a deciſive Victory which reduc'd a formidable Nation under the Dominion of the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* CCLII.

Postumus Cominius, and T. Lartius, Conſuls.

§. V. The Union, ſo lately renew'd, between the *Roman* Republick and the Sabine, had like to have been broken in the Beginning of the Adminiſtration of the new *Conſuls*, [13] *Poſtumus Cominius*, and *T. Lartius*. Publick Games were celebrated at *Rome*, at which the *Sabines* were preſent, who came to taſte the Fruits of the Hoſpitality of their new Friends. But a Company of young *Sabines* combin'd together, to carry off [14] ſome *Roman* Girls of Pleaſure, who made themſelves free with the Strangers while they ſtaid at *Rome*. Perhaps it might be only in Deriſion of the famous Rape of the *Sabines* managed formerly by *Romulus*, at the Time of a publick Shew: But whatever was the Motive, the *Roman* Youth could not bear either to be robb'd of the Objects of their Paſſions, or to have ſuch injurious Repriſals made upon them, after more than two Centuries. They run to their Arms, and had almoſt come to Blows; but however were quieted by the wiſeſt of them, who thought ſuch a light Prank too trifling an Occaſion for a Quarrel. Nevertheleſs, the *Sabines*, from this Accident, entertain'd ſome Diſtruſt of their new Friends, who wou'd not tamely ſuffer themſelves to be inſulted.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 18.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 316.

The *Romans* had then upon their Hands a more important Affair than to revenge themſelves upon a few Debauchees: *Mamilius, Tarquin's* Son-in-law, who was very zealous for the Reſtoration of his Father-in-law, and had great Intereſt among the *Latins*, did his Endeavours to make them take up Arms againſt *Rome*. We may remember, the *Latins* had made ſeveral Treaties with her in the Time of her Kings, by which they had oblig'd themſelves to furniſh her with as many auxiliary Troops as ſhe ſhou'd require; and to give the Precedence to the *Romans* in the *Feriæ Latinæ*, or general Diets of the Nation. Theſe general Aſſemblies were commonly held at *Ferentinum*, in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. From the Time that *Rome* had chang'd her Form of Government, the *Latins* had carried Things very fair with her. If they had not declar'd themſelves in her fa-

placed a great Quantity of Water, to extinguiſh the Fire which might be thrown from the Top of the Ramparts. *Vitruvius* makes the Length of the *Ram*, a hundred and ſix Feet; *Plutarch*, eighty only. The *Ram-Tortoiſe* is deſcribed in theſe Verſes of *Propertius*:

Dumque Aries cornu murum pulſabat aheno
Vineaque inductum longa tegebat opus. l. 4.

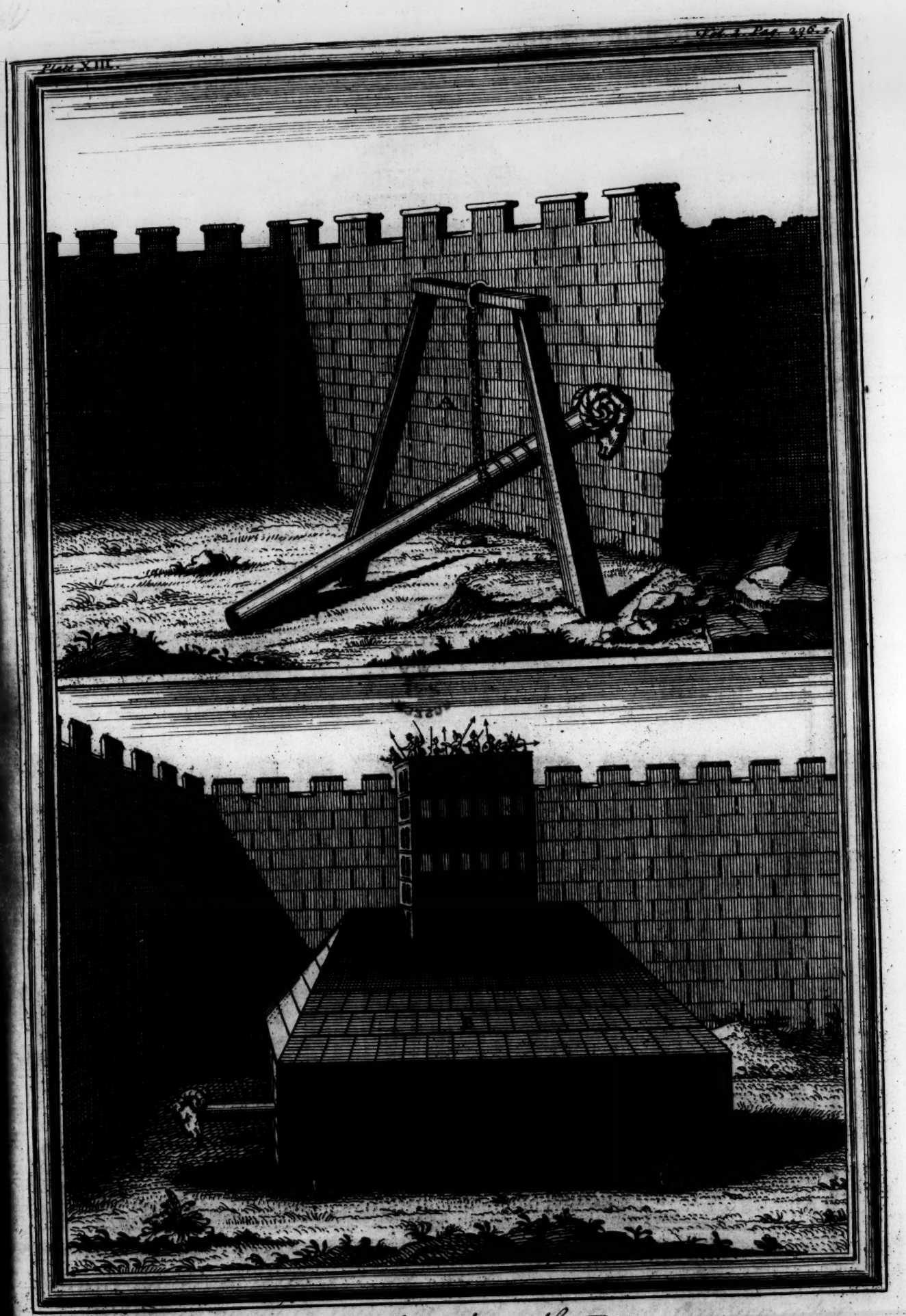
We have alſo given another manner of erecting the *Ram*, after *Hero*. *Vitruvius*, *Vegetius*, and *Juſtus Lipſius*, have expatiated upon the different Forms of this antient Engine of War; but they all amount to the ſame thing. Thoſe which we have here repreſented, will enable the Reader to form a Judgment of the reſt.

12 *Livy* aſſures us, that this Triumph was decreed to both *Conſuls*; *Conſules, magis ob iras graviter ultas, quam ob magnitudinem perfecti belli triumpharunt. Dion. Hal.* makes *Caſſius* only triumph. This would be Authority for Authority; but the *Faſti Capitolini*, more to be credited in this Matter than either, confirm the Account given by the *Greek* Hiſtorian. Under the Year 251, they mention only the Triumph of *Sp. Caſſius*. This Miſtake in *Livy* is but a Conſequence of his other Errors; having, doubtleſs, upon this Year, conſulted but bad Memoirs.

13 All agree, that theſe two *Conſuls* were in Office in the Year of which we are ſpeaking. We find in *Cuſpinian*, and *Valerius Maximus*, that the Surname of *Cominius* was *Auruncus*. That of *T. Lartius* was *Rufus* or *Flavus*, according to the *Sicilian Calendars*, and *Dion. Hal.*; no doubt, becauſe his Hair was of the ſame Colour with his Brother's *Sp. Lartius*, who had been already *Conſul*; that is, was inclining to *red*.

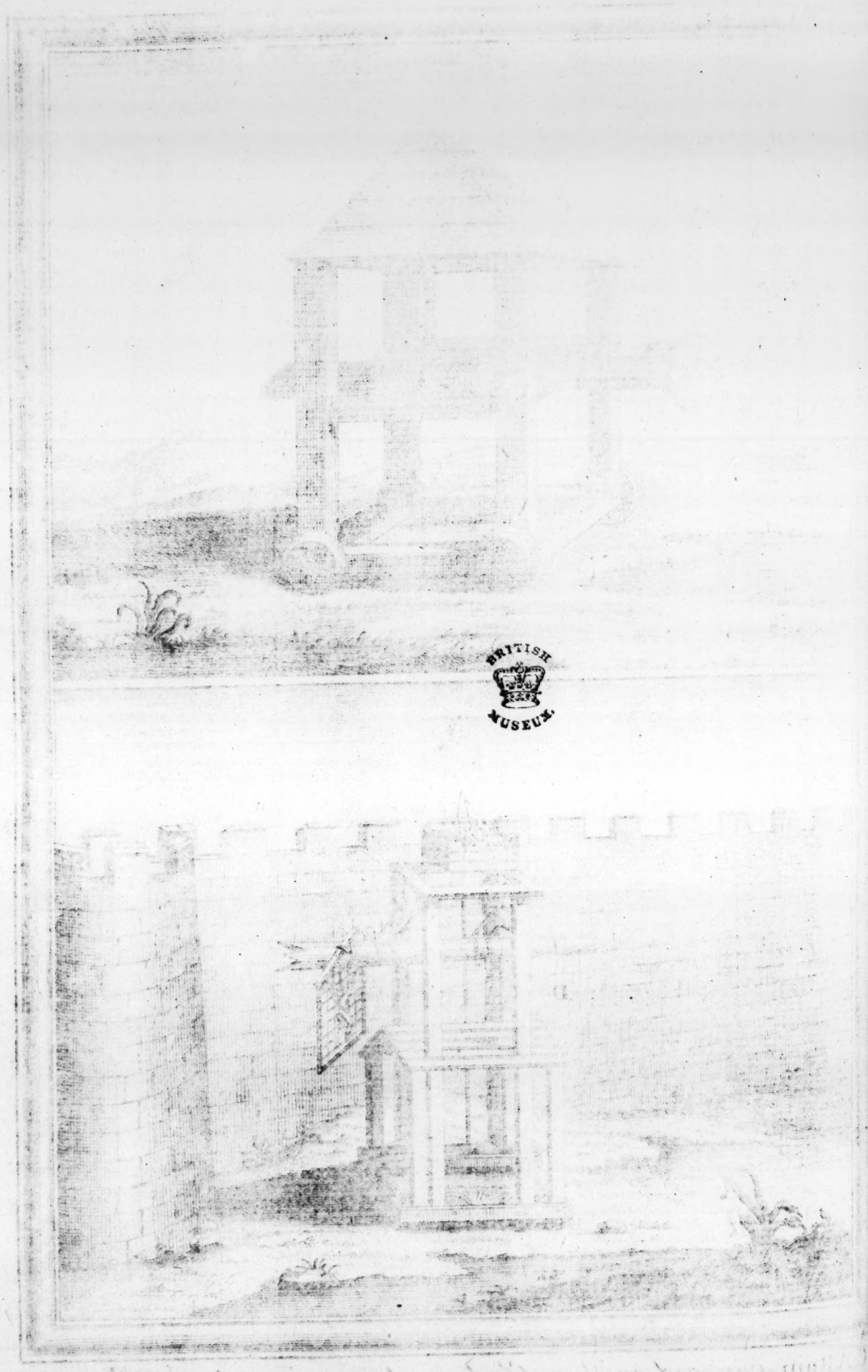
14 *Juſtus Lipſius* and *Bulenger* have falſely imagined, that by theſe debauched Girls, *Livy* intended to ſpeak of ſuch as were appointed to act a laſcivious Part upon the Stage, in the Satyrical Pieces. This Miſtake in Chronology is not to be pardoned; ſince as *Gruter* has obſerved, the Diverſions of the Stage were not yet in Uſe among the *Romans*.

Plat. XIII.



A. *Another way of hanging the* Ram.

B. *The* Ram-Tortoise *invented by* Polidus *of* Theſſaly


BRITISH MUSEUM

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Postumus Cominius, and T. Lartius, Conſuls.

our, they had at leaſt held an even Balance between the Republick and the riends of *Tarquin*. Which Neutrality of the *Latins* could not be accounted a Re- olt. But now, *Mamilius* thought to make them declare in Favour of the exil'd arty. He had ſollicited the principal Deputies in the laſt Diet, and prevail'd up- n them, either by Promiſes or Entreaties, to interpoſe for the Reſtoration of ing *Tarquin*. In vain did *M. Valerius*, the Brother of *Poplicola*, who had for- erly been *Conſul*, go over the Cities of the *Latins*, and endeavour by a more aſterly Management to defeat that of *Mamilius*. He foreſaw from that time, at the Intereſts of his Republick wou'd not prevail againſt that of the *Tarquins*, an Aſſembly where *Rome* had not ſo much as been invited to ſend her De- uties. Nay, ſome *Latins*, privately arm'd by the Nobles of the Country, d already committed Ravages in the *Roman* Territory. So that theſe Be- nnings of Hoſtilities, and the general Diſpoſition in which *Valerius* found the eople of *Latium*, made him expect nothing favourable to the *Romans*. The iet was held at *Ferentinum*. *Valerius* came thither as Deputy of *Rome*, and de- anded the chief Seat, as his Place. He reminded the *Latins* of their antient reaties, mention'd the Favours they had receiv'd from the *Romans*, and complain'd f the Breach of an Alliance written upon Braſs, and ratified in the moſt ſacred anner by Religion. But to theſe Complaints, the *Aricini* oppos'd the Breach hich *Rome* had made of theſe ſolemn Treaties, with Regard to them; pretend- g, that it was only at the Inſtigation of the *Romans* that the Son of *Porſena* d attack'd *Aricia*, a City of the *Latins*. *It was by your Intrigues*, ſaid they, *at all the* Latin *Nation had like to have become a Prey to* Hetruria. The Friends of *arquin* likewiſe inſiſted, that the Treaties made with and by him, ſhould be ob- rv'd; and urg'd, that the *Latin* Confederacy had been concluded with the *King*, nd not with the Republick. Beſides, the Inhabitants of *Camerium* and *Fidenæ* omplain'd to the Diet, the one, of the ſacking of their City; the other, of the lavery to which *Rome* had reduc'd their Fellow-Citizens. The whole Aſſembly was in a Flame. *Mamilius* kindled it by his Speeches and Clamours: and in vain did *Valerius* endeavour to extinguiſh it. The Goodneſs of his Cauſe, and the Rea- ſons he laid before them ſerv'd only to make them defer the Deciſion. The Aſſembly ou'd come to no Determination the whole Day, but was adjourn'd to the Day fol- owing; and then it kept no Meaſures with *Rome*. *Valerius* was excluded the Diet, nd only the *Tarquins* and *Mamilius* permitted to lay their Grievances before it. he *Aricini* were heard, their Conjectures were taken for Proofs; the *Romans* were deem'd guilty of having broke the Confederacy; and laſtly, it was ordered, hat the Aſſembly ſhould deliberate more largely upon the Manner in which they ould avenge it upon them. Upon which, *Valerius* was told, that he was to ac- aint his Republick, That the *Latins* renounc'd all Intercourſe with her; and, hat the Ties by which they were attach'd to *Rome*, in the Time of her *Kings*, were oken by the Change which ſhe had introduc'd in her Form of Government.

When it was known that the Republick was to be plunged again in a new ar, there was a general Commotion at *Rome*. She ſaw that ſhe was oblig'd to for ever in Arms: Every Enemy ſhe conquer'd rais'd up a more formidable e: And, as an additional Misfortune, a Spirit of Mutiny began to creep into e City it ſelf; without doubt, thro' the Weakneſs of the *Conſuls* for the Year. was firſt raiſed by a Conſpiracy of the vileſt Members of the Republick: A tain Number of Slaves combined together to ſeize the Citadel, and the Towers the City, and to ſet Fire to the Town in ſeveral Quarters. Their Plot was in- ed diſcover'd; but this Example prov'd contagious. We ſhall ſoon ſee the *Citi- ns* of *Rome* raiſing Seditions, and promiſing themſelves better Succeſs than ended their Slaves. The latter were prevented by poſting the Cavalry in the aces they intended to ſeize. The Guilty were taken from their Maſters Houſes, d from the publick Places, and, after having been beaten with Rods, were all ucified [15].

In

[15] Every one knows, that at *Rome* the Croſs was Puniſhment for Slaves. All Antiquity agrees t, and *Juvenal* ſays it expreſly, in theſe Words:

one Crucem ſervo. Meruit quo crimine ſervus upplicium? ——

Yet the Maſters were not permitted to crucify their Slaves by their own Authority. The Sentence of a Judge was neceſſary. At *Rome* the Magiſtrates, who were called the *Trium-viri Capitales*, condemn'd the Slaves. In the Provinces, this Right

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It was in theſe Circumſtances, which the Senate judged critical, that it firſt thought of creating a [16] *Dictator*; that is, a Magiſtrate whoſe Authority ſhould be abſolute, and differ from that of the *Kings*, in this Point only, that it ſhould be temporary, and laſt but ſix Months. The Rumour of this Project was ſpread among the neighbouring Nations; and it alarm'd the *Sabines* [17], and made them think of Peace in earneſt. [18] As to the *Romans*, they gave their Deſign Time to ripen, and reſerv'd the Execution of it for a more difficult Conjuncture [19]. The *Conſuls Poſtumus Cominius*, and *T. Lartius*, very probably ended their Year without having a Superior.

Year of *ROME* CCLIII. Serv. Sulpitius, and Manius Tullius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 318.*

§. VI. But the principal Governors of the *Latins* had enter'd into too ſtrict an Alliance with *Tarquin*, to remain long unactive. Under the *Conſuls* of the following Year [20], who were *Serv. Sulpitius*, and *Manius Tullius*, the Princes of the *Latin* Nation propos'd an Expedition, which might have brought on a War: But it met with Oppoſition from the People. For altho' the Aſſembly of the Nobles of *Latium* had renounc'd the Alliance of *Rome*, yet the richeſt Citizens were diſpleas'd with a Rupture, the Conſequences of which they foreſaw. They knew that the Nobility of their Country had join'd the *Tarquins*, only in Hopes of

belong'd to the Preſidents, ſuch as was *Pontius Pilate*, at *Jeruſalem*. Thoſe who were to be crucified, were led out of the City, carrying upon their Necks an Inſcription, which declar'd the Cauſe of their Death. They were faſten'd to the Croſs with four Nails, as we read in theſe Lines of *Plautus*.

Ego dabo ei Talentum, primus qui in crucem excucurrerit,
Sed eâ lege, ut affigantur bis pedes, bis brachia.
Moſt.

16 It is a Queſtion much diſputed, whether the Senate actually created a *Dictator* at this time, or delay'd it for three Years longer. *Dion. Hal.* mentions no *Dictator* at *Rome*, till the Year 255. *Livy* doubts if there was not one in the Year 253. *Euſebius*, *Eutropius*, and *Caſſiodorus*, follow this laſt Opinion; but, as it often happens, they expreſly affirm, what their Guide aſſerts dubiouſly. I have taken the Medium between theſe two Opinions, and believe that the Senate then thought of creating a *Dictator*, and that the Rumour of it was ſpread abroad. This Opinion, in other reſpects, is agreeable to the Expreſſions of *Livy*: *Dictatoris primum creandi mens eſt orta. Mention was made of it*, ſays he, *but with regard to the putting it in Execution, it is not certain when that was done*; His Words are, *Sed nec quo anno nec quibus Conſulibus, necquis primus Dictator creatus ſit, ſatis conſtat.* But what *Livy* was ignorant of, *Dion. Hal.* appears to have known. He, without Heſitation, places the firſt *Dictatorſhip* of *Rome* under the Year of *Rome* 256, according to his Way of computing, which anſwers to the Year 255, according to the Computation which we follow, for the Reaſons we have formerly given.

17 At the News of a *Dictator*, according to *Livy*, the *Sabines* were alarm'd, thinking that *Rome* was preparing to revenge the Inſult which was committed during the publick Games, in reſpect to thoſe diſorderly Girls which the *Sabine* Youth had reſolv'd to carry away from the *Romans*. They believ'd that the Republick was going to unite all her Forces againſt them, to have Satisfaction for this Outrage. They thought ſeriouſly therefore upon preventing the Storm, and ſent Deputies, who in the Name of all, implor'd the Clemency of the *Dictator* and Senate in Behalf of the Guilty. They were anſwer'd, that *Rome* intended leſs againſt the young Fellows, carried away by the Heat of Youth, than againſt the Magiſtrates of their Nation, who were inceſſantly ſowing Seeds of Diviſion; but that however Peace ſhould be granted to the *Sabines*, upon Condition that they wou'd indemnify the Republick for the Charges of the laſt War. The Condition was not accepted; and from that Time both Sides prepar'd for taking the Field. Nevertheleſs, Hoſtilities did not commence till the Year after. This Account is ſo odly related in *Livy*, and is ſo doubtful, as to its principal Circumſtance, which concerns the Fact of the *Dictatorſhip* of *Titus Lartius*, that I have not judg'd it proper to venture it in the Body of this Hiſtory. Beſides, *Dion. Hal.* tells us nothing of it.

18 However undetermin'd *Livy* appears in fixing preciſely the Beginning of the *Dictatorſhip*, yet upon the Credit of the antient Memoirs which he had in his Hands, he is inclin'd to believe that *Titus Lartius*, the preſent *Conſul*, was dignified with that Office; and not *Manius Valerius*, as ſome, and among others *Feſtus*, have advanc'd, without Ground. *Manius Valerius* had not yet obtain'd the *Conſulſhip*. Now, by an expreſs Law, which had been in Force above an hundred and fifty Years, it was enjoin'd, that none but Perſons of *Conſular* or *Patrician* Rank, ſhou'd be rais'd to the *Dictatorſhip*. So that the *Plebeians*, as yet, had no Part in it. And even the *Dictatorſhip* of *Titus Lartius*, whatever *Livy* may ſay of it, appears as chimerical, with regard to the Year we are in, as that of *Manius Valerius*.

19 Here *Livy*, going upon the Suppoſition that a *Dictator* was created in the two hundred and fifty third Year of *Rome*, aſſures us that the People were under Apprehenſions at the Sight of the *Lictors*, who, arm'd with their *Axes* and *Faſces*, guarded *Titus Lartius*. A Power almoſt ſovereign lodg'd in one ſingle Perſon, appear'd formidable to them, in Compariſon of the *Conſular* Authority, which it was difficult for either of the *Conſuls* to abuſe, without meeting with ſome Oppoſition from his Collegue. This is what *Livy* ſays of the Matter; but it muſt be granted, that ſince the Time when the firſt *Dictator* was created is uncertain, this may reaſonably make us doubt of the Truth of a Relation, which depends upon it.

20 The Surname of *Sulpitius* was *Camerinus*, and that of *Tullius* was *Longus*. *Tullius*'s *Prænomen* was *Manius*. *Cicero* mentions him in his *Brutus*, and owns that he had not the Honour to be deſcended from this *Tullian* Family, which, he ſays, was *Patrician*, and furniſhed the Republick with a *Conſul*, in the tenth Year after the Expulſion of the *Kings*. The *Prænomen* then of this *Conſul Tullius* was *Manius*. As the *Prænomina* were often written with only the initial Letter, as *M.* is put for that of *Tullius*; and as moreover this initial *M.* might as well ſtand for *Marcus*, as *Manius*, the *Faſti Capitolini*, and ſeveral Manuſcripts, add an Apoſtrophe to the *M.* to ſhew it ſignifies *Manius*, in this manner, *M'*; and they omit it in the Initials of the *Prænomen Marcus*. The *Prænomen Manius* was given to the Children who were born in the *Morning*, from the Word *Mane*.

making

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making themſelves conſiderable during the War; of enjoying the chief Poſts in the Army; and of making themſelves Tyrants over their Diſtricts, after they had reſtor'd Tyranny in *Rome*. The *Latin* People therefore murmur'd at this new Expedition, which wou'd expoſe them to the Danger of a War, with a City in Alliance with them, and invincible. The Scheme of the Nobles was to begin with ſo bold an Attack upon the *Roman* State, as ſhould raiſe the Spirits, and leſſen the Fears, of the People

THE *Fidenates* had a violent Inclination to revolt; though often chaſtiz'd by the *Romans*, and, in ſpite of the Garriſon, which was a Check upon them, many of them thought of nothing but ſhaking off the Yoke. This *Tarquin*, and the Heads of the *Latins*, knew; and reſolv'd to take Advantage of it. To ſeize upon *Fidenæ*, was to fix themſelves at the Gates of *Rome*. They therefore took Care to ſecure Correſpondents in that City; and it was agreed, that the Citizens of their Faction ſhou'd make themſelves Maſters of the principal Poſts, and by the Aſſiſtance of the Troops which ſhou'd be ſent them, drive out the *Roman* Garriſon, and all ſuch as were well affected to the Republick. Which Meaſures were ſo well concerted, that the Deſign ſucceeded. In vain did the Deputies of *Rome* endeavour to diſſuade the Rebels from their Deſign. The moſt ſeditious Citizens were for putting them to Death, or confining them; the moſt moderate only for driving them out of the City. So that *Rome* was enraged at theſe violent Proceedings, and *Tullius* marched with a great Army againſt the *Fidenates*. The Plunder of their Country was the leaſt Puniſhment they had deſerv'd: And they were cloſely inveſted by the *Romans*, who entrench'd themſelves all round their Walls, and thereby reduc'd them to ſo great an Extremity, that, without an extraordinary Aſſiſtance from the *Latins*, it was difficult for them to eſcape Deſtruction. But nevertheleſs, their Allies, were as ſlow in granting them Succours, as the *Fidenates* had been haſty in coming into *their* Meaſures. A new general Council, not only of the Nobles, but alſo of the Deputies of all the *Latin* Cities, was called: In which it was conſider'd, whether it was proper to break the antient Treaties made with *Rome*, and whether Relief ſhou'd be ſent to the *Fidenates*. The Nobility voted in Favour of the beſieged City, and of the *Tarquins*. The rich Citizens declar'd in Favour of *Rome*. And at length, after much Debate, the Nobles obtain'd this at leaſt, That an Embaſſy ſhou'd be ſent to the Republick, to offer her two Propoſitions. The firſt was, That ſhe ſhould receive the *Tarquins*, after having obliged them by Oath, to grant a general Pardon for all the Attempts made againſt the regal Authority; the ſecond, That ſhe ſhould raiſe the Siege of *Fidenæ*: And the Council granted the *Romans* a Year to deliberate upon them.

HOWEVER, *Tarquin* was too wiſe to build all his Hopes upon mere Conferences. He foreſaw, that the *Senate* wou'd refuſe, with Diſdain, to receive Laws from a People to whom it had been uſed to give them: And his principal View was to take the Opportunity of this Embaſſy, to raiſe a Sedition in *Rome*. To the Ambaſſadors therefore of the *Latins*, he join'd ſome of his own Emiſſaries, and among others, two of his own Name, who were deſcended from a Branch of the *Tarquins*, ſettled at *Laurentum*. *Publius* and *Marcus*, as the two Brothers were called, followed the Embaſſy, and were furniſh'd with a great Sum of Money. [21] When they were come to *Rome*, they found two Sorts of People, diſpoſed to enter into their Meaſures; the Slaves, and the meaneſt Citizens. The whole Body of the Slaves were enraged at the ſevere Puniſhment which was inflicted the Year before upon their Companions; and *Rome* had a Diſtruſt of them, and kept her Eye upon them. But they alone were not thought ſufficient to execute the Project which was laid by the *Tarquins*. They engaged indeed the Slaves, but entruſted to them only the Execution of the tragical Action, which was intended. The two Heads of the Conſpiracy ſought likewiſe among the vileſt of the Citizens for ſome of thoſe factious and bold Men, who are eaſily brib'd into dangerous Enterprizes, by ſmall Preſents, and fine Promiſes. Tho' Freemen and Citizens of *Rome*, their Diſpoſitions, and the Qualities of their Mind were no better than thoſe of the Slaves. Theſe were the Conſpirators pitch'd upon, and to them

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 319.

[21] *Livy* ſays nothing more of the *Conſuls Servius Sulpitius*, and *Manius Tullius*, than that nothing memorable happen'd during the Year of their *Conſulſhip*. We may judge of the Incorrectneſs of the *Latin* Hiſtorian, by the important Facts which, after *Dion. Hal.* we place under this Year, and which *Livy* has either wholly omitted, or miſplaced.

were

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were given the following Parts to act. Theſe ſeditious Citizens were firſt to make themſelves Maſters of the Ramparts and Gates of the City, at an appointed Time in the Night; then to raiſe a great Cry from every Part of *Rome*, as a Signal to the Slaves, who lay round about their Maſters, and who had engaged to maſſacre them at the ſame Inſtant: And the *Tarquins*, who were to be in Ambuſh at ſeveral Gates, which were to be opened to them, were to enter *Rome*, while it was yet reaking with the Blood of the Senators, and of the other Republican Magiſtrates.

§. VII. IT is almoſt incredible! but yet it happened, that not one of ſo great a Number of vile and mercenary Men, betrayed the Secret. A Heathen Author here attributes the Preſervation of *Rome, to the Providence of God, which, to his Time*, he tells us, *had taken this virtuous People under its Protection.* He adds, that it ſo terrified the two Heads of the Conſpiracy, by nightly Viſions, and frightful Dreams, that they were forced to become themſelves the Informers of a Crime, of which they were the Authors. It muſt be own'd, that Conſcience has very ſurpriſing Effects upon the Hearts of the moſt audacious Villains. It fills their Souls with Fear; and the Impreſſions it makes upon them in the Day-time, dwell upon their Imagination in the Night. The Diſturbances it occaſions in a Man's Mind, are often ſtronger than his moſt violent Paſſions, and ſo ſtifle them, as to make him ſacrifice his moſt important Intereſts. Such was the Power of it at this time over the two *Tarquins*. They thought themſelves ſurrounded with Furies, and had rceourſe to the Diviner. Without diſcovering the Secret of the Conſpiracy, they asked him only in general, what Succeſs they might expect, in a Project they were upon. It is likely, the wild Looks and Air of Concern which appeared in the two Strangers, gave room enough to conjecture, that they were troubled with frightful Thoughts. *Your Projects*, replied the Diviner, *will end in your Ruin. Diſburthen yourſelves of ſo heavy a load.* Upon which, the two *Tarquins* needed no more to make them betray the Party they had formed. Fearing leſt ſome one of the Conſpirators ſhould be beforehand with them in informing, they went immediately to *S. Sulpicius*, the only *Conſul* who remained at *Rome*. *Sulpicius* received their Depoſitions with great Marks of Benevolence; and moreover made them Promiſes, detained them in his Houſe, made ſecret Enquiries, and kept a profound Silence. When he was aſſured of the Truth of their Report, the *Conſul* haſtened to aſſemble the Senate. The Ambaſſadors of the *Latins* were called in, to have their Audience of Leave: And the Anſwer which the Senate made to their Propoſals, had in it a Mixture of Politeneſs and Pride. *It is ſurprizing*, ſaid they to the Ambaſſadors, *that the* Latins, *our Friends, our Confederates, and tied to us by ſo many reciprocal Marriages, ſhould attack the Liberty of a City which is attached to them, and demand, with Menaces, the Reſtoration of her Tyrants. What Blood have we not ſpilt, to preſerve our recovered Liberty? What Extremities have we not ſuffered, that we might not fall back again under a Government we deteſt?* Porſena, *and his* Hetrurians, *were affected with them, and the Equity of our Cauſe prevailed over their Engagements. As to our raiſing the Siege of* Fidenæ, *which you demand, with Threats of War in caſe of Refuſal, this is only a frivolous Pretence, to give Countenance to your Hatred. Let it therefore break out! Let it ſhew it ſelf!* Rome *will not want Means to turn the fatal Effects of it upon her Aggreſſors.* After this Anſwer, the Ambaſſadors were conducted back out of the City, and the Senate continued their Conſultations.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 320.

THE moſt important Matter before them, was the Conſpiracy, which was then firſt made known to the Senators by the *Conſul*. The Enormity of the Crime ſtruck them with Horror: But, that they might not be embarraſſed with paſſing a capital Sentence, which by the Law of *Poplicola*, was reſerved to the People in the *dernier Reſort*, they laid upon the *Conſul* the difficult Task of finding out Ways to puniſh the Guilty. And *Sulpicius* behaved himſelf wiſely in ſo nice an Affair. To have taken the Conſpirators from their Families, by Force; or to have made a ſearch for them, thro' the different Quarters of *Rome*, would have made the whole City riſe up in Arms, and would have kindled a Flame, which might be attended with fatal Conſequences. Beſides, what other Evidence was there of the Crime, than the Teſtimony of two Strangers, which might be excepted againſt, by the *Roman* Citizens? The Plot indeed was certain, but the Proof of it difficult; eſpecially before Citizens inclined to maintain the Intereſts of one another. Theſe Inconveniences were there-

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fore remedied by an innocent Stratagem. Out of the Senate, who kept the Secret inviolable, no body knew at *Rome*, that an Inſurrection was intended: and the Conſpirators themſelves were ignorant of the Diſcovery of their Plot. Upon theſe Grounds, *Sulpicius* thought he could make uſe of the Service of the Accuſers, to make the Crime of their Accomplices apparent. He engaged [22] the two Brothers to aſſemble the Heads of the Revolt, as if they were to take the laſt Meaſures with them, about the Execution of the Enterprize. The *Rendezvous* was appointed in the *Forum*, preciſely at Midnight. In the mean time, the Senators were deſired to get together their Friends and Clients, each in his Quarter, and to take Poſſeſſion afterwards of the Bulwarks of the City. The Cavalry had Orders to march, upon the firſt Signal, to the Entry of the Streets which led into the *Forum*. Nor was this all. The *Conſul* wrote to his Colſegue at the Camp before *Fidenæ*, to come ſecretly to *Rome* with a Detachment of his Troops, and to enter it ſilently before Midnight: And theſe good Orders were executed. The moſt conſiderable of the Factious, on the other hand, run to the Place of Aſſignation: ſo warm and eager do Men often appear in a bad Cauſe! In an inſtant, the Conſpirators were met in the Place where the *Comitia* were held, and immediately they ſaw themſelves inveſted on every Side, without any Place of Refuge, without any Means to eſcape. As ſoon as it was light, the two *Conſuls* appeared upon their Tribunal; and without delay, convened the People by *Curiæ*, in the uſual Place of Meeting. While they were aſſembling, the Senate made a Decree, by which the Privilege of *Roman Citizens* was granted to the two Informers, and a Reward was aſſigned them of a hundred thouſand *Aſſes*, and twenty Acres of Land in Fee. And laſtly, the Seditious were condemned to Death, if the People conſented. The Guilty were convicted beyond Diſpute, not one of them had the Boldneſs to deny his Crime. So that the Decree of the Senate was confirmed by the Voices of the People. The Populace then had Orders to retire; and the Seditious, thoſe unworthy Citizens, together with thoſe barbarous Slaves, who, by the Murder of their Maſters, were to reſtore Monarchy in *Rome*, were delivered up to the Soldiers, and put to the Sword. This was a conſiderable Service done by *Sulpicius*; and it was thought to be of great Importance to his Country. Doubtleſs, he deſerved the Honours of a Triumph for it: But warlike *Rome* regarded little elſe at that time but military Virtues. 'Twas from theſe principally, that ſhe expected her Glory and Greatneſs.

THE *Romans* had yet been far from puniſhing all the Conſpirators with Death; but nevertheleſs they judged not proper to carry their Enquiries any farther. The Peace of *Rome* was thought to be ſufficiently ſecured, by this ſingle Inſtance of Severity: and nothing now remained, but to teſtify their Gratitude to the Gods, for the Protection, for which the Republick thought it ſelf obliged to them. The Senate made a Decree, commanding that the City ſhould be purged by Expiations, Victims ſacrificed by Way of Thankſgiving, and Publick Games celebrated. Three Feſtival Days were appointed, for theſe three different religious Ceremonies; but an Accident interrupted the Pleaſure of the Games, and turned them into a melancholy Show. *Tullius* was carried upon a Chariot in the *Circus*, and the People were conducting him back in Pomp to his Houſe, when he fell from his Chariot, and died three Days after. The Year of his *Conſulſhip* was almoſt expired; ſo that his Colſegue continued alone in Office. *Sulpicius* had lately ſignalized his Zeal for the Republick; and could not be ſuſpected of being capable of forming ambitious Deſigns againſt it.

§. VIII. *FIDENÆ* remained blocked up, in the [23] new *Conſulſhip* of *T. Æbu-*

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T. ÆBUTIUS, and P. VETURIUS, Conſuls.

[22] It is difficult to conjecture, from what Branch of the *Tarquins*, theſe two Brothers, *Publius* and *Marcus*, were deſcended. *Tarquin the Proud* had no Brother but *Arunx*; and all the *Roman* Writers allow him to have had but four Sons, *Sextus*, *Arunx*, *Lucius*, and *Titus*. Perhaps *Publius* and *Marcus* were the Sons of *Arunx*, Brother of King *Tarquin the Proud*; and retired to *Laurentium*, after the Death of their Father, to avoid the Perſecution of their Uncle.

[23] There is always ſomething to remark upon the Names, *Prænomina*, and Surnames of the *Conſuls*. They are not always uniformly related by the *Greek* or *Latin* Authors. For inſtance, *Caſſiodorus*, in his Liſt, gives *Æbutius* the *Prænomen* of *Titus*; and *Dion. Halicarn.* changes it into *Publius*. The Name of *Veturius* is changed by *Caſſiodorus*, into *Vetuſius*: becauſe antiently, the *R*, in Pronunciation and Writing, eſpecially when it came between two Vowels, was changed into an *S*. Thus, *Aurelius* and *Papirius* were read and pronounced, *Auſelius* and *Papiſius*. As for the Surname of *Veturius*, it was *Geminus*: and that of *Æbutius*, was *Elva*. The *Prænomen Titus* is ſaid to come from *Titulus*, or *Tutulus*, which in old *Latin* ſignified *a Soldier*. As for the Meaning of the Surname *Elva*, I am entirely ignorant of it.

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T. Æbutius, and P. Veturius, Conſuls.

tius, and *P. Veturius* [24]. *P. Veturius* [25] was ſent to the Army, to ſupply the Place of *M. Tullius*; whilſt *Æbutius* ſtaid at *Rome*, to govern a Populace eaſily ſeduced, and always ready to make Inſurrections. The *Romans*, in the Choice of their *Conſuls*, had at this time reſpect to the preſent State of their Affairs. They elected one of them as a popular and peaceable Man, to govern *Rome*, already ſhaken by the laſt Sedition; the other, a Warrior, to finiſh the Wars which were begun, and carry on new ones. *Veturius* came to the Camp before *Fidenæ*, made ſome Attempts upon the Place; but at laſt reſolved only to inveſt it. Nevertheleſs in ſpite of his Precautions and Care, a conſiderable Body of *Latins*, with a Convoy of Proviſions, entered the City, very ſeaſonably for the *Fidenates*, who were preſſed with Hunger, and almoſt reduced to Deſpair: and ſuch was their Confidence in this Recruit, that they thought themſelves in a Condition to leave the Town, and to take the Field. This was giving the *Romans* a great Advantage; becauſe they had a Courage and Experience in Battels, which rendered them invincible. The *Conſul* attacked the united Troops of the *Fidenates* and *Latins*, at the Foot of their Ramparts, and forced the former to retreat within their Walls. The Nearneſs of the Place prevented the Battel's being bloody; but at leaſt it occaſioned the Deſertion of the *Latins*. Theſe auxiliary Troops had no Mind to be ſhut up within the City, and to undergo the Fatigues and Diſtreſſes of a Siege. *Fidenæ* then was reduced to her firſt Misfortunes, but yet held out for ſome time; the Activity of the *Conſul* being turned another Way. He [26] went to take *Cruſtumerium*, a City ſituated between the *Tyber* and the *Anio*: and to complete his good Fortune, *Præneſte* [27] left the Party of the *Latins*, and ſubmitted to the *Romans*. The *Tarquins* then, by Way of Repriſal, attempted to ſurprize *Signia*, a new *Roman* Colony; but being repulſed by the Garriſon which defended it, and the Succours the *Conſul* ſent to it, they were forced to raiſe the Siege.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 19.

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Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 324.

T. Lartius. and Q. Cloelius, Conſuls.

§. IX. The firſt Care of the Republick, after the Choice of [28] two new *Conſuls*, *T. Lartius*, and *Q. Clœlius*, was to put an End to the long Siege, which detained its Troops about *Fidenæ*. *Lartius* was both a good Politician, and a great Soldier; and *Clœlius* appeared born for the Adminiſtration of Affairs, in Times of Peace. The former therefore was ſent to the Camp; the latter remained at *Rome*, with a Part of the Troops. The Blockade of *Fidenæ* was then turned into a Siege, which *T. Lartius* carried on with all the Vigour and Skill of a great General. Day and Night he kept the Inhabitants in play, who were already fatigued with Labour, and waſted by Want. Sometimes he erected Machines, as high as the Top of their Towers; ſometimes he raiſed *Cavaliers*, or high Platforms, from which he commanded the City; and ſometimes he undermined the Ramparts. The Beſiegers had nothing to fear from the *Latins*. None of their Cities was in a Condition to ſend ſufficient Succours to *Fidenæ*; nor had the Body of the Nation yet declared againſt *Rome*. In the mean time, the Beſieged flattered themſelves daily with the Hopes of a ſpeedy Relief: and in their Extremity, they formed two Projects, neither of which ſucceeded. To haſten the Relief, they deputed to the *Latins*, Men agreeable to that Nation; and they ſent to the *Conſul*, to demand a Truce for ſome Days, to deliberate, as they ſaid, upon the Articles of their Capitulation. But *Lartius* was

24 Till this time, *Livy* has ſaid nothing of the Siege of *Fidenæ*; believing, contrary to the Opinion of *Dion. Hal.* that this Siege was not begun, till the *Conſulſhip* of *Titus Æbutius*, and *Publius Veturius*.

25 It is very probable, that this *Conſul* was the ſame, who was made firſt *Quæſtor* of *Rome*, with *M. Minucius*, under the firſt *Conſulſhip* of *Poplicola*. *Plutarch* calls him *Publius Veturius*. In the bad Editions of *Livy*, he is called *Caius*.

26 The Account of this Siege is from *Livy*. He does not ſay indeed, that the City was taken by one of the *Conſuls*; but all military Expeditions were at that time carried on by them. Beſides, we ſhould find the *Conſul*'s Army inactive, after the Battel he had gained. To ſpeak freely, I much doubt this Invaſion of *Cruſtumerium*, which *Livy* only relates, and of which *Dion. Hal.* ſpeaks not a Word. *Cruſtumerium* was a City of the *Sabines*. How is it likely, that the *Romans*, juſt upon the breaking out of a great War with the *Latins*, as *Livy* acknowledges, would have provoked the *Sabines* to revolt, by taking their Towns?

27 *Præneſte* was a City of antient *Latium*. According to *Pliny*, it was formerly called *Stephane*. It was extended from the Top of a high Mountain, to the Valley. We may yet ſee ſome Remains of that famous Temple, dedicated to *Fortune*: in which ſhe was conſulted, by caſting Lots. *Florus* and *Appian* place it among the fineſt Cities of *Italy*. *Præneſte* was about twenty-one Miles diſtant from *Rome*. *Paleſtrina*, which gives Name to a Biſhop's See, was built upon the Ruins of the antient *Præneſte*.

28 All the Hiſtorians, and all the Liſts of *Conſuls*, agree, to join together thoſe whom we have named as Collegues, in this *Conſulſhip*. To *T. Lartius*, *Dion. Hal.* gives the Surname of *Flavus*; and *Caſſiodorus*, that of *Rufus*: which amounts to the ſame thing. Both Authors concur, in giving the Surname of *Siculus* to *Q. Clœlius*.

informed

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T. Lartius, and Q. Cloelius, Conſuls.

nformed of their Under-hand Dealings with the *Latins*, and refuſed to enter into reaty with the *Fidenates*, till they had opened their Gates, and ſubmitted themelves to their old Maſters. In the mean time, the Deputies could not return to *idenæ*. The *Conſul* had blocked up all the Avenues to it, and the Beſieged had o other Remedy, than to have recourſe to the Clemency of the *Romans*. It was etermined therefore, to ſurrender at Diſcretion.

LARTIUS, now become Maſter of the Place, pronounced nothing upon the ate of the Rebels. Like a good *Roman* Citizen, he left it to the Republick to aſs Sentence upon the Conquered: and the Senate, in Return, charmed with an xample of Moderation, which, in the Sequel, might ſerve for a Law to the *Roman* enerals, decreed, that the Heads of the Revolt only ſhould be puniſhed with eath. With regard to the reſt, the Senate referred it entirely to the Wiſdom of he *Conſul*; and *Lartius* made a moderate Uſe of his Power. A few of the *Fidenates* were beheaded. The reſt remain'd in their native City, and ſuffered only he Loſs of a Part of their Lands; which were given to the *Roman* Soldiers who ere left to keep the City in Awe.

§. X. The Surrender of *Fidenæ* ſtruck a Terror among the *Latins*. They had deay'd to ſuccour it, and regretted its Loſs, after it was taken. The *Latin* Republick as much inferior, in Point of Wiſdom, to the *Roman*. All the *Latins* were exemely concern'd that they had neglected the *Fidenates*, who were uſeful Allies, erv'd as a Barrier againſt the *Romans*, and cover'd the *Latin* Nation from their nvaſions: and [29] the *Tarquins*, *Mamilius*, and the *Aricini*, all implacable Enemies o *Rome*, took Advantage of theſe Moments of Fear, to re-unite the *Latins*, once or all, againſt the proſperous Republick. In the Diet of *Ferentinum* they manaed with ſo much Dexterity, as to engage [30] all the *Latin* Cantons in their Party. hey made the Deputies of the Cities ſwear an univerſal Confederacy againſt *Rome*; and all of them bound themſelves by Oath, never to make Peace with the *Romans*. Moreover, it was agreed, that whoever acted contrary to an Article in hich they were all ſo much concern'd, ſhould be ſeparated from the Body of he Nation, and look'd upon as a common Enemy. And laſtly, it was order'd that very Canton ſhou'd furniſh, for its Quota, as many armed Men as ſhould be reuired by *Tarquin* and *Mamilius*, who were appointed by the Diet to command he Army. The *Latin* Nation however ſtill kept ſome Meaſures with *Rome:* And ent an Embaſſy thither, conſiſting of the principal Heads of their ſeveral Canons. The Ambaſſadors, when they had Audience of the Senators, complain'd of he Proceedings of *Rome* againſt the *Aricini*. *'Twas the* Romans, ſaid they, *who urned againſt* Aricia, *the Fury of the* Hetrurians, *after it had long threatened* ome *it ſelf*. According to them, it was not owing to *Rome*, that it had not avaged the whole *Latin* Country: and they added, that if the *Romans* wou'd ſubit the Quarrel which they had with *Aricia*, to the Deciſion of the *Latin* Diet, ey might prevent the dreadful War with which they were threatened.

It muſt be own'd, that *Rome* was never in ſo terrible a Perplexity. To ſubit to the Judgment of the *Latins*, was to give up the Dominion the *Romans* ad acquir'd by Arms, over the neighbouring Nations. To refuſe it, was to run he Riſque of being born down by the Strength of a whole Nation much more owerful than *Rome*. She could reckon upon her Valour, but had Reaſon to fear he Numbers of the Confederates. Nevertheleſs, the bold Republick rejected the

29 We have already taken notice, that, according o *Dion. Hal. Sextus Tarquinius*, that infamous Raher of the chaſte *Lucretia*, was alive in this War, nd had the Conduct of it. Yet if we believe *Livy*, e was killed at *Gabii*, in the 244th Year of *Rome*. his Difference of Opinions has made us uſe the eneral Expreſſion, *The Tarquins*.

30 *Livy* only ſays, that thirty *Latin* Cities were the Confederacy againſt *Rome*. But *Dion. Hal.* who always exact in his Relations, gives us a Liſt of eſe Cities. It would have tired the Reader to have nſerted them in the Body of the Hiſtory: But that othing of this Antiquity may be loſt, and that we ay know, pretty near at leaſt, the Extent of the atin Nation, it may be proper to inſert them in he Notes. Thoſe then, who ſigned the Treaty, were the Deputies of *Ardea*, *Aricia*, *Bovilla*, *Bubentum*, *Cora*, *Corventum*, *Circæum*, *Corioli*, *Corbintum*, *Cabanum*, *Fortinæum*, *Gabii*, *Laurentium*, *Lanuvium*, *Lavinium*, *Labicum*, *Nomentum*, *Norba*, *Præneſte*, (a City however, which, according to *Livy*, had ſubmitted to the *Romans*;) *Peda*, *Corcotulum* or *Querquetulum*, *Satricum*, *Scaptia*, *Setia*, *Tellenium*, *Tibur* or *Tivoli*, *Tuſculum*, *Tolerium*, *Tricrinum*, and *Velitræ*. *Plin. B.* 3. *c.* 5. reckons up fifty-three *Latin* Cities, which, in his Time, were no longer in Being. *Bubetum*, or *Bubentum*, was of this Number, as well as *Tolerium*, *Querquetulum*, and *Scaptia*. The Cities of *Corventum*, *Corbintum*, *Fortinæum*, *Cabanum*, and *Tricrinum*, are abſolutely unknown to the Geographers. We ſhall hereafter ſpeak of thoſe which we have not yet mentioned.

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T. Lartius, and Q. Cloelius, Conſuls.

Propoſals of the *Latins*, and thought of nothing but making Alliances with other Nations: but theſe Negotiations of the *Romans* were every where unſucceſsful. The 31 *Hernici* requir'd Time to conſider, and wou'd enter into no Treaty with *Rome* till they had examined the Right of the two Parties. The *Rutuli* declared themſelves for the *Latins*; and only promiſed proud *Rome*, that if ſhe would be governed by Reaſon, they would intercede for her with her Enemies. The 32 *Volſci* inſulted her Ambaſſadors, and reproached them with their Aſſurance to ask the Aid of a People whom ſhe had injured by her Invaſions. The *Hetrurians* wavered between an Alliance with *Rome*, and the Protection which they owed to the *Tarquins* originally of their Country: and the Reſult of their Deliberation, was to ſtand neuter. Nevertheleſs, the Republick, tho' left to herſelf, was not diſcouraged. *Rome* promiſed herſelf ſo much the more Glory, by how much fewer were the Allies, who were to ſhare it with her. Her greateſt Difficulty was, that in her own Boſom were found rebellious Sons, who refuſed to lend their Aid for the Defence of their Country.

It was the Province of the *Conſuls* to direct the levying of Men for the War, which was now done with great Order, and, as uſual, before the *Capitol*. The two *Conſular* Armies, generally ſpeaking, conſiſted then of four *Legions*, each containing at leaſt four thouſand two hundred Foot, and three hundred Horſe. So that theſe two *Roman* Armies, in theſe early Times, were in Number about eighteen thouſand Men.

Polyb. B. 6.

33 After the *Conſuls* had choſen twenty four *Tribunes* 34, fourteen from among the *Roman* Knights, and ten from among the *Plebeian* Families, ſix of theſe *Tribunes* were appointed to every *Legion*, to command and lead it: And it was the Buſineſs of all the *Tribunes* to chuſe their Soldiers in the following manner. Every *Tribe* of the *Roman* People was brought into the *Area* before the *Capitol*, one *Tribe* after another, according to the Order in which it was their *Lot* to be ſummoned. Then this *Tribe* was divided according to the Order of the *Claſſes*, Regard being had to their Superiority, *i. e.* their Riches. After this, four Perſons, who were of Age to ſerve, were called out of theſe *Claſſes*; and the *Tribunes* of each *Legion* choſe one of the four into their *Legion*. The *Tribunes* of the firſt *Legion* choſe the firſt Man, the *Tribunes* of the ſecond *Legion* the ſecond Man, and ſo on. When theſe four were thus diſtributed, four others were called; and then the *Tribunes* of the ſecond *Legion* had their Turn of chuſing the firſt Man: ſo that the *Tribunes* of each *Legion* had the firſt Choice, one after another, according to the Order of their *Legion*; and every *Legion* was very near equally furniſh'd with good Men. After a certain Number of Soldiers were choſen out of one *Tribe*, another was called in; and the ſame Number was choſen out of that, in the ſame manner, till the *Legions* were ſufficiently full.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 327, 328.

§. XI. The *Conſuls* and the *Tribunes* for this Year met with great Difficulties in inliſting their Men. In the inferior *Claſſes*, a great many refuſed to enter into the Service, and take the military Oaths. When their Names were called over in their *Tribes*, they made no Anſwer, nor appear'd to be incorporated in the *Legions*. The Cauſe of this Revolt was their Poverty. *Plung'd in Debt*, ſay they, *by the Uſury of the richer Citizens, and covetous* Patricians, *ſhall we alſo go to*

31 The Country of the *Hernici* comprehended formerly, what is now called the Territories of *Anagnia*, and *Alatro*, in the *Campagnia di Roma*.

32 The *Volſci* inhabited a great part of the *Campagnia di Roma*, ſince called *Paſiano*, *Velitri*, *Capo d'Anzo*; and a little of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

33 At this time, none of the *Legionary Tribunes* were elected by the Voices of the *Roman* People. The Choice at firſt belonged entirely to the *Kings*, and the *Conſuls*. About the Year 392, the People aſſumed the Privilege of naming ſix of them, and afterwards ſixteen. But for ſome time, the People loſt their Right, by a Decree of the Senate; till it was at length determined, that the *Conſuls* ſhould name one half of the *Legionary Tribunes*, and the People the other. The Number of theſe Officers varied, as the *Legions* conſiſted of more or fewer Men. A *Legion* of three thouſand Men had only three *Tribunes*, (ſo they were called, becauſe they were drawn from the Body of the *Tribes*.) A *Legion*, of 4, 5, and 6000 Men, was commanded by four, five, and ſix *Tribunes*, who, by Turns, had the Command of all the *Legion*, agreeably to that Verſe in *Horace*:

Quod mihi paruerit Legio Romana Tribuno.

The *Tribunes* created by the People, were called *Tribuni Comitiati*: Thoſe nominated by the *Conſuls*, *Rutili* and *Rufuli*; ſince the Law of *Rutilius Rufulus*, which gave the *Conſuls* a Right to elect *Tribunes* for the *Legions*.

34 Here we muſt obſerve, that the *Roman Knights*, as being higher in Rank, came ſooner to the *Tribuneſhip*, than the *Plebeians*. But neither of them could be choſen *Legionary Tribunes*, till they had ſerved half of the Time the Laws preſcribed them. Thus the *Knights* who were obliged to ten Years Service, might be promoted to the *Tribuneſhip*, after five Campaigns; whereas, the *Plebeians* could not come to it, till after ten Years Service in the Army; becauſe they were obliged to ſerve twenty complete. The latter were called *Seniores Tribuni*; and the former, *Juniores Tribuni*. We ſee by this Diſtinction, that the Nobility had a conſiderable Prerogative, with regard to military Employments.

throw

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throw away our Lives for the Uſurpers of our Eſtates? Let the Republick, in Recompence of our paſt Services, and to obtain freſh ones, free us from our Debts, and we ſhall then ſhare the Dangers with which ſhe is threatned! What Advantages have we to hope for from ſerving an ungrateful City, which makes us ſuffer Want within her Walls, and forces us to meet Death in the Field? Let us abandon a Republick which is both hateful to its Neighbours, and unprofitable to thoſe who ſerve it! It is probable that *Rome*, ſeeing her ſelf deſerted by her Allies, intended to enlarge the Number of her *Legions*, or augment them with the Addition of theſe lower Sort of People [35] who were called *Capite-cenſi*, and who were not rich enough to be incorporated in the *Legions*, in which, according to the Cuſtom of thoſe early times, every *Roman* ſerved at his own Expence.

The Mutiny ſpread among all thoſe Citizens who were very much in Debt, and whoſe Creditors were rigorous in exacting Payment. Theſe Murmurs of the Poor againſt the Rich, went ſo far, that an univerſal Inſurrection was apprehended. It was a new Danger, within the City, as much to be dreaded as her Enemies without.

The *Conſuls* endeavour'd to pacify theſe domeſtick Troubles, that they might be in a better Condition to make Head againſt all the Forces of the *Latins*. The Affair was brought before the Senate, who ſought Expedients to appeaſe an angry Populace, who were obſtinate in refuſing to ſerve the Publick in its Diſtreſs. The Senators were divided in their Opinions, as they had more Debts to exact from the People, or were more diſintereſted. Some were for treating the Mutineers with Rigour, but others thought it wou'd be proper to remit Part of the Debts of theſe poor, but brave Men, and to buy, at a mean Price, the Affection of thoſe Citizens, who wou'd repay the Republick, by their Valour, the trifling Intereſt it ſhou'd ſacrifice to them. *M. Valerius*, Brother of the great *Poplicola*, was at the Head of thoſe who voted in Favour of the People. An Affection for them, was, it ſeems, deeply rooted in the Hearts of all his Family: And he expreſs'd it with Warmth, in a long Harangue, of which this is the Subſtance. *Every Failure of Submiſſion*, ſaid he to the Senators, *is not equally odious; nor are all who are refractory with regard to our ſettled Cuſtoms, equally guilty. Theſe are not the moſt cowardly of our Citizens, who demand Relief in their Poverty, before they will engage themſelves in our Troops. There is, even in their Fault, a noble Courage, which gives us Reaſon to expect every thing from them in the Field. Will thoſe whom Fear has render'd moſt ſubmiſſive, be moſt vigorous in an Action? They who decline obeying the Orders made for raiſing of Troops, ſpeak aloud; they do not plot in ſecret againſt the State; what they do, they do openly. 'Tis in the* Forum *that they make us hear their Complaints. Of what Uſe, ſay theſe unhappy Men, will it be to us, to have preſerv'd* Rome *from Slavery, if we are only to be rewarded with Slavery our ſelves? Is to languiſh in the Chains of our mercileſs Creditors, a leſs Evil to us, than to have new Maſters? And hitherto, indeed, the Deſpair of theſe poor Citizens has only appeared in Words. But we are threatned,* Conſcript Fathers, *with a yet greater Danger than that of being barely depriv'd of the main Strength of our Armies. What if theſe Men, deceiv'd by the Flatteries of the Tyrants, ſhould take up Arms againſt the* Patricians, *and aſſiſt the* Tarquins *in recovering the Throne? Shall we be able to maintain our Ground againſt domeſtick and foreign Enemies at the ſame time? On ſuch Occaſions as theſe, we ſhould be leſs haughty in our Deciſions, and believe that a little Indulgence does not debaſe the Dignity of the Senate. Thus did* Solon, *at* Athens. *In a Time of Neceſſity leſs preſſing than ours, his Senate order'd the Debts*

Dion. Hal. p. 328.

35 *Dion. Hal.* who gives us this Account of this Mutiny of the People, to avoid being enliſted, does not expreſly ſay that they were of the very loweſt *Claſſes*; that is to ſay, thoſe who were called *Proletarii*, and *Capite-Cenſi*; but his Words give us room to conjecture it. *Aulus Gellius*, *l.* 16. c. 9. tells us, that the *Proletarii*, and thoſe who had the Name of the *Capite-Cenſi*, were the very loweſt of the *Roman* People. *Qui in plebe Romanâ tenuiſſimi, pauperrimique erant, neque amplius quam mille quingenum æris in cenſum deferebant*, Proletarii *appellabantur*; *qui vero nullo aut perquam exiguo ære cenſebantur*, Capite-cenſi *vocabantur*. It is true that theſe Sort of People were not commonly employ'd in the Army, but at preſent there was an extraordinary Occaſion for them. *Nam aſperis reipublicæ temporibus, cum juventutis inopia eſſet, in militiam tumultuariam legebantur.* Then the Republick furniſh'd them with Arms, and all that was neceſſary for the Service.

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with which the People were over-loaded, to be remitted. And have not we our ſelves been often obliged to ſtoop to the Neceſſity of the Times? By how many Condeſcenſions, till then unheard of, did we avert the Anger of Porſena? *Hoſtages given; Towns deliver'd up to his* Hetrurians; *the Equity of our Proceedings againſt* Tarquin, *ſubmitted to the Deciſion of a foreign King; are not ſo much Monuments of our Shame, as Proofs of our Wiſdom.* Rome *would have been no more, had* Rome *never ſtoop'd. We have not been aſham'd to grant every thing to our Enemies, and yet we bluſh to give up a trifling Intereſt to our Fellow-Citizens. They are indeed, in Point of Rank, contemptible; but are their Arms and their Courage to be deſpiſed? Our* Kings *have uſed them in their Victories; our* Conſuls *employ'd them to merit Triumphs; and the* Tarquins *have found them invincible Obſtacles to their Reſtoration. Poverty is the Cauſe of their Diſobedience; and renders them formidable. The leſs they have to loſe, the more enterprizing will their Neceſſity make them, and the more prodigal will they be of a Life too miſerable to be endured. Relieve them therefore,* Conſcript Fathers, *and let not the Avarice, either of private Perſons, or of the Publick, become the only Obſtacle to our Union at Home, and to the Defeat of our Enemies Abroad. Let us purchaſe Liberty at ſo ſmall a Price. Let Compaſſion be join'd to the Love of our Country. A little Liberality will ſooth a Multitude of unhappy Men, and ſupply our Want of Allies.*

APPIUS CLAUDIUS was at the Head of the Party who oppos'd the Opinion of *Valerius*. As he was but newly come from *Sabinia* to *Rome*, he retain'd the Auſterity and Inflexibility peculiar to his Nation. He ſpoke after this manner: *If the Intereſt of the Poor were the only Queſtion at preſent, we could readily give way to Compaſſion. But ſhall we be leſs touch'd with the Loſſes which ſo many honourable Citizens muſt undergo? Are the Riches they have receiv'd from their Anceſtors, increas'd by a wiſe OEconomy, and preſerv'd with Induſtry, as well as the Loans with which they have favour'd the leſs wealthy, to be deliver'd up at the Demand of an inſolent Populace? Are the Rich to have their Wealth taken from them by the moſt vile and debauch'd Part of the Citizens? What will become of Contracts, on the due Obſervation of which the publick Welfare depends? What will become of Trade, what of Agriculture? when Idleneſs and Prodigality ſhall find Refuge in your Decrees, and it ſhall be the ſame thing either to work for a Livelihood, or to ſubſiſt upon Credit? Who will trouble himſelf to raiſe his Fortune by Induſtry and Frugality, by Sweat and Labour in manuring the Ground, or by traverſing the Seas, at the Hazard of his Life? Thus the City will be deſtitute of Proviſions, and our Fields lie uncultivated. The lazy Citizen will be put upon a Level with the laborious Hireling, or the induſtrious Artificer. Idleneſs and Labour will have the ſame Recompence; and Injuſtice will take place by Force, and prevail againſt Equity. Do you fear Seditions? Deſtroy the true Cauſes of them, by proſcribing Lazineſs. Can* Rome *ever enjoy Tranquillity when the Deſires of the moſt mutinous are regarded, and when her Diſtreſs is thought a ſufficient Encouragement to demand the Overthrow of her Laws, and of all the Foundations of Society? One Condeſcenſion, in Favour of bold Demands, will be a Step to draw on others. Such is the Temper of the Populace, when they have got the upper Hand. How many* Greek *Cities have, by too eaſily paying Regard to the Cries of the People, ſeen Licentiouſneſs introduc'd among them, and their entire Ruin occaſion'd by numberleſs Claims? This were to ſuffer the Paſſions to lord it over our Reaſon, and the Body to give Laws to the Mind. Beſides, where is the Loſs, if a few indigent Wretches refuſe to take Arms? The Sling is the only Arms allowed the Men of this laſt Claſs, who are of leaſt Uſe in our Armies, and yet whoſe Revolt terrifies us. Moreover, if we compaſſionate their Diſtreſs, yet let us ſhew our juſt Reſentment at the Cauſes of it! Are not theſe the People upon whom we have heap'd our Bounties? Have not theſe had the Benefit of the Spoils of the* Tarquins? *If they have conſumed thoſe Riches in Debauchery, muſt we be for ever ſupplying of their Profuſeneſs? Let the innocent Poverty of ſome frugal Families be reliev'd, at the Expence of the Publick: I readily conſent. But to encourage Vice, to the Detriment of the moſt honourable Citizens; to take from them, by a Decree, the Rights they have acquir'd over their Debtors; to deprive them of thoſe Rights, in Favour of Men who won't think themſelves oblig'd by it, are Condeſcenſions unworthy of the* Roman *Juſtice. What juſt Reſentments will*

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 320.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 332.

not

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not the Wealthy *have, upon the account of our thus reducing their Eſtates? With what Courage will they ſerve a Republick, which will ſacrifice their Intereſts to thoſe of a Multitude become inſolvent by their own Faults? Is not the Deſertion of our moſt uſeful Soldiers more to be fear'd, than the Obſtinacy of a Crew bent upon refuſing us their Services? Let us not,* Conſcript Fathers, *draw upon the Republick the Diſpleaſure of the higher* Claſſes, *by complying with the Murmurs of one which is contemptible for its Beggary, its Incontinence, and the Kind of Arms it bears. At worſt, is it not better even to be ſubdued by the* Latins, *than inſulted over by the Dregs of the* Roman *People? I conclude then, that none be liſted for the War againſt the* Latins, *but thoſe of our Citizens, who are willing to hazard their Lives for the Defence of the Publick. By this Means we ſhall ſee even thoſe, who refuſe to aſſiſt us in our Neceſſity, come and offer us their Services, when their Aſſiſtance is no longer deſired.*

OTHER Senators were of different Opinions. Some were for releaſing the Debts to thoſe only, who had never had any Lands of their own. Others, for allowing the Creditors only to attach the Goods, but not ſeize the Perſons of their Debtors. Some again were of Opinion that the Debts of the meaner People ſhould be diſcharg'd out of the publick Treaſury. And laſtly, it was the Judgment of others, that ſuch of the Citizens ſhould be redeemed from Slavery[36], as had been ſold, or were to be ſold by Auction, for their Debts; and that their Creditors ſhould have other Slaves given them in the room of thoſe Citizens, who ſhould be taken from under their Power. But the Senate at preſent follow'd none of theſe Advices: It was judg'd more proper, not to decide the main Point, but only ſuſpend all Actions for Debt, till the War with the *Latins* was ended. This Decree, when it was publiſh'd, made ſome People eaſy; but did not remove all the Pretences of the ſeditious. The moſt factious exclaim'd, That it was putting a Trick upon them, to ſuſpend their Miſery, without putting an End to it; and That it was eaſy for the Rich to forego, for a Time, the Intereſt of their Debts, but wou'd be very burdenſome to the Poor, to be under a perpetual Obligation of paying, one Day, the Arrears; which wou'd be continually increaſing, to their Ruin. In a word, they demanded to be freed from their Debts, by a Decree, otherwiſe they refuſed to inliſt themſelves in the *Roman Legions*. *Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 333.*

§. XII. IT is unqueſtionable, that the inliſting of the meaner People was of more Importance to the Republick, than *Appius Claudius* had repreſented it: And the Senate was ſo fully ſatisfied, that the loweſt *Claſs* was neceſſary in the War, at leaſt to make the *Roman* Army appear more numerous, that it omitted nothing to bring them to Reaſon. In order to this, it was conſidered, that the Authority of the Government, as it was divided among the *Conſuls*, the Senate, and the People, was not ſufficient in ſome Circumſtances, to quell the Seditions of the Populace. The Mutineers were to be judged, in the laſt Reſort, by Citizens of the ſame Rank with themſelves; whence they might hope to eſcape with Impunity. It was remembered likewiſe, that under ſome of the *Kings*, (ſole Arbiters of Life and Death in criminal Cauſes) the People were always kept to their Duty. And in fine, this Republick, tho' tranſported with its Liberties, was obliged, in the very firſt Years of its Eſtabliſhment, to regret the Loſs of the Monarchical Form of Government. Nay, its Senate thought it for the Publick Good, to inveſt one Perſon, at leaſt for a time, with all the Regal Authority. In

36 When the Debtor was inſolvent, the Creditor had a Right to put him in Irons, or to ſell him as a Slave. Sometimes he was cruel enough to whip him unmercifully. After a certain Number of Summons's, the Law granted to the Debtor thirty two Days of Grace, to give him Time to raiſe the Sum for which he was accountable. Theſe are the Words of the Law: *Æris confeſſi, rebuſque jure judicatis triginta dies juſti ſunto. Poſt dein manum endo jacito—— Vincito aut nervo aut compedibus——* After the thirty two Days were expir'd, if the Debtor had not diſcharg'd the Debt, he was led to the *Prætor*, who deliver'd him up to the Mercy of his Creditors. Theſe bound him and kept him in Chains, for the Space of ſixty Days. Afterwards, for three Market-days ſucceſſively, this Debtor was brought to the Tribunal of the *Prætor*. Then a publick Crier proclaim'd, in the *Forum*, the Debt for which the Priſoner was detain'd. Oft-times there were found rich Perſons who redeem'd the Priſoners, by offering to pay their Debts. But if no Body appear'd in Behalf of the Debtor, after the third Market-day, the Creditor had a Right to inflict the Puniſhment appointed by the Law. *Tertiis nundinis capite pœnas dato, aut trans Tiberim peregrè venumduito, &c.* If there were ſeveral Creditors, they were allow'd, in conſequence of ſo rigorous a Law, to divide the Body of the Priſoner into ſeveral Parts, and ſhare them among them, in Proportion to the Sum which they demanded. But according to *Quintilian* and *Cæcilius*, Humanity and Cuſtom had given Preſcription againſt ſo barbarous a Law, and it never was put in Practice.

order

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order to which, it was neceſſary, to ſtrike at [37] the Law of *Poplicola*, to take from the People the Prerogative of deciding in criminal Affairs, and to transfer it to a Magiſtrate, ſuperior to all the Laws. Oppoſition was therefore to be feared from the *Curiæ*, and it was neceſſary to impoſe upon them by a prudent Artifice. To this End, the Senate made a Decree, requiring the *Conſuls*, and all the Magiſtrates of the preſent Year to reſign their Offices; and empowering the Senate [38] to chuſe from among thoſe who had been *Conſuls*, one Man, on whom ſhould be conferred an Authority ſuperior to that of the *Conſuls*, for [39] the Space of ſix Months. The People, who did not foreſee, whither this Alteration of the Government tended, approved the Decree in *Comitia*, and permitted the Senators to proceed to the Election of one independent Commander, to govern the Republick for ſix Months.

Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 354.

THE firſt things the Senate deliberated upon, was the Extent of Power, which ſhould be granted to him whom they were going to entruſt with ſo important a Commiſſion, and the Title they ſhould give him: And it was reſolved, as to the former, not to limit his Authority. He was inveſted with a Sovereign Power to make War and Peace, to diſpoſe of the Revenue [40], and to give Judgment in capital Affairs. But tho' he was to be poſſeſſed of all the regal Prerogatives, yet he was not allowed the Title of *King*. The Uſurpation and Proceedings of the laſt *Tarquin* had made it too odious. The Title of *Dictator* [41] was preferred to all others. This Name was not unknown to the *Romans*; it had been in Uſe among the *Albans*, from the Time of *Romulus*. After the Death of *Numitor*, who left only the Founder of *Rome*, to ſucceed him; the *Alban* State was governed by a *Dictator*, whom *Romulus* ſet up or depoſed at pleaſure. The Senate thought this Name would well ſuit to the borrowed and temporary Power, with which they were going to inveſt one of the Members of the Republick. The greateſt Difficulty was, to fix upon a Perſon capable of ſupporting all the Weight of this new Dignity, without Ambition on his Part, and without Jealouſy from his Competitors. How many Qualities ought to meet in this ſingle Man! What Moderation in his Deſires, not to aſpire at keeping himſelf in the Poſt, in which they were going to place him! What Love for publick Liberty, in an exalted Station, which would furniſh him with many Opportunities to oppreſs it! What Valour and Experience in martial Affairs, to be the ſole Commander in the War! What Wiſdom, to govern the Tempers of a factious Populace! What Reſolution, not to condeſcend blindly to the Demands of the Seditious! What Sweetneſs of Temper, not to irritate a People, by rough Anſwers, or haughty Airs, whom it was neceſſary to ſooth, and lead, by gentle Means! And laſtly, What faithful OEconomy, not to diſpoſe of the publick

Licinius apud Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 337.

37 *Poplicola*, as we have ſaid, made many Laws which were call'd *Leges Valeriæ*. That which we mean at preſent, runs thus: *Utique adverſus Magiſtratum quemvis, ad populum a cive provocari poſſit.* This Law is to be underſtood of criminal Cauſes puniſhable with Death; which we are to diſtinguiſh from thoſe which were called *Capital* Affairs. Under the latter Kind, were included thoſe Crimes which were puniſhable with Slavery only; as that of a Man's having fail'd to bring in his Name, and the Value of his Goods, in the *Cenſus* of the People; and that of not having appeared, when ſummon'd to be inliſted in the Troops.

38 The firſt and chief Law relating to the *Dictatorſhip* enacted, That no one ſhould be nominated *Dictator*, till he had been *Conſul*. And this Law, which *Livy* admits, will ſerve as a Rule to correct a conſiderable Miſtake, into which he is fallen. Another Law impoſed upon the *Dictator*, was, according to *Plutarch*, That during his Adminiſtration he ſhould never mount a Horſe, unleſs to go to the War; and that even then, he ſhould ask Leave of the Senate and People.

39 The Law which confin'd the *Dictatorſhip* to ſix Months, was not at all times obſerv'd. *Sylla* was made *Perpetual Dictator*. Yet it was reviv'd again, and it was order'd that the *Dictator*, under the Name of *Maſter of the People*, or *Magiſter Populi*, ſhou'd govern only ſix Months. Theſe are the Terms of the Law, as ſtated by **Cicero*. *Aſt quando Duellum gravius, Diſcordiæ ve Civium creſcunt; unus ne amplius ſex menſes, niſi Senatus creverit, idem juris, quod duo Conſules, teneto: iſque, ave ſiniſtrâ dictus, Populi Magiſter eſto.* We ſee that at that time the Authority of the *Dictator* was leſſen'd; and that the Name, having become odious, had been chang'd. There were other Alterations likewiſe made, as to his Power; and the Perſon whom he ſhould chooſe for his Grand Maſter, or General of Horſe, was made equal to him in Authority; ſo that one had only a Sovereignty over the People, and the other over the *Roman Knights*. *Mark Anthony* the *Triumvir* at laſt aboliſh'd the *Dictatorſhip* by a Law.

* *De Leg. B. 3. Tom. 4. p. 336.*

40 It appears that the *Dictators* could not diſpoſe of the publick Money, without the Advice of the Senate; but this was not till afterwards. At the Time we are ſpeaking of, the Authority of the *Dictator* had no Bounds.

41 The Etymology of the Word *Dictator*, is diſputed. *Varro* derives it from the *Latin* Word *Dictus*, or *Dictatus*; becauſe he was *nam'd* neither by the People nor the Senate, but by one of the *Conſuls*; much in the ſame manner as *Romulus* nam'd the *Dictator* of *Alba*. This Derivation appears to me the moſt rational, and moſt agreeable to Hiſtory. Some derive the Word from the Verb *Dicto*; becauſe the *Dictator* had a Power to make, or *dictate*, Laws: And this laſt Etymology is moſt agreeable to Grammar.

Treaſure, either in favour of his own Relations, or to promote ambitious Deſigns! *Titus Lartius*, one of the *Conſuls* at that time, was the only Perſon who appeared to want none of the Qualities neceſſary for the new Office. His Collegue *Clœlius*, form'd from his Infancy to *Civil* Virtues, was leſs qualified for military Affairs. His Sweetneſs often degenerated into Indulgence; and, thro' too much Fearfulneſs, he yielded at the firſt Approach of a Storm. But then, the more Humanity and Complaiſance he had, the more dear he was to the Senate. They were afraid to offend him, by the Preference they wiſhed to give his Collegue: And therefore one of the oldeſt Senators propoſed an Expedient, to make the *Dictatorſhip* fall upon *Lartius*, without affronting *Clœlius*. This was, to give the two *Conſuls* the Power of chuſing a *Dictator*, and to oblige them to chuſe one of themſelves. So that one of them would have the Honour of being choſen; the other, that of having made the Choice. The Advice was followed, and paſſed into a Decree: it being expected from *Clœlius*, that he would in Juſtice yield the Office to his Collegue, and be content with having made a *Dictator*.

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AND then, the *Roman* Virtue ſhone in its full Luſtre. No ambitious Deſire of a high Station could raiſe an Emulation for Preference in the two *Conſuls*, and make them Rivals for Glory. Their only Conteſt was, which ſhould advance the other to ſo great an Honour: and this mutual Deference was not a mere outward Civility, but proceeded from the real Eſteem they had for each other. The Day appointed for the Election, which was to be made in Preſence of the *Senate*, was wholly ſpent in the Praiſes which *Clœlius* gave to *Lartius*, and which *Lartius* returned upon *Clœlius*; each found in himſelf, Defects which diſqualified him for the Office in queſtion; and in his Collegue, all the neceſſary Qualifications for the *Dictatorſhip*. In fine, the Deliberations being ſpun out to a great Length of Time, the Senate was adjourned to the next Day: and in the mean while, a new Scene opened at the Houſes of the *Conſuls*. They were continually crowded with their Relations and Friends, who came to entreat them to agree together. The moſt conſiderable Perſons in *Rome* flocked to *Lartius*, and reproached him with neglecting the Intereſts of his Country, by a Modeſty which might prove fatal to the publick Weal. But he could not be brought to conſent to any thing, unleſs the Promotion of *Clœlius*; and he ſhewed the ſame Conſtancy the Day following, in the Senate; where he perſiſted in nominating his Collegue for *Dictator*. At length, *Clœlius* took a brisk Step, and brought the Affair to a Determination. He ſtarted up of a ſudden, abdicated the *Conſulſhip*, and deſcended from the Tribunal. In an inſtant, the Aſſembly proclaimed *Titus Lartius* [42] *Dictator*, who, without being able to excuſe himſelf from it, was obliged, whether he would or not, to take upon him the Government of the Republick. A memorable Event, in which the Glory of the *Conſul* was equal to that of the *Dictator*, and which gave *Rome* the higheſt Expectations from the great Man ſhe had placed at the Head of her Affairs.

Year of *ROME* CCLV. T. LARTIUS, Dictator. *Dion. Hal. B. 5. p. 335.*

§. XIII. *LARTIUS* indeed took as much State upon him, after he had entered upon his Office, as he had ſhewn Modeſty in refuſing the Honour which was offered him. He begun immediately, by creating [43] a General of the *Roman* Horſe, an Office which laſted only during the *Dictatorſhip*, and which all ſubſequent *Dictators* revived immediately after their Election. *Sp. Caſſius*, formerly *Conſul*, and honoured with a Triumph, was the Perſon advanced to this ſecond Station in the Republick. Then *Lartius*, being by this means ſecure of the *Roman* Knights, reſolved to make the People reſpect and fear him. He never appeared in Publick, but attended with twenty-four *Lictors*, to whoſe *Faſces* he again added

42 We ſee here, that *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* do not agree, either as to the Time, or the Occaſion, of erecting the new Office of *Dictator*. *Livy*, as uncertain as he is of the exact Time of its Creation, ſeems to refer it to the tenth Year after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*. The former is more poſitive, and carries it back to three Years after, namely to the *Conſulſhip* of *T. Lartius* and *Q. Clœlius*. As to the Occaſion, which gave Birth to the Deſign of creating a *Dictator*, the *Latin* Hiſtorian makes it to have been the War which the *Romans* were engaged in againſt the *Sabines* and confederated *Latins*. But the *Greek* Writer, with more Probability, makes the Republick to have acted upon more preſſing Motives; namely, the Inſolence of a factious Rabble, which threatened her at home; while ſhe had formidable Enemies to contend with abroad. The two Hiſtorians agree only in this, that *Titus Lartius* was the Perſon choſen to exerciſe this new Office of *Dictator*.

43 As the regal Power was revived in the Perſon of the *Dictator*, he was permitted to create a chief Officer in the Army, under the Name of *Magiſter Equitum*, *i. e. Maſter*, or *General of Horſe*, which anſwered to the Office of the *Tribunus Celerum*, in the Time of the *Kings*. It was the ſecond Dignity in the *Roman* State; but it was temporary.

ROME Year of CCLV. T. Lartius, Dictator.

the *Axes*, which *Poplicola* had cauſed to be taken from them, when out of reſpect to the *Curiæ*, he reſigned to them the Power of Life and Death, in criminal Cauſes. The Novelty of this Sight was alone ſufficient to awe the Seditious. But *Lartius* did not make uſe of theſe Inſtruments of Terror, to ſhed Blood: His *Dictatorſhip* was free from Proſcriptions, and cruel Executions; tho' it ſpread a Conſternation throughout *Rome*. And when by this means the Murmurs of the inferior *Claſſes* were ſilenced, the *Dictator* ordered a *Cenſus* to be taken of the People, in the manner King *Servius* had appointed. Every one, without Exception, brought in his Name, Age, the Particulars of his Effects, and the Names of his Wife and Children. There were found in *Rome* a hundred and fifty thouſand, ſeven hundred Men, who were paſt the Age of *Puberty*. The *Luſtrum* followed the *Cenſus*; and this may be reckoned the ſixth, ſince the Inſtitution of that Ceremony.

THIS new Enumeration was of Service in forming the *Roman* Armies. The old Men were ſeparated from thoſe, who were of the Age required to ſerve in the Troops; and theſe were divided into *Centuries*, of Horſe and Foot. Four Armies were formed out of this great Number of Soldiers. The *Dictator* took on him the Command of the firſt, gave that of the ſecond to *Clœlius* his late Collegue; that of the third, to *Sp. Caſſius*, General of Horſe; and he left the fourth in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sp. Lartius*, his Brother, for the Defence of the City. Theſe Levies were made without Murmuring; and none durſt refuſe to be enliſted. *Titus Lartius* took the Field, with Forces ſufficient to make head againſt the Enemy; and the *Roman* Troops forming three Camps, each under the Command of its proper General, they poſſeſſed themſelves of the three Poſts, by which alone the *Latins* could enter the *Roman* Territory. But the Expedition of the *Latin* Generals was not equal to their Threatnings. That Son of *Tarquin*, who with *Mamilius* directed their Motions, halted a long time in the Neighbourhood of *Tuſculum:* either, as was ſaid, becauſe the *Latin* Cities had not as yet furniſhed their Quota, or becauſe the March of the Army was retarded by ill Omens. And all the Hoſtilities of the *Latins*, againſt *Rome*, this Campaign, amounted to no more, than the ſending a Detachment into the *Roman* Territory, to lay it waſte. Upon which, the *Dictator* detached *Clœlius* with the Cavalry, and ſome light Infantry; and the latter intercepted the Pillagers in their March, attacked them, killed ſome, and took the reſt Priſoners: And the *Dictator* behaved himſelf generouſly, and with great Humanity, upon this firſt Advantage. He ordered the Wounded to be dreſſed, and ſent back the Priſoners to the Camp at *Tuſculum*. The expert *Roman* hoped to gain the *Latins*, by treating them rather like Allies, than Enemies. And indeed, tho' his Forces were in the Field, he did not break off the Negotiations which *Rome* had begun in *Latium*. He deputed unexceptionable Perſons to the *Latin* Cities, and to the general Diet of the Nation; and by their Interpoſition, he much leſſened the Zeal, and Number, of the Enemies of *Rome*. The *Latins* began even to diſlike their Generals, and the *Tarquins* to ſink in their Credit. All which, made it eaſy for the Deputies, whom the *Dictator* ſent to the *Latin* Army, to obtain a Conference with its principal Officers, wherein a Truce was concluded for a Year. The *Dictator* was then better pleaſed with his Conduct, than if he had merited, by a Battel, the Honours of a Triumph. He had the publick Good more at Heart, than his own perſonal Glory. His Army returned to *Rome*, after having gained more by its Inaction, than it could have done by a Victory: And *Lartius*, ſeeing the Republick in a perfect Tranquillity, immediately reſigned his *Dictatorſhip*; tho' the Time preſcribed for its Duration, was not yet expired. This great Man choſe rather to give Poſterity an Example of a ready Abdication, than leave future *Dictators* a Pretence for continuing themſelves longer in this exalted Station, than the Neceſſities of the Publick required. An illuſtrious Inſtance of Republican Probity, which the 44 *Latin* Hiſtorians have not ſufficiently celebrated.

Year of *ROME* CCLVI. Sempronius Atratinus, and M. Minucius Augurinus, Conſuls.

§. XIV. THE *Conſuls* for the following Year were nominated, before the *Dictator* reſigned. They were *Sempronius Atratinus*, and *M. Minutius Augurinus*: whoſe Year was not fruitful in glorious Events. *Rome* had at that time no other Enemy than the *Latins*; and the Hoſtilities even between the two Republicks were ſuſ-

44 It is ſurprizing, that neither *Livy*, nor his Abridgers, have ſpoken either of what *Lartius* did in his *Dictatorſhip*, or of the noble and diſintereſted manner in which he reſigned it, before his Time was expired. Are then the *Greek* Hiſtorians more careful of his Glory, than the *Latin* Writers?

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pended for a Year. The *Conſulſhips* at *Rome*, like all other temporary Adminiſtrations, generally owed their Luſtre to the ſettling Affairs at home, and certain accidental Occurrences. Nevertheleſs, it may be affirmed, that the Government, in general, did not ſuffer by its perpetual Change of *Conſuls*. There was always lodged in the Senate and People, a ſufficient Fund of Authority to carry on any great Enterprizes, and complete them, when they were once begun. The *Conſuls* were little better than the Hands which executed the Projects which the Senate and People had formed.

Year of *ROME* CCLVI.
SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, and M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, Conſuls.

BUT to return to the preſent Year: *Sempronius* and *Minutius* had very little to do. The Populace, upon whom no Demand was made for their Debts, were quiet, and all inteſtine Factions laid aſleep. So that the Senate was wholly taken up with a compaſſionate Concern for the *Roman* Women, married into *Latium*. The Union which had long been preſerved between the *Latin* Cities, and the *Roman* State, had produced many reciprocal Marriages, of the *Latin* Women with the *Romans*, and of the *Roman* Women with the *Latins*: And there was room to fear, that theſe unhappy Women might ſuffer by the Rupture of the two Nations, which formerly ſeemed to make but one. A Law therefore was paſſed at *Rome*, doubtleſs by Agreement with the *Latins*, that the *Latin* Women, who were willing to leave *Rome* to return to *Latium*, and the *Roman* Women, who were willing to come back to *Rome* from *Latium*, ſhould have Liberty to leave their Huſbands, and return to their native Countries. With regard to the Children, which they had had in the Places where they were married, it was ordered, that the Boys ſhould remain with their Fathers, and the Girls follow their Mothers. Upon which it appeared to the Advantage of the *Romans*, how agreeable a Place *Rome* was to their Wives. Out of the great Number of *Latin* Women which had married *Romans*, two only went back to *Latium*; and almoſt the whole Multitude of *Roman* Women, ſcattered over *Latium*, left their Husbands, and the Places where they were ſettled, to return to their native City. Not that it was the Allurements of Licentiouſneſs which enticed them back to *Rome*: For in thoſe early Times, we find nothing which can lead us to ſuſpect any Irregularity in the *Roman* Women. On the contrary, it appears, that they had a Horror for Incontinence, and a ſincere Attachment to their Duties. Which was owing to the Virtue and Probity which, generally ſpeaking, prevailed among the *Romans*; and which, as it made them good Husbands, ſo was it the principal Charm which endeared them to their Wives.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 341. Livy, B. 2. ch. 21.

THIS ſhort Interval of publick Tranquillity was likewiſe partly employed in Ceremonies of Religion. A Temple was dedicated to *Saturn*, upon the Declivity of the *Capitol*; and a [45] Feſtival inſtituted in Honour of that God. It is affirmed, that in the Place where this Sanctuary was built, *Hercules* had formerly erected an Altar to *Saturn*: and ſome ſay, that *Tarquin the Proud* had laid the firſt Foundations of the Temple; others, that the Building was not begun till the *Conſulſhip* of *Titus Lartius*. But, be that as it will, the Dedication of it was ſolemnized, by a Decree of the Senate, in the Year of *Rome* 256; and *Poſthumius Cominius* performed the Ceremony.

Year of *ROME* CCLVII.
AULUS POSTHUMIUS, and T. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.

§. XV. The Year of the Truce with the *Latins* expired, when *Aulus* [46] *Poſthumius*, and *T. Virginius*, took Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*: and the Renewal of the War opened to the *Conſuls* a wide Field of Glory. In the beginning of their Adminiſtration, both *Rome* and her Enemies, (but not with the ſame Degree of Alacrity and Hope) were wholly employed in making Preparations for War. The *Romans* ſeemed to arm themſelves, as if they had been aſſured of Victory. The

[45] It is evident that this Year, *i. e.* under the *Conſulſhip* of *Sempronius Atratinus* and *Minucius Augurinus*, a Temple was dedicated to *Saturn*, at the Foot of the *Capitol*, and that a Feſtival was inſtituted in honour of this God, as *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* aſſure us. Yet this new Temple of *Saturn*, tho' placed likewiſe near the *Capitol*, does not appear to have been the ſame with that in which the publick Treaſure was lodg'd. This had been already built, and conſecrated to *Saturn*, from the Time of the Great *Poplicola*. With regard to the Feſtival of *Saturn*, which was inſtituted this 256th Year from *Romulus*, it was not that which, by way of Eminence, was called *Saturnalia*. This latter, according to *Macrobius*, who has carefully enquired into the Original of it, had been inſtituted by *Tullius Hoſtilius*.

[46] Theſe two *Conſuls* are univerſally agreed on; but their Surnames are not, by the *Roman* Hiſtorians. *Dion. Hal.* gives *Poſthumius* the Surname of *Albus*. *Plutarch* calls him Βάλβος; a Fault to be aſcribed rather to the Tranſcribers, than the Author, who probably had written Ἄλβος. *Albus*, or *Albinus*, was a common Surname in the *Poſthumian* Family. As to *T. Virginius*, he has two Surnames, *Tricoſtus*, and *Cœlimontanus*.

Year of *ROME* CCLVII. Aulus Posthumius, and T. Virginius, Conſuls.

Return of ſo many *Roman* Women to the City, and the Reſolution of the *Latin* Women to remain at *Rome*, was to them a favourable Omen. On the other hand, *Octavius Mamilius*, and the *Tarquins*, met with many Difficulties in getting their Troops together. The Nobles of *Latium*, bribed by Preſents and Promiſes, were indeed almoſt all for the exiled King; but the People were hardly brought to conſent to a War with *Rome*. The Citizens therefore were artfully excluded from the *Latin* Diets; and by this means the Nobility carried all before them. Upon this account, Multitudes of the *Latins* daily left their Country, and joined the *Romans*. Thoſe who came to *Rome* with their Wives and Children, were joyfully received; and after having been enrolled in the *Roman* Soldiery, were incorporated into their *Centuries*. The reſt were ſent to the Garriſons of the Caſtles in the Country, where they were watched with a careful Eye. And altho' there was at this time no Sedition among the *Romans*, but a perfect Harmony between the People, *Conſuls*, and Senate; yet it was thought proper to put the Conduct of the War into the Hands of a *Dictator*. *Rome* had ſucceeded ſo well under the tranſient Sovereignty of *Lartius*, that ſhe returned to the ſame Form of Government. The two *Conſuls* had a Power granted them to chuſe one of themſelves to be *Dictator*: and *Virginius*, tho' the oldeſt, readily yielded this Honour to his Collegue *Poſthumius*. Men were not at that time ſo far bewitched with Ambition, as to prefer themſelves before Men of ſuperior Merit, in prejudice to the publick Good. *Poſthumius* was a great Soldier; and, what *Rome* moſt wanted at this time, was a General of approved Courage, and Experience: *Virginius* therefore did Juſtice to *Poſthumius* 47, and named him *Dictator*.

Year of *ROME* CCLVII. Aulus Posthumius, Dictator.

§. XVI. The new Sovereign did not think it below him, to regulate his Conduct by that of *Titus Lartius*: He created a General of Horſe, which was *Ælius Elva*, formerly *Conſul*; and, like *Lartius*, he alſo divided the Forces of *Rome* into four Bodies. The firſt, he commanded himſelf; the Conduct of the ſecond, he committed to *Virginius*, his late Collegue; that of the third, to *Ælius*; and the fourth, he left in *Rome*, under the Command of *Sempronius*, whom he made Governor of the City.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 342.

The *Dictator* had no ſooner made theſe Regulations, but the News of the Enemy's Approach was ſpread at *Rome*; and a few Days after this firſt Rumour, it was reported, that the *Latins* had forced the Poſt of *Corbio* 48. This was one of thoſe Caſtles, which the *Romans* fortified at certain Diſtances, to ſerve for a Retreat to the Country People, and as Places of Security, to which they might remove their Effects. The Garriſon of *Corbio* was indeed but ſmall; and they were all put to the Sword. But the Country ſuffered very little by it. The Peaſants, who were moſt expoſed, had taken Refuge elſewhere, and had carried their Moveables and Cattel to other Places. *Rome* received no other Damage on that Side, than the burning of a few Houſes, and the ſpoiling of the Fruits of the Earth. This firſt Advantage however determined Part of the *Volſci* to join their Troops to thoſe of the *Latins*. The *Volſci* of *Antium* eſpecially ſignalized their Hatred againſt *Rome*, by taking the Field before any of their Countrymen; and gave *Tarquin* Hopes, that their whole Nation would ſoon come and aſſiſt him in his Conqueſt. It muſt be owned, that the exiled King had reſerved the moſt formidable Enemies againſt *Rome*, to the laſt. The *Latin* Confederacy was much more terrible to the Republick, than that of the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines*, whoſe Valour he had already made Tryal of againſt *Rome*. *Tarquin* undoubtedly diſcovered as much Ability in the Buſineſs of Nego-

47 *Livy*, according to Cuſtom, confounds the Chronology, in placing the *Dictatorſhip* of *Poſthumius* under the *Conſulſhip* of *Publius Veturius*, and *Titus Æbutius*. Which is a Miſtake of three Years, according to the Calculation of *Dion. Hal.* whoſe Authority we prefer to that of the *Latin* Hiſtorian. Beſides, even according to *Livy*'s own Account, and the Order of the *Conſular* Years, *Poſthumius* muſt have been raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip* before he had been *Conſul:* Since he was not made *Conſul* till three Years after the *Conſulſhip* of *Publius Veturius* and *Titus Æbutius*. Whereas in thoſe early Times, the *Romans* never ſuffer'd the leaſt Infringement of the Law, which ordain'd, That the *Dictators* ſhould be choſen among thoſe who had been *Conſuls*. 'Tis true, *Livy* acknowledges, that in ſome *Memoirs* he found the *Dictatorſhip* of *Poſthumius* under the Year 257. But they mention one Circumſtance, which does not agree with the Account of *Dion. Hal.*; namely, that *Poſthumius* abdicated the *Conſulſhip* before he had been *Dictator*, becauſe he ſuſpected his Collegue of having ill Deſigns.

48 *Stephen of Byzantium* places this Caſtle or City of the *Æqui* beyond the Hill *Algidus*, near the *Lavican Way*. But *Kircher* and *Cluverius* place it where *Monfortino* now ſtands.

Year of *ROME* CCLVII.

AULUS POSTHUMIUS, Dictator.

tiations, as the *Romans* ſhew'd Bravery and Reſolution in reſiſting the many Enemies he drew upon them.

AFTER the taking of *Corbio*, *Poſthumius* appear'd in the Field without Delay. The Body under his Command march'd out firſt from *Rome*, and encamp'd, in the Night, near the Lake *Regillus* [49], upon a ſteep Hill, which was inacceſſible on every Side. From the Top of this Rock, he had a full View of the formidable Army of the *Latins*, which was divided into ſeveral Camps. It conſiſted of forty thouſand Foot, and above three thouſand Horſe; an inconceivable Number for ſo ſmall a Nation! Whereas the Troops of the *Dictator* ſcarcely amounted to eight thouſand Men. So that nothing but the Situation of his Camp could defend him from an entire Defeat. After this, the Leaders of the *Latin* Army drew their ſcatter'd Troops together into one Place, and form'd but one Camp.

HERE a general Council of War was held, to which even the *Centurions* were admitted. Three Generals had the Conduct of this numerous Army: The firſt, *Lucius Tarquinius*; the ſecond, *Titus Tarquinius*; and the third, *Octavius Mamilius*, Son-in-law of *Tarquin the Proud*, as ſome think; or as others, with more Probability conjecture, the Son of that Son-in-law. It is not improbable that King *Tarquin* himſelf, tho' extremely old, was at that time in the *Latin* Army, and directed its Motions. The Point under Conſideration was, whether they ſhould attack the *Dictator* in his Poſt; at leaſt, ſo far as to ſtrike a Terror into him, and try, by a Bravado, the Courage of the *Latins:* And the Council was divided in their Opinions. Some thought it would be better to inveſt the *Dictator* on every Side with one Part of the *Latin* Forces, and to march the other before *Rome*, to lay Siege to it: And they were not yet come to any Reſolution, when *Virginius*, with his ſmall Body of Troops, came and took Poſſeſſion of a Hill over-againſt that on which *Poſthumius* was encamp'd. So that the *Dictator* being on the right, and the *Conſul* on the left, in ſeparate Camps, they kept the Enemy as it were blockaded in the Valley. Nor was this all: *Poſthumius*, who had no other Intention than to tire out the Enemy, and diſperſe them without giving them Battle, order'd *Æbutius* to march with the Cavalry, and light-arm'd Infantry, to take Poſſeſſion of a third Hill upon the Road, thro' which the Proviſions and other Supplies muſt neceſſarily paſs to the *Latins*. This General, favour'd by the Night, and marching a great way about, enter'd a Foreſt, the Ways thro' which he was acquainted with, and appeared the next Day poſted upon that Rock, from which it was difficult to diſlodge him. The Generals of the *Latin* Army ſeem to have underſtood better how to fight in an open Plain, than to chooſe advantageous Encampments: But *Poſthumius* acquir'd the Glory of underſtanding both, in this ſingle Campaign.

HOWEVER, *Æbutius* had not yet fortified his new Camp, before he was briskly attack'd by *Lucius Tarquinius*. The Body of *Latins* commanded by this General, made ſurprizing Efforts to force the *Romans* from the Place, of which they had juſt taken Poſſeſſion. They charg'd the *Romans* twice without Intermiſſion; but the valiant *Æbutius*, who had the Advantage of the riſing Ground, got the better in both Attacks, and the Enemy was repulſed with Loſs. At the third Attack, *Tarquinius* found the Number of *Romans* upon the Hill conſiderably increaſed, and therefore deſpair'd of diſlodging them. The *Dictator*, who knew the Danger to which *Æbutius* was expoſed, had indeed ſent him a Detachment from the *Legions*, by the ſame Way this General himſelf had gone. Upon which, the *Latins* loſt Courage, *Tarquinius* retir'd to his Camp, and *Æbutius* found himſelf at Liberty to fortify his own, in this advantagious Poſt, without any Moleſtation. It is inconceivable how much the *Roman* diſtreſſed the *Latin* Army from thence; and how many of their Convoys he intercepted. But the moſt important Prize

[49] There was both a City and a Lake of the Name of *Regillus*. The City is ſometimes called by Authors *Regillus*, ſometimes *Regillum*, and ſometimes *Regilla*. For my own Part, I can't think the Lake was near enough to the City to take its Denomination from it. The City was in *Sabinia*, the Lake in *Latium*, towards *Tuſculum*; according to *Cluverius*, who is of Opinion, as well as *Ferrarius*, that this Lake is the ſame which is now called *Lago di S. Praſſede*. Others gueſs that it is the Lake now called *Lago di Caſtiglione*. But *Holſtenius* makes only one Lake of theſe two, which he believes was formerly in the Neighbourhood of *Gabii*. At a little Diſtance from which, near the City *Colonna*, he finds a little Lake, which appears to him to be the Lake *Regillus* of the Antients.

Year of ROME CCLVII.

AULUS POSTHUMIUS, Dictator.

his Parties took, was two Couriers, whom the *Volſci* ſent to the *Latin* Generals. By the Letters found upon them, and the Queſtions put to them, the *Romans* diſcover'd, that in three Days, a very conſiderable Army of *Volſci* and *Hernici*, two of the *Latin* Cantons, which was already upon its March, wou'd come and join the *Latin* Troops: And it may be preſum'd, that if the Conjunction of all theſe Forces could have been made in time, there would have been an End of the Republick, and of all the *Roman* Glory. The *Dictator*'s Thoughts were therefore fix'd on preventing the Danger with which he was threatned, and hazarding a Battle, before the Number of his Enemies made them invincible. He drew his three Bodies of Troops together with all Expedition, and found that he had only twenty four thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe, to oppoſe againſt forty thouſand Foot, and three thouſand Horſe of the Enemy. But Neceſſity oblig'd *Poſthumius* to hazard an Engagement, againſt all Rules. It was cuſtomary then for Generals to harangue their Troops, before they led them to Battle: And the *Dictator* may be ſaid to have had all the *Romans* for his Auditors. The Senate, almoſt to a Man, had come Voluntiers into the Army; it is well known, that no *Roman* was exempted from going to the War, nor bore any Office in the Republick, till after long Services in the Troops. The *Dictator*'s Speech was as follows: Romans, *the Gods are for us. I judge ſo, by the* Auguries, *by the Entrails of Victims, and by the Goodneſs of our Cauſe. Our Enemies are Nations who have been more than once obliged by us, and related to us, and are now become faithleſs Allies, who contend for the Reſtoration of Tyrants juſtly baniſh'd. Heaven will undoubtedly puniſh Treachery, and revenge Injuſtice; and what Succeſs then may we not expect? Beſides, we do not form a Body, made up of ſcatter'd Members, accidentally thrown together; but one and the ſame City gave us Birth, the ſame Intereſts animate us, the ſame Gods have heard our Oaths, and we have all felt the ſame Oppreſſions, and ſhar'd the ſame good Fortune; and if we ſhould be conquer'd, we ſhall all be in equal Danger from* Tarquin, *that hard Maſter, who ſpared not his People, when they were ſubject to him. The Baniſhment of our Magiſtrates, the Slavery of our Citizens, Outrages upon our Wives, Murders, Plunder, and Burning, are Evils with which* Rome *is equally threatned. How great will be the Rage of a furious King, when in a Condition to revenge himſelf upon thoſe who have dethron'd him, expell'd him, confiſcated his Eſtates, and baniſh'd his Relations? But after all, the Storm is not near ſo dangerous as we at firſt apprehended. Of all the* Volſci *and* Hernici, *we find only the* Antiates *in the* Latin *Armies. The Enemy's Battalions in general, conſiſt only of Soldiers tumultuouſly rais'd, ſome of which are ſo diſcouraged by the Inſufficiency of their Generals, that they have already deſerted; others rather tarry with them, than help them; and thoſe who are coming up to their Aſſiſtance, will, by coming after the Battle, be of no Service to them. Beſides, what can a confuſed Multitude do, againſt the Valour and Reſolution which the deareſt Intereſts inſpire? How many Examples have we of numerous Armies defeated by a Handful of brave Soldiers? Is it then now that the* Volſci *and the* Latins *ſhall for the firſt time become formidable Enemies? If the Greatneſs of their Nation frighten'd not your Fathers, ſhall it terrify their Children? Did the* Romans *ever raiſe an Army comparable to this which you compoſe? Was it ever before known, that the Senate it ſelf put on the Buckler, and the oldeſt of our Magiſtrates cover'd their grey Hairs with the Helmet? Shall then the healthy and the ſtrong, be unactive and cowardly? Shall the young and vigorous turn their Backs upon the Enemy, when the old and infirm bravely reſolve to conquer, or die in Defence of their Country? If they do, I declare, That whoſoever baſely flies, ſhall infallibly be put to Death by my Order, and his dead Carcaſe ſhall enjoy none of the Rites of Burial, but lie above Ground, to be devour'd by Beaſts and Birds. But he that, on the other hand, ſhall bring me Witneſſes of his having ſignaliz'd himſelf in the Battle; he, beſides the uſual Honours* Rome *has always decreed to Men of diſtinguiſh'd Courage, ſhall receive from the Publick an Eſtate in Land, as a Recompence for his Bravery.*

Dion. Hal. B. 6. *p.* 345.

Ibid. *p.* 346.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid. *p.* 348.

THESE Words fill'd the *Roman Legions* with Ardour, and Confidence of Succeſs; the *Dictator* immediately drew up his Army in Order of Battle; and the *Latins*, depending on the Number of their Troops, did not decline fighting. Beſides, their Proviſions fail'd, and they were not appriz'd of the Supplies which were coming

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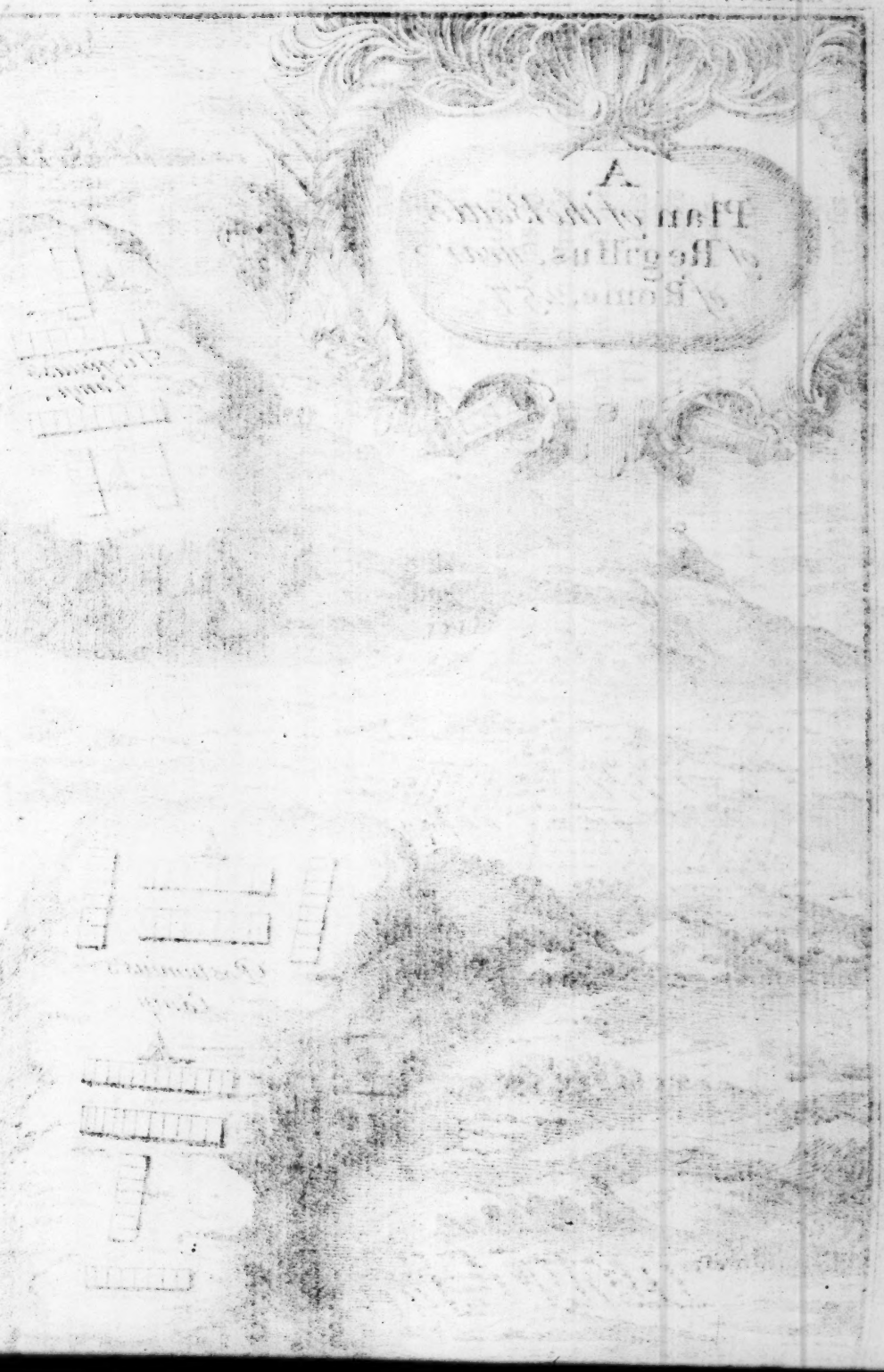

A Plan of the Battle of Regillus, year of Rome, 257.

Tarquinius's Camp.

Postumius's Camp.

The Roman Army.

The Latine Army.

The Auxiliary Troops.

Aebutius's Camp.

coming to them. *Titus Tarquinius*, and not [50] the old King *Tarquin*, was in the Center of their Army, at the Head of the Exiles and Deſerters from *Rome*; *Mamilius* commanded the left Wing, and *L. Tarquinius* the right. In the *Roman* Army, *Æbutius* commanded the right Wing, *Virginius* the left, and the *Dictator* poſted himſelf in the Center. So that *Poſthumius* faced *T. Tarquinius*, *Æbutius* was poſted againſt *Mamilius*, and *Virginius* againſt *L. Tarquinius*. In this Battle of *Regillum*, the antient Manner of fighting, as it was in the Times of the Heroes, and as *Homer* has deſcrib'd it, ſeems to have been reviv'd. This great Action was ſometimes interrupted by ſingle Combats between the Generals, who gave Challenges to each other; and at other Times, all the Troops were engaged, and fought together. The firſt Body which advanc'd, was that of the *Dictator*, and as ſoon as it began to march, *T. Tarquinius* came out of the Ranks, and ran full Speed upon *Poſthumius*, to fight him ſingly. The *Dictator* accepted the Challenge, flew at his Adverſary, and threw a Dart, which wounded him in the right Side. Upon this, the firſt Line of the *Latins* immediately advanc'd, cover'd the General, who was mortally wounded, and depriv'd *Poſthumius* of the Honour of his Spoil. Nevertheleſs, the main Body, though conſiſting of *Roman* Royaliſts, made but an indifferent Reſiſtance. Their General was carried out of the Battle, and the Battalions, preſs'd by the Troops of the *Dictator*, gave way, and were already retiring and loſing Ground, when *L. Tarquinius* came to take the Place of his Brother. Then the Preſence and Valour of the new Commander gave freſh Courage to theſe broken Troops. They rallied, return'd to the Fight, and left it uncertain, whether they, or the *Romans* their Adverſaries, had the Advantage.

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Ibid.

ON the Side of *Mamilius* and *Æbutius*, the Fury of the Battle was equal. The Generals, on both Sides, animated their Soldiers, by their Words and their Example; no Man gave Ground; but all were either dying or fighting, in the Place where they were drawn up; when the two Generals thought that a ſingle Combat between them might determine the doubtful Victory. The Challenge was given and accepted: And the two Champions puſhed on their Horſes againſt each other. *Æbutius* run his Lance thro' *Mamilius*'s Cuiraſs at the Breaſt, and *Mamilius* with his Sword wounded *Æbutius* on the right Arm. Neither of the Blows were mortal, but both the Generals fell from their Horſes, and the Combat ended. *Æbutius*'s Place was then ſupplied by *Marcus Valerius*, the moſt antient Lieutenant General in this Army; he was the Brother of *Poplicola*, and had been honoured both with a *Conſulſhip* and a Triumph. He immediately put himſelf at the Head of the *Roman* Cavalry, and with them endeavour'd to break the Enemy's Battalions. But the Body of *Roman* Royaliſts, which the Enemy order'd to advance, made a brave Reſiſtance to the Cavalry of the Republick, and repulſed them. At length, *Mamilius* being recover'd of the Blow, which had only ſtunn'd and knock'd him down, but not wounded him, appear'd again in the Van-guard; and the bare Sight of him kindled the Anger of *Valerius*. He could not, without Emotion, ſee the Grandſon of King *Tarquin* making a Figure at the Head of a *Latin* Army; and he flatter'd himſelf that he might cut off this young Branch of a hateful Family, and by this means make his own Glory equal to that of his Brother who proſcrib'd it. Without deliberating therefore he puſhed on his Horſe, and with his Dart in his Hand came furiouſly upon *Mamilius*; who retir'd back into a Battalion of the Royaliſts. *Valerius*, with the Aſſiſtance of his two Nephews, the Sons of *Poplicola*, and a Troop of the moſt illuſtrious Voluntiers, tried in vain to break the Battalion; he was wounded in his Side, fell from his Horſe, and died: And his Body, which lay upon the Ground, occaſioned a new Battle. The Royaliſts ſurrounded it, and would have got it into their Poſſeſſion; but the two Nephews of the deceas'd beat them off, and carried away the Body, and deliver'd it to *Valerius*'s Servants, who brought it to the *Roman* Camp. A courageous and pious Ac-

[50] *Livy* repreſents the old King *Tarquin* as engaged in this Battle; but it is very improbable, he being then above ninety Years old. He might be in the Camp, but did not appear in the Battle. According to *Dion. Hal.* it was his Son *Titus*, who fought againſt the *Dictator*: And this Author likewiſe makes the infamous *Sextus Tarquinius* to have been living, engaged and killed, in this Battle. Whereas *Livy*, with more Probability, ſuppoſes him to be ſlain by the *Gabini*, a long time before the Battle of *Regillum*. For which Reaſon I have changed the *Prænomen Sextus*, into that of *Lucius*, who was the fourth Son of *Tarquin*.

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Aulus Posthumius, Dictator.

tion in the two Sons of *Poplicola*, but it coſt them dear! They were ſurrounded on all Sides, and overpowered by the Multitude of their Enemies, who gave them numberleſs Wounds.

The Loſs of *Valerius* and his two Nephews, and eſpecially the Abſence of *Æbutius*, who was wounded, put the right Wing of the *Roman* Army into a great Conſternation. They now fought but faintly, and had begun to think of making a Retreat; when the *Dictator*, who perceiv'd it, left the Center and came to them, attended by a Troop of Horſe. He inſtantly gave Orders to *Titus Herminius*, the Captain of his Guards, to put all the *Romans* of his Army, who fled, to the Sword. The Voice of *Poſthumius* therefore, and the Fear of meeting with Death in trying to avoid it, brought the Troops into Order, and every Man return'd to his Colours. [51] Then the *Dictator* commanded ſome choſen Squadrons of the *Roman* Knights to cut the Bridles of their Horſes, and drive them upon the cloſeſt Battalion of the Royaliſts: And the Stratagem ſucceeded. The Horſes carried their Riders thro' the Infantry of the Enemy, who were put into Diſorder, and trodden under Foot by them. In the mean time, *Herminius* came up with his Troops, and ſome Fugitives whom he led back to the Battle, and with them he penetrated into the Enemy's broken Squadrons. His whole Aim was at the Perſon of *Mamilius*, who was eaſily known by his tall Stature, and by the Richneſs of his Habit and Arms. *Herminius*, in order to come at him, beat down all who ſtood in his Way; and as ſoon as he was within Reach of him, attack'd him, and with his firſt Blow run him thro' the Side, and laid him dead on the Ground. Happy had he been, could he have contented himſelf with putting an End to the Life of one of the fierceſt Enemies of *Rome!* But too great a Love of Glory proved fatal to him. Whilſt he was buſying himſelf to carry off the Spoils of *Mamilius*, in order to erect a Trophy of them, an unknown Hand run him thro' with a Sword. The Wound was dreſſed; but he died of it in the Camp, while they were opening it, in order to a ſecond Dreſſing.

Thus one of the Sons of *Tarquin*, and the General *Mamilius*, were already killed in the Battel. *Lucius Tarquinius* continued yet in the Right Wing of the *Latins*, fighting againſt the *Conſul Virginius*. He had indeed the Advantage, and charged the *Romans* briskly. But *Poſthumius*, as if it had been reſerved for him, to recover all the Diſadvantages of the *Roman* Army, after he had commanded the Horſe to diſmount, and ſerve on Foot, haſtened to the Place where his *Legions* were moſt diſtreſſed. The *Dictator* recruited the Van-guard of *Virginius*, which was tired with long fighting, and overwhelmed by the Multitude of Enemies, with a Supply of freſh Troops.

And now *Lucius Tarquinius* was no longer Maſter of himſelf; he threw himſelf, like one mad, into the midſt of the *Roman Knights*, who had already got the better of his Troops. He was ſurrounded, and ſunk under a Multitude of Wounds, after he had ſold his Life very dear. Such were the Misfortunes, and End, of a Family, which Cruelty, Incontinence, and Ambition, brought to Ruin. It muſt be granted, that *Tarquin*, and his Sons, had ſeveral of thoſe Endowments, and Qualities, which form Heroes; an excellent Capacity for Negotiations; an Addreſs, whereby they alienated from the *Romans*, their antient Allies; a Pliantneſs, which could give way to tempeſtuous Times; an Invention, fruitful in Expedients in all Emergencies; an intriguing Diſpoſition, whereby they ſowed Diviſions, in the new Republick; an inconceivable Power of Perſuaſion, whereby they brought the neighbouring States into a League againſt *Rome*; Experience in Arms, intrepid Courage, and a ſteady Reſolution, never to quit the Hopes of the Throne, but with Life. All theſe together, made an Aſſemblage of Qualities, not to be wholly deſpiſed. This Character of the *Tarquins*, would perhaps have had its Admirers in *Greece*, from whence they drew their Original: But at *Rome*, true Glory was judg'd of by other Principles. There the Equity of the Cauſe was more eſteem'd, than Skill in maintaining it; Honeſty and Truth, than Art in colouring

[51] Some Hiſtorians make the Order for cutting the Horſes Bridles, to have been given by *Æbutius Elva*; but they did not conſider, that *Æbutius* had been carried out of the Battle wounded, before the Cavalry drove their Horſes without Bridles thro' the Enemy's Battalions. *Florus* is miſtaken, in ſaying that the General of the Horſe, whom he ignorantly calls *Coſſus*, put the *Romans* upon this Piece of Bravery: And the ſame Author adds, that *Poſthumius* caus'd a Standard to be thrown among the Enemy, to rouze the Courage of his Soldiers.

over Injuſtice; a virtuous Heart, than a ſuperior Underſtanding; and laſtly, a true Courage conducted by the Love of one's Country, more than any Intrepidity founded in private Intereſts. Such was the Heroiſm of *Brutus*, *Poplicola*, and all the firſt Republicans of *Rome*.

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Aulus Poſthumius, Dictor.

THE Death of the three Generals of the Royaliſt Party, was follow'd by the entire Defeat of the *Latins*. No Victory hitherto gained by the *Romans*, was either more neceſſary, or more complete. Scarce ten thouſand return'd to *Latium*, of the forty three thouſand who came out of it. The whole Nation, for a long time after, felt this Blow; nay, it may be ſaid never to have recover'd it. The vaſt Camp however, which the *Latins* had fortified, fill'd with thoſe who fled from the Battle, ſtill made ſome Reſiſtance. The *Dictator* attack'd it, and promiſed a diſtinguiſhing Reward to the two firſt who ſhould enter it. The Reward was probably Crowns of Gold; for, according to the Hiſtorians, *Poſthumius* was the firſt of the *Roman Generals*, who made Preſents of them to the brave Men of his Army. The Camp was quickly taken, and given as a Prey to the Conquerors. The *Roman* Army reſted there all Night, and at break of Day the *Dictator*, crown'd with Laurel, after having diſtributed the Rewards to thoſe who had diſtinguiſh'd themſelves, return'd Thanks to the Gods by Sacrifices. The Ceremony was ſcarce ended, when the Scouts brought Advice, that a great Army covered the Plain, and was marching in order of Battle. It was that of the *Volſci* and *Hernici*, who were come from their own Countries to aſſiſt the *Latins*. The *Dictator* immediately commanded his *Romans* to ſtand to their Arms, repair to their Colours, and be ready upon the firſt Order.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 350.

Plin. B. 33.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. *ibid.*

§. XVII. IN the mean time, the auxiliary Army was ſtill advancing, but was aſtoniſh'd to find neither Enemies to intercept their March, nor Allies coming to meet them. And the Surprize of the *Volſci* was yet greater, when they learn'd, from the Fugitives, the entire Defeat of the *Latin* Army. It was debated, whether they ſhould return, or attack the Enemy which was fatigued with an Action, which was indeed glorious, but in which the Conquerors had loſt many of their braveſt Men, and had their Arms either broken or blunted. And the Reſolution the *Volſci* took ſeemed the wiſeſt, becauſe the moſt artful. This was, to encamp in Sight of the *Romans*, to amuſe them with Negotiations; and in the mean time to ſend to the *Latins*, and the Country of the *Volſci*, for new Supplies to make the Victory more certain. In ſhort, the *Volſci* diſpatch'd ſome Perſons to the *Roman* Camp, under the Name of Ambaſſadors, who were in reality no more than Spies. They in vain endeavour'd to perſuade the *Dictator* that they had left their Country only to aſſiſt *Rome* in her Neceſſity. *Poſthumius* produced before them their Couriers and their Letters, and convicted them of Deceit: And all the Authority of the *Dictator* was ſcarce ſufficient to hinder the Soldiers from putting thoſe perfidious Wretches to Death. However, Regard was paid to the Law of Nations, even on this Occaſion; but without giving them time to obſerve the State of the *Roman* Army, they were ſent back with a Challenge to their Generals, to fight the next Day. Upon this, the affrighted *Volſci* did not wait the Morning-Light, but decamp'd in the Night, and return'd to their Towns.

THE *Latins* then had no Remedy, but in an entire Submiſſion. They therefore choſe Deputies, out of the Cities which had oppos'd the War, to ſerve as Mediators at *Rome*, in favour of the whole Nation. Theſe appear'd in the Senate, carrying in their Hands Olive Branches * bound round with Wool. In this ſuppliant Poſture they laid the Blame of the Inſurrection of ſome Cities upon the Nobility of the Country, ſeduced into the Revolt by the *Tarquins*. Nothing cou'd be more moving than the Relation they made of their Misfortunes. *No one of our Houſes*, ſaid they, *is out of Mourning; and the Loſs of the Flower of our Youth cuts off all Hopes from* Latium, *and all Occaſion of Fear from* Rome. *We yield our ſelves wholly to you; and ſhall think our ſelves very happy to be received either as Allies, or as Subjects! Whatever you ſhall leave us of our antient Dignity, will only ſerve to augment the Grandeur and Happineſs of the* Roman *State.*

* *Vide D. Hal.* p. 354. and *Potter's Antiq.* V. 1. p. 239.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 355.

ROME had long ſince made it a Maxim, to ſpare the Nations which ſubmitted, and to cruſh the proud. Nevertheleſs, the Senate was not without ſome ſevere Men, who were for razing all the Cities of *Latium*, ſeizing their Territories, and reducing all their Inhabitants to Slavery; except thoſe who had continued

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constant in their Fidelity. But this cruel Motion was rejected. The Senate contented it self with condemning the *Latins*, to send back the Prisoners they had made during the War, to deliver up the Deserters, and to drive the *Roman* Exiles out of *Latium*. As to their recovering the Rights of their antient Confederacy, they were suffered to languish three Years in Expectation of it. The Law which the Republick was pleased to impose upon them, was received with Thankfulness: and in consequence of the Treaty and new Oaths, King *Tarquin* was driven out of all the *Latin* Country. At the Age of at least ninety Years, after having been rejected by the *Hetrurians*, the *Sabines*, and all the free Nations, and left without Protector, and without Issue, he found his last *Asylum* at *Cumæ*, in *Campania*, with *Aristodemus*, a Tyrant like himself, who at that time invaded the Liberties of his People. There the old King of *Rome* lived only a few Months, after fourteen Years Exile, which he had made remarkable by almost as many Wars. But now, the Battel of *Regillum* brought Tranquillity to the Republick: all the Incendiaries, who stirred up the Nations of *Italy* against her, being there cut off. *Rome* was indebted for this great Happiness, to the Conduct and Valour of the *Dictator Posthumius* [52]. The Honours of a Triumph were therefore decreed to him; and to his other Names was added that of *Regillensis*, taken from the Place where this great General had made his own Name illustrious, and raised the Glory of the *Roman* Arms. At his Entry into *Rome*, he was followed by five thousand five hundred *Latins*, taken Prisoners in the Battel, and a great Number of Chariots, loaded with the Spoils and the Arms of the Enemy. The Conqueror devoted a tenth Part of the Booty, to defray the Expences of Publick *Games*, and to build some Temples in Honour of the Gods. One was raised to *Bacchus* and *Ceres*, because the Irregularity of the Seasons, and the War, had made the *Romans* apprehensive of a Scarcity this Year. But this Temple was not dedicated till three Years after. Another [53] was erected in Honour of *Castor* and *Pollux*. These Gods were said to have appeared, during the Action, upon [54] white Horses, and to have fought for the *Romans*. This Fable, which

Dion. Hal. B. 6. *p.* 354.

Silver.

52 According to *Livy*, *Posthumius* was not the only Person who triumphed, after the Battel of *Regillum*. He makes *Æbutius Elva* share the Honour of the Triumph with the *Dictator*. But the *Fasti Capitolini*, as *Sigonius* represents them, are silent about it. They speak only of the Triumph of *Posthumius*, who had from thence the Surname of *Regillensis*. The Antiquaries conjecture, that the *Posthumian* Family, one of the most illustrious among the *Patricians*, caused the Medal, which we here represent, to be struck as a Monument of *Posthumius*'s Victory. On the Reverse is a Crown, which is a Symbol of the Triumph of this *Dictator*, with this Inscription, ALBINUS BRUTI, F. The *Albini* were one Branch of this Family.

53 This Temple, which afterwards fell to Ruin, was, according to *Cicero*, *Verr.* 3. rebuilt by *Luc. Metellus*. The Edifice, tho' erected in Honour of the two Brothers, *Castor* and *Pollux*, was called only by the Name of the former. Upon which, *Suetonius* tells us a Joke of *Bibulus*. *Bibulus*, who was *Consul*, had contributed as much as *C. Cæsar*, his Collegue, towards the Expence of the publick *Games*: and yet *Cæsar* had all the Honour of the Show. This made *Bibulus* say pleasantly, that he had had the Fate of *Pollux*, and *Cæsar* the Fortune of *Castor*. The Fountain in the Neighbourhood of this Temple, was likewise consecrated to those two Deities.

54 *Dion. Halicarn.* is pretty long in relating the Circumstances of this fabulous Event. Two young Horsemen, says he, of an extraordinary and majestick Stature, appeared to *Posthumius*, and his Party. They marched at the Head of the Cavalry, striking Terror among the *Latins*, whom they wounded with Darts and Lances. In the Evening, after the Battel was gained, the same Horsemen appeared at *Rome*, in the *Forum*. Their fierce and threatning Countenances, and their Horses all dropping with Sweat, made People conclude, that they were returned from the Battel. When they had dismounted, they washed themselves in the Bason of a Fountain, whose Spring is near the Temple of *Vesta*: and they told the Crowd of Citizens, who surrounded them, the first News of the Victory gained by the *Romans*; after which, they disappeared. *Plutarch* adds to this Relation, that *Lucius Domitius* was the first who was informed by *Castor* and *Pollux*, of the entire Defeat of the *Latins*: and to make the Fable still more wonderful, the same Author affirms, that *Domitius* having appeared surprized at the Account of the new Victory, the two Horsemen took him gently by the Beard, and it immediately changed its Colour, from black to red. This pretended Miracle confirmed the Relation, and got *Domitius* the Sirname of *Ænobarbus*: and this Fact, as fabulous as it is, was believed among the *Romans*. They transmitted it to Posterity, in their publick Monuments, which were in

which was ſpread abroad among the People, was founded on the Bravery of the *Roman* Cavalry in the laſt Battel. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* paſſed for the Protectors of the Cavalry: and in Memory therefore of ſo glorious a Victory, the *Romans* appointed a 55 Feſtival in Honour of theſe two Deities, which was to be celebrated on the *Ides of July*, that is, the fifteenth of that Month; being the ſame Day in which the *Romans* had conquered the *Latins*, near the Lake *Regillus*. After ſo memorable an Expedition, which was finiſhed in leſs than ſix Months, *Poſthumius*, loaded with Glory, reſigned the *Dictatorſhip*, before his Time was expired.

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AULUS POSTHUMIUS, Dictator.

Silver

in being, even in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time. The Reverſes of the two Medals, one of the *Scribonian* Family, the other of the *Poſthumian*, have perpetuated the Memory of theſe two fabulous Apparitions. In the firſt Reverſe, *Caſtor* and *Pollux* have on their Heads a Cap, which, according to *Lucian*, repreſents the half of the Egg, from whence the Fancy of the Poets have made them Spring. *Caſtor* and *Pollux* are denoted by the two Stars, or Conſtellations, which take their Names from theſe two fabulous Deities.

55 This Feſtival was celebrated in After-times, with a Pomp worthy of the *Roman* Majeſty. *Dion. Hal.* gives this Account of it. After the magnificent Sacrifices which the principal *Knights* offer, yearly, in Honour of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, on the *Ides of July*, the Day in which the War was happily ended, thoſe, to whom the Republick allow a Horſe, form a pompous Cavalcade. They are diſtinguiſhed in the Proceſſion by their *Tribes*, and by their *Curiæ*, are crowned with Olive Branches, and wear the *Trabæa*. They begin their March at the Temple of *Mars*, ſituated without the Walls; from thence they croſs the City, and paſs thro' the *Forum*, before the Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux*. They are ſometimes in Number five thouſand, who carry with them all the Marks of Honour, which they have merited in the Battels, wherein they have ſignalized their Courage.

THE

THE
Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK VII.

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§. I. THE *Romans* found themſelves at length delivered from an ambitious Family, which had long been labouring to enſlave them: but Ambition it ſelf was neither baniſhed from *Rome*, nor perfectly extinguiſhed, with the *Tarquins*. The laſt of the Kings had ſucceeded in his Deſign, of excluding the Senate and People from any Authority in the Government, which the Laws obliged him to ſhare with them: and the too abſolute Power he aſſumed, alienated the Affections of the *Romans* from him, even more than the Diſorders of his Court. The latter were indeed the avowed Pretences made uſe of to dethrone him; but the true Cauſe of his Ruin, was that Pride and Independence which he affected, and which made him carry his Pretenſions beyond the fundamental Laws of the State.

UNDER the Republican Government, which ſucceeded the Kingly, the publick Authority ought to have been almoſt equally divided between the People and the Senate. But can the Heart of Man contain it ſelf within the ſtrict Bounds of Reaſon and Equity? The very ſame Year *Tarquin* died at *Cumæ*, his Spirit of Dominion ſeems to have entered into the *Patricians* at *Rome*. They began to aſſume the ſame Power over the Commonalty, which *Tarquin* had uſurped over both Senate and People. They laboured to engroſs to themſelves the publick Authority, of which the *Plebeians* ought to have had their Share. The Conſequence of which was, that the Ambition of the Nobility, which made them uſurp an Authority which did not belong to them, was alſo puniſhed: and the People being oppreſſed by the Great, not only maintained their Rights, but extended them, and took away from the Senate, and the *Conſuls*, the beſt Part of their Prerogatives. This is a ſecond Scene of Troubles and Diviſions, which we ſhall ſoon ſee produced in the *Roman* Republick, by a paſſionate Deſire of Dominion.

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APPIUS CLAUDIUS, and PUBLIUS SERVILIUS, Conſuls. *Livy, B. 2. ch. 21.*

THE *Dictator Poſthumius*, who had quieted the domeſtick Diſſentions, only by the Help of a foreign War, his Succeſs in which had made him immortal, now thought of nothing but laying down his Office. He therefore appointed an Aſſembly of the *Comitia*, in the *Campus Martius*: in which [1] *Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius*, were raiſed to the *Conſulate*. Every thing ſeemed then to favour the Hopes of the Senators. They preſumed, the Time was now come, for bringing the People into Subjection, and reducing them by Force to an Inferiority, above which the publick Neceſſities of the State had hitherto, in ſome meaſure, raiſed them. The chief Dependence of the *Patricians* was upon *Appius Claudius*. They knew what an Enemy the new *Conſul* was, to the Pretenſions of the People; and were perſuaded, that his Dignity would not at all abate the Rigour of his Sentiments, with reſpect to the *Plebeians*. Beſides, the Death of the laſt King, the Report of which was ſpread abroad at *Rome*, elated the Minds of the Nobility, who

1 *Claudius*'s *Prænomen* is not univerſally agreed upon. According to the Hiſtorians, it was *Appius*; and according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, it was *Marcus*. But this is a Miſtake in the *Faſti*. *Tully* calls him *Appius*, *B.* 1. *de Oratore*; as *Pliny* does, *B.* 35. The latter relates a Tranſaction in *Claudius*'s *Conſulate*, which we could not inſert in the Body of our Hiſtory; and which is this: That he firſt cauſed the *Roman* Bucklers to be conſecrated by publick and private Sacrifices. By this means, every Soldier became more careful of his own, in Battel. It was now become a ſacred thing; and the Soldiers made a ſcruple of throwing it away, even when it was to help their Flight. This *Claudius*'s Surname was *Sabinus*, or *Regillenſis*, becauſe he was born at *Regillum* in *Sabinia*. *Servilius*'s *Prænomen* was *Publius*, and his Surname *Priſcus*. The *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian*, and thoſe of *Sicily*, call theſe *Conſuls* only by their Surnames. *This Year*, ſay they, Sabinus *and* Priſcus *were* Conſuls.

expreſſed

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expreſſed their Satisfaction at it in a very extravagant manner. The Reaſon was, they thought they might now pay leſs Regard to the People, whoſe Aſſiſtance became leſs neceſſary to them, ſince they were got rid of ſo troubleſome an Enemy. The *Patricians* therefore aſſumed an Aſcendant over the Commonalty, which fell little ſhort of Oppreſſion. Probably, the Creditors then very much harraſſed their Debtors, who were left open to their Proſecutions, and were treated by them without Mercy; becauſe they knew how ſevere *Appius Claudius* was in relation to them. The Populace were therefore enraged againſt the Nobility; the News of the Parties which were formed in *Rome*, ſoon reached her Enemies; and the *Volſci*, who always looked on the Proſperity of the Republick with a jealous Eye, thought to have taken Advantage of theſe Times of Diviſion. They negotiated with their Neighbours for Succours: They raiſed a formidable Army, and propoſed nothing leſs than to beſiege and take *Rome*.

§. II. THEN the Senate thought it neceſſary to employ the Forces of the *Romans* Abroad, in order to give a Diverſion to the Mutineers at Home. The Preparations the *Volſci* were making, gave the Republick a fair Opportunity of declaring War againſt them, and preventing them. Beſides, other Pretences for taking up Arms againſt them were not wanting. The *Volſci* had lent the *Latins* Forces, in the laſt War; which was Ground enough for the *Romans* to fall upon them: And it was therefore decreed, that one of the *Conſuls* ſhould go and carry the War into the Country of their old Enemies. All the Difficulty was, how to raiſe Troops enough to form an Army. The *Roman* Youth had Notice to come to the *Capitol*, as uſual, in order to their being inliſted, and formed into *Legions*; but tho' they were more than once ſummoned, no Body appeared. And this Diſobedience of the People, divided the *Conſuls* into contrary Opinions, and created a Difference between them, which laſted the whole Time of their Office. *Claudius* was a *Sabine*, who was naturally of an auſtere and frugal Temper, and this complexional Severity was increaſed by the Education he had had in his own Country. Being therefore an Enemy to all Licentiouſneſs, he was enraged at this of the *Roman* People: And being perſuaded that the only way to reform it was to humble the untractable, he thought to ſubject them all at once, both to the Rigour of the Laws, and the Sovereignty of the Senate. The Rectitude of his Intentions, made him deaf to all prudential Conſiderations, and he miſcalled his Obſtinacy, Steadineſs and Conſtancy. *Servilius* was a weaker Man, who turned with every Wind. He had entered into *M. Valerius*'s Schemes, more out of Puſillanimity, than on any rational Motives; and inclined to favour the People. He therefore was of Opinion, that in the preſent State of Affairs it was neceſſary, either wholly to forgive the People their Debts, or to leſſen conſiderably the Weight of them. At leaſt, he was againſt granting Actions to any Creditor who had ſuffered the Time appointed for the Payment of Debts to lapſe. But *Servilius*'s Moderation made no Impreſſion on the inveterate Prejudices of *Appius*. He perſiſted in ſuffering Creditors to purſue the Recovery of their Rights with the utmoſt Rigour; and was of Opinion, that the *Conſul* who ſhould be left in the City, during the War, ought to paſs a ſevere Sentence upon thoſe, who having been ſummoned into Court on account of their Debts, had failed to give in their Appearance on the Day appointed. *To favour the People*, ſaid he, *ſo far as to authorize their Acts of Injuſtice, is to furniſh them with Weapons for uſurping an arbitrary Power in* Rome. *This People was tractable and ſubmiſſive in the Time of the Kings, when none of them durſt defraud his Creditors, and every one paid likewiſe the Taxes which were laid upon him. But now, that they are delivered from theſe Burdens, they demand ſuch Immunities as it were unjuſt to grant them. Will they ever ſet Bounds to their Pretenſions, till they are entirely releaſed from all Obedience to the Laws, and from the Performance of the moſt inviolable Contracts? If therefore they attempt to raiſe any Diſturbances, let us quell them at once by the ſober Part of* Rome, *which we ſhall find to be ſuperior to the mad and profligate. Our young* Patricians *excel them in Valour, and almoſt equal them in Number. But the ſureſt Weapon to be made uſe of againſt them, is the Majeſty of the Senate; which ſtrikes the moſt audacious with Awe and Reverence, and the Laws make them drop their Arms. If the People ſhould gain the Aſcendant, thro' our Condeſcenſion, and ſet up an ambitious Man to be their Head,*

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 359.

Ibid. *p.* 360.

Ibid.

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Rome *will then be thrown back into all thoſe Misfortunes, from which the Gods and her own Valour have delivered her.*

THIS Diverſity of Opinions in the Senate, produced nothing but Diſputes. It aſſembled daily, and as oft broke up without coming to any Concluſions. The whole Time of the Debates was ſpent in perſonal Reflections and Contradictions. One of the *Conſuls* was kept ſteady by his Fear, the other by his Intrepidity. But in the mean time, the Seaſon drew on apace for taking the Field againſt the *Volſci:* And the Senate therefore, without coming to any Determination about the Affairs of the People, decreed that *Servilius* ſhould take upon him the military Expedition Abroad; and that *Appius* ſhould continue in *Rome* to regulate Affairs at Home. The *Patricians* hoped, that by this means *Servilius*, who was more popular than his Collegue, would be able to raiſe an Army with the more Eaſe; and that *Appius* would, by his Severity during the War, reſtrain the Attempts of the People, and force them to pay their Debts. They did not then foreſee what Misfortunes *Appius*'s Rigour was going to produce.

ACCORDINGLY *Servilius*, whom the People looked on as the Support of their Intereſts, aſſembled Troops enough to make him venture to take the Field. The Army he commanded, did not indeed conſiſt of Soldiers formally enrolled and ſworn: The People perſiſted in refuſing the Senate Levies legally made. *Servilius*'s Men were all Voluntiers, who made his Army the more formidable, in that they ſerved only out of Affection to their General. So that they entered into the Country of the *Volſci*, and ſtruck them with Terror. Theſe old Enemies of the *Roman* Name, were ſurprized to ſee themſelves prevented by armed Citizens, whom they thought ſufficiently employ'd in Broils and Diſſentions in their own City.

As for the *Volſci*, neither were their Preparations made, nor their Troops aſſembled. As ſoon as their Surprize was over, they found they had no Refuge left, but Supplications and Intreaties: And the too weak *Servilius* ſuffered himſelf to be wrought upon by the Sight of the moſt honourable Inhabitants of the Country lying proſtrate at his Feet. He ſhewed them Favour, and contented himſelf with requiring of them Subſiſtence, and Clothes for his Troops, and three hundred Hoſtages of the moſt illuſtrious Nobility in the Country.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 361. Liv. B. 2. c. 22.

§. III. AFTER *Servilius*'s Return, the *Conſuls* and Senate thought *Rome* in no Danger from any other Quarter: Upon which, the rich proſecuted their Debtors with more Violence, and the Judgments which were given againſt the poor Debtors, were more ſevere. By this means, the Impriſonment and Slavery of the common People, who were delivered up to their Creditors, renewed all the old Complaints againſt thoſe who had moſt Power in the State. *It is in vain then,* ſaid they, *for us to venture our Lives for an ungrateful City, which uſes us here like Slaves taken in War. If we were ſubject to the Enemies of* Rome, *whom we have ſo often ſubdued with our Swords, could we have leſs Liberty than we now have among our Fellow-Citizens?* But whilſt theſe Clamours were neglected, and the People made to ſubmit to the Rigour of the Law, Envoys came to *Rome* from the *Latins*, who were become wiſe, and well-affected to the Republick, ſince the great Overthrow they had received near the Lake *Regillus*. Theſe brought to *Rome* ſome Deputies which had been ſent to their Nation by the *Volſci*, in order to engage them to join with them againſt the *Romans*. It ſeems to have been a Breach of the Law of Nations to deliver up Ambaſſadors to their Enemies: Nevertheleſs, *Rome* knew how to make her Advantage of the Informations ſhe received from them. She learned by them, that the *Sabines* and *Hernici* were entered into a League with the *Volſci*, and that the latter were fortifying their Towns, and ſecretly making Preparations for War. And then the Fidelity of the *Latins* was thought worthy of a Reward. The Republick gave them back about ſix thouſand Priſoners, which had been taken from them in the laſt War: And it was likewiſe ordered that they ſhould be new-cloathed, before they ſet out for their own Country. By this handſome Treatment the *Romans* became abſolute Maſters of the Affections of the *Latins:* Who, in Proof of their Gratitude and Attachment to them, ſent to *Rome* a Crown of Gold, to be hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*. In ſhort, theſe reciprocal Marks of Union were followed by mutual Hoſpitality.

Livy, ibid.

§. IV. IT is eaſy to conceive, that the haughty *Romans* would not let the Ingratitude of the *Volſci* eſcape unpuniſhed, who had been guilty of breaking a Peace, which had

had juſt been granted them, at their own Requeſt. So that the Senate decreed, that War ſhould be made with them: And it was the People's Buſineſs to confirm the Decree of the Senate. But an unexpected Accident raiſed freſh Troubles in the City all on a ſudden, and increaſed the publick Diviſions. Whilſt the Senators were aſſembled in the Place where they uſually met, a *Roman*, tall of Stature, and advanced in Years, lean, and of a pale livid Complexion, whoſe Eyes were ſunk into his Head, his Beard long and buſhy, and his Hair in Diſorder, appeared in the *Forum*. At his Clamours and extravagant Geſtures, the Multitude ran together about him. The Crowd increaſed every Moment, and became at laſt almoſt as great as uſed to aſſemble when a Magiſtrate aſcended *The Tribune* to harangue the People. They looked on the *Roman* with great Attention; till at length ſeveral knew him, and remembered to have ſeen him in the firſt Ranks of the *Legions*, in which he had gained himſelf ſome Reputation for Valour. His Appearance alone drew the Peoples Compaſſion upon him; but when they had heard him give an Account of his Misfortunes, they were exceedingly grieved for him, and filled with Rage and Reſentment. *I was born free*, ſays he, *and I have often hazarded my Life in the Service of* Rome. *Eight and twenty Battles, in which I diſtinguiſh'd my ſelf, and often gained the uſual Rewards of Valour, have placed me among the honourable* Veterans [2] *of the* Roman *Soldiery* [3]. *But alas! it was my great Misfortune that I did not die honourably, by the Hands of an Enemy! Do you remember the extreme Want to which the City was reduced, during the War with the* Sabines? *A Contribution was then raiſed upon the People, which I did not refuſe to pay. But ſtill the Price of Proviſions increaſed, and I could no longer ſupport my Family without borrowing. Yet, after all, my Frugality would have enabled me to have paid my Debts, if our Enemies had not taken from me the Remains of a moderate Fortune, in the Devaſtations they committed in the* Roman *Territory. By their Robberies, and a Fire, I was deprived all at once of the little I had left to live upon, and to ſatisfy my Creditors. But nevertheleſs, the Enemies of* Rome *were not the moſt cruel Perſecutors I have met with. My covetous Fellow-Citizens have brought me, by degrees, into an Abyſs of Miſery. Firſt my Corn and my Cattle were ſeized; then I ſaw my Land put up to publick Sale; and, to complete my Misfortunes, I, with my two Sons, was reduced to Slavery, by my Creditors; and I, alas! have loſt that Liberty* [4], *which I ſpilt my*

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2 Thoſe were called *Veterans*, or *Milites emeriti*, in antient *Rome*, who had ſerved the Republick as many Years as was uſually required of Soldiers: which was twenty Years for the Foot, and ten Years for the Horſe; whether they were inliſted the firſt Year after they came to the Age of Man, or later. It has been already obſerved, that the legal Age for military Service, was from ſeventeen to forty ſix. Not that, as *Sigonius* thought, every *Roman* was indiſpenſably obliged to be enrolled as ſoon as he was ſeventeen. At that Rate every one muſt have begun to ſerve at that Age. Which will appear to be abſolutely falſe, and utterly improbable, eſpecially if we reflect ever ſo little upon the eſtabliſhed Order of making Levies, and chooſing Soldiers, among the *Romans*. Beſides, in that Caſe the Law, inſtead of requiring twenty Years Service, would have required thirty. Now it is certain, according to *Polybius*, *Livy*, and *Tacitus*, that a Soldier, as ſoon as he had ſerved twenty Years, was abſolutely diſcharged from further Service, tho' he was not arrived at the Age of forty ſix Years; and much more therefore, when he had entered into the Service at ſeventeen. It's true, ſome Authors, and *Livy* himſelf, ſeem to extend the military Age to fifty Years. *Seneca* ſays as much, *De brevitate vitæ, cap. ult.* ——*Lex a quinquageſimo anno militem non cogit.* But they only meant, that a Soldier who at the Age of forty ſix, had not fulfilled the Time appointed by Law, might be forced to ſerve till he was fifty; or elſe, that in Caſes of urgent Neceſſity, the Republick had a Right of requiring ſome Years Service, beyond the Time limited by Law. At fifty, a Soldier, whether he had ſerved twenty Years or not, might either demand his Diſcharge, or continue to ſerve as a *Veteran* and Voluntier, as he thought proper.

3 *Livy* makes this Soldier ſay, he had been an Officer.

4 The firſt Cuſtom that prevailed among the *Romans*, with reſpect to Debtors, was exceedingly ſevere. The Creditor was ſuffered to keep thoſe who could not pay him, in Priſon. The *Patricians* themſelves pleaded this Cuſtom, for cauſing thoſe *Plebeians* to be whipped, who did not pay their Debts at the Time appointed. The Intent of the *Kings*, was thereby to prevent the Debauchery, Prodigality, and Idleneſs of the common People. But after all, ſo ſevere a Law had its Inconveniences. Unforeſeen Conjunctures happened, in which the People were obliged to borrow, to ſupport Life: And then no body in *Rome* would lend, but at an immenſe Intereſt. The Laws permitted lending at 20, 30, nay *Cent. per Cent.* not only for a Year, but even for a Month. This was exorbitant Uſury: and it was afterwards reformed: But the Republick tolerated it at firſt, to hinder the Citizens of *Rome* from borrowing, and to lay a check upon Debauchery and Exceſs. Nay, which is more, when a Man died inſolvent, his Body was given up to his Creditors, who tore it in pieces, and took every one a Bit, by way of Payment. This was a barbarous Law, and did not continue long in Force. This Barbarity was changed into the Puniſhment of *Coercition*, that is, into the Right the Creditors had of impriſoning their Debtors in their own Houſes, and making Slaves of them. Theſe were called *Nexi*, and not *Servi*; becauſe their Slavery laſted no longer than

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my Blood to eſtabliſh in Rome. At theſe Words he pulled off the Rags which covered his Body, and ſhewed on his Breaſt, the Scars of the honourable Wounds he had received from the Enemy; and on his Shoulders, the freſh Marks of the Whip with which he had been whipped, by his Maſter's Order. At this Sight, the Spectators, filled with Indignation, made great Outcries. The Senate, which was then ſitting, and heard theſe Clamours, was affrighted at them. In ſhort, all the City came by degrees, and joined the People which were in the *Forum*. The Artificers left their Shops, and the Citizens who were confined for Debt, broke their Chains and came out of their Priſons: And by the frightful Figure they made, the Noiſe of their Chains, their tattered Clothes, and their roaring, they raiſed both Pity and Terror. Theſe Wretches ſpread themſelves all over the City, and if any one pretended to ſtop them, he was immediately maſſacred. They were tranſported with Rage and Fury.

The *Conſul Appius* plainly ſaw, that the Fury of the Mutineers was like to fall upon him: And he therefore haſted away from the Senate, and got to his Houſe. *Servilius*, after he had pulled off his Robe, that he might be thereby the more agreeable to the People, went in among the factious. And tho' he embraced ſome, threw himſelf at the Feet of others, and lamented all their Misfortunes, he had much ado to prevail upon them to ſuſpend all Acts of Violence till the next Day. They would not hearken to him at all, till he promiſed that the Senate ſhould have Regard to their Complaints. Nay, *Servilius* went farther; he made Proclamation by an Herald, That no one ſhould moleſt any *Roman* Citizen for Debt, till the Senate had decreed otherwiſe.

The next Day the *Forum* was full both of Citizens and Countrymen, whoſe common Intereſt had brought them thither. And whilſt they were expecting the Anſwer of the Senate, the *Conſcript Fathers* were diſputing among themſelves; ſome in favour of the People; others, in order to ſupport the Rich, and eſtabliſh the Sovereignty of the Senate. *Appius*, among others, who was an avowed Advocate for the Nobility, charged as a Crime upon his Collegue, the Method he had taken to appeaſe the Tumult the Day before. He repreſented him as a vile Flatterer of the *Plebeians*, and a Favourer of the Revolt. On the other hand, *Servilius* accuſed him of indiſcreet Severity, and made him the Author of the Inſurrections. So that, there was no end of their Diſputes. Beſides, there was not a ſufficient Number of Senators aſſembled, to make a Decree. The People therefore, who impatiently expected one, were enraged at theſe Delays. They put an ill Conſtruction on the Abſence of the Senators, and imagined it had been a thing concerted with the *Conſuls*, on purpoſe to fruſtrate the Expectations of the People. Nor could any thing have hindered the ſeditious from revenging themſelves on the two chief Magiſtrates of the Republick, if an unexpected Piece of News had not changed the Situation of Affairs.

Liv. B.2.c.23.

Dion. Hal. B.6. p.362.

While the People were yet in a Crowd in the *Forum*, they ſaw Deputies arrive from the *Latins*, who had come full Speed, to acquaint the *Romans*, that the *Volſci* had taken the Field, entered into the Territory of the *Latins*, and were advancing with Deſign to beſiege *Rome*. How ſurprizing are the Effects of human Paſſions! The *Plebeians* were at firſt overjoyed to ſee their own Republick in Danger. Little Diviſions among one another, made the greateſt Part of the *Romans* forget the Love of their Country. When the Citizens overwhelmed with Debts, were invited to take up Arms, in Defence of the Publick, they ſhewed the Chains with which their Creditors had loaded them. *Is not it the ſame thing to us*, ſaid they, *whether they are put upon us by the Enemy, or by our own Countrymen? Let the* Patricians *run to the War, ſince they are the only Perſons who reap any Benefit from our Victories! Shall we make a Rampart of our Bodies, only to hinder the Enemy from pulling down our Priſons, and carrying away our Chains?* Such Diſcourſes as theſe, ſcattered among the People, made them inſenſible of the Danger, with which *Rome* was threatned. Nevertheleſs, the Criei and Screamings of the Women, who were terrified at the Approach of the Enemy, were equally proper to abate the Rigour of the Senate, and overcome the Obſtinacy of

than till their Debts were paid. This *Coercition* of private Perſons, who kept their Debtors in their own Houſes, was afterwards changed into publick Impriſonments, which was a leſs rigorous Puniſhment than that Slavery, whereby Men were kept Captives in the Houſes of their own Creditors.

the People. But it was neceſſary ſomething more ſhould be done, to bring the Commonalty to agree, to lend their Country their Aſſiſtance.

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HAD *Appius Claudius*'s Collegue been of his Temper, *Rome* had become a Prey to the *Volſci*. But the Republick had the Happineſs to find a Remedy againſt the impending Misfortunes, in *Servilius*'s Weakneſs. He was prevailed upon by his Friends, to go to the People again, and to carry them a ſecond time, ſuch Promiſes from the Senate, as the Senators were firmly reſolved never to perform. None but a Man of his Weakneſs of Mind, would have taken upon him to delude ſo formidable a Part of the State. When the People were aſſembled in the *Forum*, *Servilius* aſcended *The Tribune*, and ſpoke thus.

DOMESTICK *Feuds are now very unſeaſonable, when our Lives and Eſtates are in danger. Shall we ſee this City, which has been made ſacred by ſuch venerable* Auſpices, *reduced to Aſhes, through the Obſtinacy of thoſe who are moſt concerned in Intereſt to defend it? Shall theſe Houſes, theſe domeſtick Altars, theſe paternal* Lares, *under whoſe Protection you came into the World, and which are a Refuge for your Wives and Children, be plundered and demoliſhed, by Foreigners and Barbarians? Will you,* Romans, *ſuffer this? You, who have taken ſo many Cities, and have yourſelves been thereby made Eye-witneſſes of the terrible Deſolation thoſe Cities were overwhelmed with, in conſequence of your Victories? You would have your Grievances firſt redreſſed, before you lend your Country your Aſſiſtance. But is this a regular Way of Proceeding? Firſt begin with delivering us from the Danger which hangs over our Heads, and then come and ſtretch out your victorious Hands to the Senate. I know what the Intentions of the Senators are. They are too equitable a Body, to refuſe great Rewards to important Services. I even dare promiſe you this, that your Demands ſhall be complied with, as ſoon as* Rome, *by being freed from her Fear, ſhall be in a Condition to give you Satisfaction, without Diſhonour to herſelf. Has not the Senate been obliged hitherto to hold the Balance even between your Creditors and you? They juſtly demand thoſe Payments, from which you think your Indigence ought to exempt you. This is a Debate, which it would take up a great deal of Time to diſcuſs. And the Way to end it, is this. Make the rich* Romans *your Debtors, for the Preſervation of their Eſtates, and put it out of their Power to refuſe to acquit you of your Debts, without Ingratitude. To remit them now, is neither conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Senate, nor with your own Glory. It would then be ſaid, that the Decree was only granted you out of Fear, and that you could not have obtained it, but by Violence.* This Diſcourſe abated the Fury of the Populace; and the reading a Decree which was paſſed the ſame Day, entirely quelled it. All Creditors were thereby forbidden to proſecute any for Debt, who were entered into military Service, or to diſturb their Wives, or Children, or to ſell their Houſes, Lands, or Cattel: but the Creditors were commanded to proſecute all ſuch Debtors with Severity, as either ſhould refuſe to inliſt themſelves according to Law, or deſert after they were once enliſted.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 363.

§. V. To this wiſe Law the *Romans* owed their Preſervation. Thoſe who before were moſt warm in refuſing the military Oaths [5], were now moſt preſſing to take them. There never was a greater Concourſe of People at the *Capitol*, than now. They ſeemed to make Intereſt to be admitted into the *Legions*. The Reaſon was, they were afraid of *Appius*, and of the Severity with which he would treat thoſe

[5] The giving the military Oath, which was called *Sacramentum*, was, properly ſpeaking, the legal Method of forming the *Roman* Armies. After the Soldiers had been choſen out of each *Tribe*, in the manner elſewhere deſcribed, this Oath was adminiſtered to them. The Ceremony was this. The *Tribunes* of each *Legion* aſſembled the Body they commanded. Then one Soldier in a *Legion* ſwore, in the Name of all the reſt, to obey the Commanders of the *Roman* Army. After this, every Soldier came, and ſingly engaged to perform what had been ſworn. This Cuſtom continued till the 538th Year of *Rome*; and then another Oath, called by *Livy*, *B.* 22. *Juſjurandum*, (of which we ſhall ſpeak in its proper Place) was added to the former. By virtue of this laſt Engagement, Rebels and Deſerters were puniſhed with Death, and no Appeal admitted. There was likewiſe another Way of enliſting Men, which was called *Conjuratio*. It took place, in caſe of unforeſeen Commotions, and the ſudden Eruptions of an Enemy. Then, that no time might be loſt in raiſing the neceſſary Succours, the Soldiers were excuſed the Formalities, uſually obſerved in enrolling them. The General only went up to the *Capitol*, and there erected two Standards; one red, for the Foot; and the other blue, for the Horſe. After which, he pronounced theſe Words, with a loud Voice: *Let thoſe who love the Safety of the Republick, make haſte and follow me.* A third Way of enrolling or enliſting Men, then in Uſe, is this. The *Conſuls* committed it to the Care of choſen Perſons, to raiſe Troops in different Places, as the Republick had occaſion for them; and this was called *Evocatio*.

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Debtors who ſhould be left in *Rome*. As ſoon as the Levies were completed, the *Conſul Servilius* immediately marched out of the City. He made haſte, that he might come up with the Enemy, before they entered into the Lands of the *Romans*: And accordingly, by long and uninterrupted Marches, he reached them in the *Latin* Territories. The *Volſci* were there revenging, by their Robberies, the pretended Treachery of the *Latins*, who had betrayed their Ambaſſadors, and ſacrificed them to their Attachment to the Republick. *Servilius* came and encamped over Night, within reach of the Enemy, in a Plain, bordering upon the *Pontine Lake* [6]. The Sight of the *Conſul* raiſed the Valour of the *Volſci*; and they purpoſed to attack his Camp the Night following. They thought, that the *Romans*, when fatigued with a long March, and divided among themſelves, would not be able to withſtand their Attacks; and that the Malecontents would have a better Opportunity of concealing their Treachery in the Dark, if they engaged in the Night. In the mean time, the *Conſul* fortified his Entrenchments with ſurprizing Expedition. He was an abler Soldier, than Politician.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 25.

THE Night was already far advanced, when the *Volſci* marched ſilently on, to ſurprize or force the *Roman* Camp. But the *Roman* Centinels perceived they were in Motion, and gave the Alarm. Upon this, the *Conſul* inſtantly drew up his Men upon the Rampart; and his Army made ſo great an Appearance, as diſconcerted the Meaſures of the *Volſci*. But as ſoon as Day came, the Battel began. The Enemy had filled up a Part of the Ditch, and were already breaking down the Palliſadoes, which ſurrounded the *Falſe-bray* of the Camp; whilſt *Servilius* ſtood unactive, and made no haſte to fall on the Enemy. He was not yet ſufficiently aſſured of the Good-Will of his Troops. But when he heard his Men accuſe him of Inactivity, and ſhew their Deſire of fighting, by their Shouts; he then, being as deſirous of fighting as they, ordered all the Gates of his Camp to be opened, and made a general Sally upon the *Volſci*. Theſe did not look for ſo vigorous an Attack. They were for the moſt part diſperſed about, without keeping their Ranks, and expecting nothing but to enter the *Roman* Camp, and plunder it. This unforeſeen Eruption therefore forced the *Volſci* to fly. Thoſe only made any Reſiſtance, who perſiſted in demoliſhing the Fortifications of the *Roman* Camp. But they, being at laſt attacked both in Front and Rear, all periſhed in the Engagement. As for the Fugitives, the *Romans* purſued them cloſe, and ſtrewed all the Plain with their dead Bodies. It was obſerved, that thoſe who were moſt in Debt, and had been the moſt mutinous in *Rome*, ſignalized themſelves moſt in the Action. The Enemy, being repulſed by their Valour, retired, after much Loſs, into their Camp: And, without giving them any time to breathe, the Camp of the *Volſci* was immediately inveſted. Upon which, their Terror was ſo great, that, after a ſlight Defence, they left it to be a Prey for the *Roman* Soldiers. And here they found more Spoil, than in a City taken by Aſſault. Money, Furniture, Clothes, Cattel, and Slaves, were all given up as free Booty to the Troops. The *Conſul* reſerved nothing of it for the publick [7] Treaſury. His Deſign being to enrich his Army, and enable his Soldiers to pay their Debts.

THE gaining this Battle emboldened *Servilius* to undertake a Siege. His Troops alſo were ready to follow him, and undertake any thing he ſhould command. He therefore turned towards *Sueſſa*, which was alſo called *Pometia*. The Largeneſs of

6 The *Pontina Palus*, or *Pontine Lake*, was in that Part of *Latium*, which is bounded on the Eaſt, partly by the Rivers *Ufens* and *Amazinus*, and partly by the City of *Anxur*, or *Terracina*; on the South, by the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and the Promontory of *Circæum*; on the Weſt, by the River *Aſtura*; and on the North, by the Cities of *Norba* and *Setia*. This Lake took its Name, from being in the Neighbourhood of *Pometia*, formerly one of the moſt conſiderable Cities in this Country. Before this Part of *Latium* was drowned by the Overflowings of the *Nymphæus*, the *Amaſena*, the *Aſtura*, and the *Ufens*, it was thought the Garden of *Italy*, both for Pleaſure and Fertility. There were, according to antient Authors, and eſpecially *Pliny*, *B.* 3. *ch.* 5. twenty-three Cities in it, which are ſuppoſed to have been ſwallowed up by Inundations, or overturned by Earthquakes. At leaſt, there were no Remains of them to be ſeen in *Dion. Hal.*'s Time.

7 It was then cuſtomary to divide the Spoils between the victorious Army, and the publick Treaſury. The Product of theſe Spoils, which were taken from an Enemy, was generally applied either to the building of the Temples, or the Celebration of publick Sports, or to adorn the City. *Servius* even aſſures us, upon *Æneid.* 3. that the Generals made it Matter of Religion, to appropriate a Part of the Fruit of their Victories to the God whoſe Protection they invoked. Agreeably to this Cuſtom, adds *Servius*, there was a Temple built at *Rome*, to *Jupiter the Plunderer*, *Jupiter Prædatori*. But antient Authors give us no Account, either of the Place where this Temple ſtood, or of him that conſecrated it: and their Silence creates a ſtrong Suſpicion of the Truth of *Servius*'s Relation.

its Circumference, and the Multitude, Riches, and Luxury of its Inhabitants, made it paſs for the Capital of the *Volſci*. But it was taken, almoſt as ſoon as inveſted. The Beſiegers perpetually haraſſed it Day and Night, by ſcaling the Walls, and gave the Beſieged no Reſt; till Famine, Fatigues, and Deſpair of Succours, ſunk the Courage of the *Sueſſans*; and their City was at laſt taken by Aſſault. And now *Servilius* loſt his Mildneſs and Good-nature all at once. He put all to the Sword, who were paſt the Age of *Puberty*. A ſtrange Piece of Barbarity, which his Collegue imitated at *Rome*, but with more Equity! By *Appius Claudius*'s Orders, the three hundred Hoſtages, the *Volſci* had given the *Romans*, upon *Servilius*'s firſt Expedition, were all beheaded. With regard to the Spoil, the General did the ſame thing at *Sueſſa*, as he had done with the Camp of the *Volſci*. He gave up this wealthy City, as free Booty for his Troops, without reſerving any Part of the Plunder for the publick Treaſury. By this means, his Army was encouraged to make new Conqueſts under his Command, and had no Reaſon to repent of having followed his Standards.

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WHILST *Servilius* was employed in conquering and puniſhing the Enemies of the Republick, the Fruits of his Victories were taſted at *Rome*. The *Ecetrans*, who were a Part of the *Volſci*, came, and deſired a Peace of the Senate: Who treated them with much Severity. The *Romans* took from them the Property of their Lands, and granted them nothing but their Lives. *Livy, B. 2. ibid.*

So glorious a Campaign had merited the Honours of a Triumph for the *Conſul*; and he was returning to the City, full of Hopes of obtaining it. But he received Information, as he was on his March, that his Collegue obſtructed his Glory, either out of Jealouſy, or a rigid Love of Juſtice, or ſome Remains of Reſentment, or laſtly, barely as an auſtere Republican, alway ſuſpicious of the ambitious Deſigns of the Succeſsful. In ſhort, *Appius Claudius* perſuaded the Senate to refuſe the Conqueror a Triumph. His Pretence was the Indulgence with which *Servilius* had treated his Troops [8], and his profuſe Bounties to them, contrary to the publick Intereſt. *He is a ſeditious Man*, ſaid he, *whoſe Popularity tends to Tyranny. To increaſe his Honours, is to increaſe the Fears of all good Commonwealths-men.* But *Servilius* was ſenſibly affected with the Injuſtice of the Proceedings of the Senate, and avoided the Indignities they intended him, by a bold Step, which afterwards proved a fatal Precedent to his Country. When he was come before [9] *Rome*, he cauſed the People to be called together, in a Field without the Walls, and complained to them, both of the Jealouſy of his Collegue, and the Injuſtice of the Senators: Upon which, the People encouraged him by their Acclamations to attempt whatever he pleaſed. Inſomuch that, contrary to the Deciſion of the *Conſcript Fathers*, he, barely upon the Conſent of the *Curiæ*, decreed himſelf a Triumph [10]. Accordingly, *Servilius* immediately took the Crown of Laurel, put on the *Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 365.*

8 *Servilius* was accuſed by his Collegue, of having acted contrary to the Law, which ordained, that the General, who returned from any military Expedition, ſhould not diſpoſe of the Spoil he had taken from the Enemy, as he pleaſed. This Law made him accountable for it, and obliged him to bring all the Spoils which had been taken under his Command, into the publick Treaſury. But nevertheleſs, it is certain the Republick often diſpenſed with this ſevere Law, and left it to the Diſcretion of the General, to diſtribute ſuch military Rewards, and Bounties, among his Soldiers, in order to quicken their Courage, as he thought fit. Provided always, that he gave an Account of his Adminiſtration, to the People, and did not convert the Fruits of the Conqueſts he gained in the Name of the Republick, to his own private Uſe. We have Multitudes of Inſtances of this kind. Notwithſtanding which, the Law made way for Chicane, and ſerved for a Pretence to ill-deſigning Men, who were jealous of the Glory of a General; as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory.

9 *Servilius* made an halt, as ſoon as he came in Sight of *Rome*, becauſe the Laws did not permit him, who demanded a Triumph, to enter into the City. He was obliged to keep without the Walls with his Army. There the Perſon who claimed a Triumph, waited for the Conſent of the Senate; to which, he, according to Cuſtom, ſent a Letter wrapped up in Laurel. Upon the Receipt of this, the Senators aſſembled in a Body, in the Temple of *Bellona*, which ſtood in one of the Suburbs of *Rome*. Here the General gave an Account of his Expedition to the Senate. After which, the Senators made a Decree, by which they granted the Conqueror the Honours of a Triumph. This Decree was reported to the People, who confirmed it, and fixed the Day for the Ceremony; unleſs the *Tribunes of the People* oppoſed it: which ſometimes happened. And this Law was a great Inſtance of the Policy of the *Romans*. An ambitious General, at the Head of a victorious Army, might have cauſed great Diſorders in *Rome*, if he had been permitted to enter it with his Army; and might have gotten a Triumph by Force, which he had not merited.

10 *Servilius* appears to have been the firſt *Roman* General, who decreed himſelf what the Senate refuſed to grant him. It is true, the People conſented to his Triumph, but it was contrary to Rule. It then belonged to the Senate firſt to paſs a Decree, whereby the Honours of a Triumph were granted to the General: And after this, it belonged to the People to confirm this Decree. Nay, it was even neceſſary, that the Senate ſhould be unanimous in the General's Favour. Afterwards, the Oppoſition of one ſingle *Tribune of the People* was ſufficient to hinder the Triumph of a *Conſul*. As for *Servilius*, he

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Livy, B. 2. ch. 21.

the triumphal Robe, and marched into *Rome*, followed by his Army, and attended by all the People. This numerous Train conducted the triumphant Victor to the *Capitol*; and there he returned Thanks to the Gods, and hung up ſeveral Spoils, which he had taken from the Enemy. It is eaſy to imagine, this new Way of triumphing muſt give exceeding great Diſtaſte to the Nobility, and draw the Hatred of the Senate upon the *Conſul*. Accordingly, this Triumph is omitted [11] in the *Faſti Capitolini*; and Poſterity have thought it an unlawful one. And thus much may be affirmed in general, that *Servilius* never exerted himſelf with Vigour in Affairs at *Rome*, but when it was to promote his own Glory.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 21.

However, the *Conſulate*, which had been ſo fruitful in Events of Conſequence, did not end with the Return and Triumph of *Servilius*. He had yet ſome Months left, to enjoy the inconſtant Favour of the People in, before his Magiſtracy expired: And the Feaſtings and Sports which followed his Victory, engaged all the Attention of the *Romans*. The Debtors ſuſpended their Murmurs, and ſeditious Aſſemblies, during this ſhort Interval, which was employed in Works of Peace, and the Offices of Religion. It is probable, this Juncture was taken hold of, to ſtrengthen the Colony of *Signia*. A Recruit of *Roman* Citizens was ſent thither, who put this Colony, which King *Tarquin* had planted, out of the Reach of the Inſults of the *Volſci*. And laſtly, the Number of the *Tribes* was regulated, and fixed to [12] twenty one.

§. VI. But whilſt *Rome* was enjoying ſome Months of Tranquillity, and the Earneſtneſs of the People in purſuing the publick Games, made them forget their Miſery, there came in the Evening a Piece of News to the City, which interrupted its Diverſions. It was ſaid, that ſome Squadrons of *Sabines* appeared about the *Tyber*, and committed Hoſtilities in the Territory of *Rome*. *Poſthumius* therefore, the famous *Dictator* of the laſt Year, flew inſtantly upon theſe Rebels, at the Head of the Cavalry; and was ſoon followed by *Servilius*, who led the Infantry he had haſtily raiſed, to the Banks of the *Anio*. Theſe two Generals ſurrounded the Pillagers, ſurprized them aſleep in the Peaſants Cottages, and did not give them time to recover their own Country. So that this firſt Alarm which the *Sabines* gave the Republick, began and ended the ſame Night.

At the ſame time, a new Enemy declared it ſelf againſt *Rome*. The [13] *Aurunci* were a ſmall Nation, in the [14] *Campania* of the *Latins*. They were ſituated in a fruitful Plain of this fine Country, and were Neighbours to the *Ecetrans*, who inhabited a Part of the Country of the *Volſci*. Ever ſince the Senate had deprived the *Ecetrans* of their Territory, *Rome* had ſent thither a Colony, with Troops to defend it; and the *Aurunci* were diſturbed at the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*. They therefore came to the Senate, and demanded that the Garriſon, whoſe Nearneſs to them gave them Umbrage, ſhould be removed. And to theſe

he triumphed, in direct Oppoſition to the Will of the Senate. This paved the Way for *Julius Cæſar*'s demanding at the Head of his Troops, what the Republick had refuſed him.

11 We indeed don't find any mention of *Servilius*'s Triumph in the Marbles which are now at *Rome* in the *Capitol*. *Livy* alſo omits it. *Dion. Hal.* alone ſpeaks of it; and that in ſuch a manner as to ſhew the Reaſon, why it was deſignedly ſuppreſſed by the *Latin* Hiſtorians, and not mentioned in the other publick Monuments. The Reaſon was, that it was contrary to the Laws, or at leaſt contrary to Cuſtoms eſtabliſhed in *Rome*, from the Beginning of the Republick.

12 In almoſt all the Editions of *Livy*, we read 31 *Tribes*, inſtead of 21, in theſe Words, *Romæ tribus una & triginta factæ*. And the leaſt we can ſay of it, is, that here is a Miſtake crept into the Text. Otherwiſe *Livy* will contradict himſelf. In this Author's Life-time, there were really but 35 *Tribes* in *Rome*, in all; and yet we find him ſaying a little lower, that nine were added to the Number he had juſt mentioned. So that there muſt have been more than 35 in his Time, if the Number he ſpoke of before, was 31. And what further ſhews, that we ought here to read 21, and not 31, is this, that in *Coriolanus*'s Trial, which we ſhall immediately mention, all the *Tribes* were aſſembled; and when all had given their Suffrages, 9 were for acquitting, and 12 for condemning him, which make juſt 21 *Tribes* in all. If then what *Livy* aſſures us of, be true, namely, that in this Year 258, the Number of the *Tribes* was encreaſed to 21; then ſome Authors could have had no Foundation for ſaying, that there were 21 *Tribes* in *Servius Tullius*'s Time. There were then but 19 in all; 4 in the City, called *Suburrana*, *Palatina*, *Eſquilina*, and *Collina*, and 15 in the Country. So that we had reaſon to ſay, there were but 15 rural *Tribes* in his Time. We ſhall in another Place give the Reader the Names and Situations of theſe *Tribes*, as well as of thoſe which were added to them, in proportion as the Republick enlarged its Frontiers.

13 The *Arunci*, or *Aurunci*, poſſeſſed that Part of *Italy*, which reaches from *Terra di Lavoro*, beyond the *Carigliano*, or the *Liris*. The Capital of this Nation was ſituated almoſt in the Neighbourhood of the Cities of *Fundi*, and *Cajeta*.

14 *Campania* is that Province of the *Terra di Lavoro*, which makes a Part of the Kingdom of *Naples*. In After-times, the Name of *Campania* comprehended all the Countries in *Latium*, along the River *Liris*.

Demands the Envoys added Threatnings, aſſuring the Senators, that their Troops were ready to enter the *Roman* Territory, if they refuſed to give them Satisfaction. But to this the Senate gave the *Aurunci* one of thoſe haughty Anſwers, which daily brought ſo many new Enemies upon the *Romans*. *It is ſurprizing*, ſaid they, *that the Nation of the* Aurunci *ſhould pretend to give Law to the Republick of* Rome, *and to hinder her from diſpoſing of a conquered Country as ſhe pleaſes. We are not terrified at your Threatnings.* Rome *has extricated her ſelf out of greater Dangers than theſe, and been able to deal with much more dreadful Enemies than you. Go, and tell your Maſters, it is a dangerous thing to attack thoſe, whoſe very Neighbourhood is formidable to them.*

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THE *Aurunci* were brave, and had not yet tried their Strength with the *Romans*. Beſides, they were ſenſible that the ambitious Republick did not come ſo near their Country, but with a View to invade it ſome time or other. Their Policy therefore was to prevent their Slavery, by attacking their Enemies, while they were yet divided. So that they entered *Latium*, and advanced, by long Marches, as far as the City of *Aricia*. There the *Roman* Army came up to them. The *Romans* were at firſt ſurprized at the gigantick Stature of theſe new Enemies, the Fierceneſs of their Looks, and the martial Air which diſtinguiſhed them from all the other People of *Italy*. But they depended upon the Ability of their Generals. *Servilius* was at the Head of them; and the brave *Poſthumius* eſpecially, who commanded the Cavalry, made them hope for Succeſs equal to that of *Regillum*. However, in the firſt Place, both Parties gave each other time to encamp. Then the *Aurunci* and *Romans* both marched out of their Entrenchments at the ſame time, and drew up in Battalia in a vaſt Plain, ſixteen Miles from *Rome*. The Battle began early in the Morning, and did not end till Noon. The firſt Onſet of the *Aurunci* was terrible, and the *Roman* Infantry found it difficult to withſtand it. Being furiouſly preſſed upon by theſe Barbarians, who excelled the *Romans* in Strength of Body, and Height of Stature, it already gave way, and the *Romans* loſt Ground inſenſibly. The Plain was covered with their Dead. And what terrified them moſt was, that they thought *Poſthumius* and his Cavalry could not be of any Uſe in the Action. The Field of Battle was rough and uneven, and ſo full of Rocks, that it was not poſſible to draw up the Squadrons. But the brave *Poſthumius* acted a Part on this Occaſion which recovered the Affairs of the *Romans:* He made his Cavalry diſmount, as he had done at the Battle of *Regillum*, and poſted them in the Place where the *Roman Legions* were moſt vigorouſly preſſed. This Reinforcement gave the Infantry Courage, and the Example of the *Roman Knights* filled them with Confidence. They all together repulſed the *Aurunci*, and uniting to form a ſquare Battalion, they broke into the Enemy's right Wing, and drove it back to the Hill which bounded the Plain. And there the Barbarians diſperſed themſelves. Their Valour was little elſe but mere Impetuoſity, neither conducted by Art, or any regular Diſcipline. When they were once put to Flight, they climbed up the ſteep Places with incredible Swiftneſs. The *Romans*, who purſued them, contented themſelves with hamſtringing thoſe they overtook, with the Backs of their Swords. But ſuch as made any Reſiſtance were killed upon the Spot. At laſt the *Romans* arrived at the Enemy's Entrenchments; where the few Soldiers who were left to defend them, were eaſily defeated. So that the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of the Camp of the *Aurunci*; where all the Spoil they found was only Arms, and ſome Inſtruments of War.

§. VII. AND now the having gained ſo many Victories in the Space of one Year, chiefly by the Aſſiſtance and Valour of thoſe who were moſt in Debt at *Rome*, puffed up the Minds of the People. They thought they might demand of the Senate the Performance of the Promiſes the Senators had made them by *Servilius*. They inſiſted, that thoſe Debts ſhould be remitted which had ruined them, by the Intereſt they had contracted to give the *Patricians*. But the Clamours of the Conquerors were as little heard now as formerly. The inflexible *Appius Claudius* even doubled the Severity of the Judgments he gave againſt ſuch Debtors as were brought before his Tribunal. And he had more Views than one, in being thus rigorous. Firſt, he by that means kept the People in Subjection. And, in the ſecond Place, he brought Diſcredit on his Collegue, who had not Intereſt enough left with *The Fathers*, to get them to perform what he had promiſed in their Name. *Appius* therefore commanded that all thoſe who had got out of their Creditors Pri- *Liv. B. 2. c. 24.*

Year of ROME CCLVIII.

Appius Claudius, and Publius Servilius, Conſuls.

ſons, ſhould be brought back to them by Force. But when, by the *Conſul*'s Sentence, one of *Servilius*'s Soldiers was going to be carried back to Slavery, he appealed to the Declaration and Promiſes of his General. *Servilius*'s Houſe was never empty of theſe unhappy Men, who, to move him, ſhewed the Wounds they had received, put him in mind of his Word, and conjured him to prevail on the Senate to perform what he had promiſed. *Servilius* was now ſenſible of his own Weakneſs, and pretended Reaſons for Delays, which were very unlikely to ſatisfy the Multitude. In ſhort, *Appius* had got the Aſcendant in the Senate, and his Faction in it prevailed. And at length the *Roman* People found out the Inſufficiency of their Protector, and repented of the Confidence they had placed in him. It was ſaid at *Rome*, that *Servilius*, tho' a Man of ſuperior Merit, gained nothing by his *Conſulate*, but the Hatred of the Senators, and the Contempt of the *Plebeians*. The former thought him ambitious, the latter falſe. How low he was ſunk in the Eſteem of the People, moſt remarkably appeared, in an Affair of Honour and Preference, diſputed between the two *Conſuls*.

Val. Max. B. 9. c. 3. Liv. B. 2. c. 27.

A Temple [15] had been erected to the Honour of *Mercury:* The Queſtion was, who ſhould conſecrate it. Conſiderable Privileges had been granted to him who ſhould do it. He was to be the Founder and Head [16] of a Society of Merchants in *Rome*. He was to have the Care of furniſhing the City with Proviſions, and of inſpecting them. And laſtly, he was to perform all the Functions of a *Pontifex Maximus*, within the Verge of this Temple, and to have all the Honours of one. It ſeemed, that one or t'other of the *Conſuls*, whoſe Office was expiring, had a Sort of Right to be the Man who was to conſecrate this Temple of *Mercury*. *Appius* thought to have carried this honourable Office from his Collegue, by the Nomination of the Senate; but the Choice of the Conſecrator was referred to the [17] People. The *Curiæ* therefore were aſſembled; and they fruſtrated the Expectations of both Competitors. The better to ſhew how diſſatisfied they were with both of them, they choſe one *M.* [18] *Lætorius*, out of the Army, tho' but a [19] *Centurion*, and conferr'd on him the Honours of conſecrating the Temple, and the Privileges which were annexed to it. This was indeed to affront the *Conſuls*; but the *Curiæ* choſe to keep no longer any Meaſures either with them or the *Patricians*.

Upon this, *Appius* and *Servilius*, who were equally enraged at the People, joined with the Senate in putting all the Laws againſt the Debtors in Execution, with the utmoſt Rigour. This Inconſiſtency of Behaviour in *Servilius*, reflected Diſhonour upon him; and the People had no regard at all to the ſevere Sentences of the two *Conſuls*.

15 *Livy* ſays, this Temple of *Mercury* was conſecrated on the *Ides*, that is the 15th Day, of *May*, which was thought by the Pagans to have been made holy by the Birth of this God. *Feſtus* tells us it was cuſtomary to perform this Ceremony of Conſecration on the Birth-day of the God, to whoſe Honour the Temple was dedicated. *Ovid* mentions both the Temple and Fountain of *Mercury*, which was near the *Porta Capena*, and whither the Merchants came to purify themſelves:

Templa tibi poſuere Patres ſpectantia Circum
Idibus. Ex illo eſt hæc tibi feſta dies.
Eſt aqua Mercurii portæ vicina Capenæ,
Si juvat expertis credere, numen habet.
Ut venit incinctus mercator, &c. Faſt. B. 5.

This Temple ſtood between the *Circus* and the Hill *Aventinus*.

16 Whether *Numa* had firſt erected this Society of Merchants, as *Plutarch* pretends; or *Servius Tullius*, as *Florus* and *Oroſius* obſerve; it is certain this Company ſubſiſted in *Rome*, under the Government and Direction of a Magiſtrate, whoſe Office was very like that of the *Prevôt des Marchands*, among the *French*. *Mercury*, who was thought by the Pagans the God of Commerce, was as it were the Patron of this Society. And therefore *Tully* calls Merchants *Mercuriales*.

17 Afterwards, this Right belonged to the People, aſſembled *by Tribes*. *Tully*, *Attic.* 4. 2. ſpeaks thus. *Si neque populi juſſu, neque ſcitu, qui ſe dedicaſſe diceret, nominatim ei rei præfectus eſſet: neque populi juſſu, neque ſcitu, id facere juſſus eſſet, videri poſſe ſine religione, eam partem æræ domino reſtitui.* According to the ſame Author, *Pro domo ſua*, by an antient Law, made by the *Tribunes of the People*, it was forbidden to conſecrate any Temple, Field, or Altar, without the Conſent of the *Comitia*. So that *Lucius Caſſius* the *Cenſor* having purpoſed to conſecrate a Statue of *Concord*, *Æmilius* the *Pontifex Maximus* anſwered, in the Name of the College of the *Pontifices*, that he muſt get the Conſent of the People, to whom alone it belonged, to chooſe the Perſon who was to do that Office. But it was nevertheleſs neceſſary, that the Perſon who had been choſen by them, ſhould be authorized by the Senate. This we learn from *Livy*, *B. 9. Ex autoritate Senatus, latum ad populum eſt, ne quis templum aramve injuſſu Senatus, aut tribunorum plebis partis majoris dedicaret.* In the early Times of the Republick, the *Conſuls* aſſumed this Power to themſelves, and drew Lots for it, to avoid Diſputes. But when the Right of Election came into the Hands of the People, *Duumviri* were ſometimes created, and the Office of dedicating committed to them.

18 *Livy* and *Val. Maximus* don't agree in the Name of the Perſon the People choſe on this Occaſion. *Livy* calls him *Lætorius*, and *Val. Maximus* gives him the Name of *Plætorius*.

19 It is true, *Lætorius*, or *Plætorius*, was only a *Centurion*, but he was a *Centurion* of Diſtinction. *Populus*, ſays *Livy*, *dedicationem ædis dat Marco Lætorio primi pili Centurioni.* I believe it ought to be read, *primi-pilo Centurioni.* The *Centurion*, who was called *primi-pilus Centurio*, was the firſt Captain in the *Legion*. This *Livy* declares, *B. 7. Primus Centurio erat quem nunc primi-pilum appellant.* This firſt *Centurion*, ſays *Vegetius*, *B. 2.* not only had the Eagle of the *Legion* in his Company, but had likewiſe the Command of four *Centuries*, *i. e.* 400 Men. The other *Centurions* in the *Legion*, were his Subalterns.

When-

Whenever any *Plebeian* was proſecuted for Debt, the Populace came in Crowds into the Court, and made ſo great a Noiſe, that no one could hear the Sentence pronounc'd. They no longer endeavour'd to appeaſe the Creditors, and mollify the Senate by Intreaties; they inſulted both, and inſtead of the *Plebeians*, the Danger of Impriſonment and Slavery now fell on the *Patricians*. Nothing now prevail'd in *Rome*, but Force and Violence. The People got together without being ſummoned, and the moſt mutinous held private Aſſemblies among themſelves. This was the State of *Rome* at the Concluſion of the *Conſulſhip* of *Appius Claudius*, and *Publius Servilius*. The one did not ſhew Favour enough to the People; the other had not Senſe and Reſolution enough to protect the Indigent from the Severities of the Rich, and at the ſame time make his Party good againſt his Collegue, who had gained an Aſcendant over him in the Senate.

Year of *ROME* CCLVIII. Aulus Claudius, and Publius Servilius, Conſuls.

§. VIII. When the time came for electing new *Conſuls*, the People were aſſembled *by Centuries*; and their Choice fell upon two *Patricians* of little Note; namely, *A. Virginius* [20], and *T. Veturius*. It is not probable, that in a time of ſuch general Commotion, the People would put two ſteddy Men at the Head of the Republick. They were more apprehenſive than ever of the Rigour of Men of that Character. Nevertheleſs, in order to guard againſt the Steps of their new *Conſuls*, (for they did not yet know whether they would declare for the Senate or them) the moſt conſiderable of the *Plebeians* aſſembled by Night, ſometimes on the Hill *Eſquilinus*, and ſometimes on the *Aventinus*, and took proper Meaſures to prevent their being ſuddenly ſurprized into any thing, in the Aſſemblies of the People, when they ſhould be called together. The *Conſuls* had Notice of theſe ſecret Meetings, and acquainted the Senate with them. All judged it would be dangerous to the Republick to tolerate them; but they did not think themſelves obliged to the *Conſuls*, for loading the Senate with the Hatred it would incur, by inflicting Puniſhment on the Offenders. It was indeed, the Policy of the *Conſuls*, not to order any thing of their own Heads, in ſuch a nice Conjuncture, but to leave all to the Senate. Of this the *Conſcript Fathers* were ſenſible, and filled the Senate-houſe with Clamours againſt *Virginius* and *Veturius*. They no longer obſerved any Order in voting: All cried out at once, that the *Romans* had choſen Heads to govern them, who neglected the Buſineſs of their Office, to throw the Odium of it upon others. They added, that if the Government had fallen into the Hands of Men as intrepid as *Appius Claudius*, theſe private Meetings would have been quelled, before any Complaint had been made of them to the Senate. In ſhort, the whole Aſſembly reprimanded the *Conſuls*, and commanded them immediately to raiſe Forces, in the legal Way, for the War which threatned the Republick.

Year of *ROME* CCLIX. Aulus Virginius, and Titus Veturius, Conſuls.

Indeed, the inteſtine Broils of the *Romans* invited their Neighbours to ſhake off the Yoke, which this haughty Republick had laid upon them. The *Sabines* [21] eſpecially raiſed a formidable Army, and the antient *Roman* Colony of *Medulia* revolted from their Maſters. They united themſelves to the *Sabines* by a League confirmed by reciprocal Oaths. It is not to be imagined, how much the Senators were affrighted at theſe Preparations and Revolts; but nevertheleſs, as they were hated by the People, the only Means they had left to raiſe an Army, was to have recourſe to the Authority of the *Conſuls*. They therefore commanded them to aſſemble the *Tribes*, in order to raiſe Troops out of them, according to Law. And then the Obſtinacy of the People ſhewed it ſelf, in refuſing to give their Country their Aſſiſtance, till ſuch time as they were diſcharged from their Debts. Of all thoſe who were ſummoned, ſcarce one appeared in the Place appointed for making the Levies. The *Conſuls* aſcended their Tribunal, and called over the Names of ſome of the young *Plebeians*: but no body

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 367.

20 *Livy* does not mention the Surnames of theſe *Conſuls*. But we learn from ſeveral Authors, that each of them had two: *Aulus Virginius* was ſurnamed *Tricoſtus* and *Cælimontanus*. *Titus Veturius* had the two Surnames of *Geminus* and *Cicurinus*. Nothing will for the future be more common, than to find the ſame *Roman* have more Surnames, that is, more Nicknames than one. *D. Hal.* gives *Virginius* no Surname, but that of *Cælimontanus*; which doubtleſs he had from his being born within the Diſtrict of the Hill *Cælius*. But *Aſconius*, in his *Commentary on* Tully's *Defence of* Cornelius, gives *Virginius* the Surname of *Tricoſtus*, and *Veturius* that of *Cicurinus*, and not *Coturnius*, as it is in ſome bad Copies. The ſame *Veturius*, or, as others pronounce it, *Vetuſius*, had alſo the Surname of *Geminus*, according to *D. Hal.* The *Greek Tables* of the *Conſuls* mention them only by one of their Surnames. They only ſay, that *Cælimontanus* and *Geminus* were *Conſuls*.

21 I here prefer *D. Hal.*'s Account to *Livy*'s. Tho' it would be difficult to give a very ſatisfactory Reaſon for it. The two Authors actually diſagree: *Livy* makes this War to have been begun, or at leaſt declared, in the preceding *Conſulate*. *D. Hal.* places it under this. And who knows which is right? Yet it is neceſſary to chooſe one, that this Event may be put into the Hiſtory. And in ſuch Caſes, we have been rather determined by Partiality, than any ſubſtantial Reaſon. However, it was neceſſary to inform the Reader of this Difference between the two Hiſtorians.

anſwered.

Year of ROME CCLIX. Aulus Virginius, and Titus Vetturius, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 2. c. 28.*

anſwered. The Mutiny was general. Nothing was heard in the *Forum*, but ſeditious Diſcourſes. *The People of* Rome, ſaid the Commons, *are no longer inclined to be always impoſed on by the Senate. There ſhall never be any more Soldiers raiſed among the* Plebeians, *till the Promiſes which have been made them are performed.* In this Extremity, the *Conſuls* found no Remedy againſt the Misfortunes of the Republick, but to complain to the Senate, againſt the Senate it ſelf. They ſpoke thus. *What we foretold*, Conſcript Fathers, *is come to paſs. There is now a Sedition in good earneſt. We have obeyed your Orders, notwithſtanding the dangerous Effect we ſuſpected they would produce: And now thoſe who were boldeſt among you, in making ſevere Decrees in the Houſe, dare not ſhew your Heads without Doors, and look the furious People in the Face. Let thoſe who ſhewed moſt Intrepidity in ſpeaking, and accuſing us of Weakneſs, follow us into the* Forum, *and aſſiſt us with their Advice. We will punctually execute it, be it what it will. And then the Senate will be able to judge, whether the preſent Misfortunes are to be imputed to the Faintheartedneſs of the* Conſuls, *the Intractableneſs of the People, or the falſe Meaſures of the Senate.*

At theſe Words, the young Senators were ſo enraged, that they left their Places. They all came, and ſurrounded the *Curule Chairs* in which the *Conſuls* ſate, in a tumultuous manner. *Let theſe cowardly Magiſtrates*, cried they, *come down from the Throne, on which they are ſeated, and let them lay down the Burden which is too heavy for their weak Shoulders.* Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* returned to the *Forum*, guarded by ſome *Patricians*, to give the more weight to what they ſhould ſay. They aſcended *The Tribune*, and there called upon one of the moſt factious of the People, by Name, to come and be enrolled. The Man held his Peace, and his Silence was taken for Diſobedience. Inſtantly therefore the *Lictors* laid their Hands on the rebellious Citizen. But the Populace ſurrounded him, and forced him away from the Officers of Juſtice. This raſh Attempt put all the Citizens in a Flame; and they were already turning their Fury againſt the *Patricians*, who attended the *Conſuls*. But the latter abated the Storm a little, and guarded the Senators, who were both hated and deſpiſed by the People, from Blows.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 368.

§. IX. Thus were all the Parts of the Republick divided againſt one another. The People roſe up againſt the Senate, and the Senate againſt the *Conſuls*. Whilſt the *Conſuls* themſelves were not regarded, either by Senate or People. Nor was this all; Envoys were arrived at *Rome* from all thoſe Nations, which had continued faithful to the Republick. The *Latins* complained of the Hoſtilities the [22] *Æqui* had begun to commit in their Territories: and reported, they had already plundered ſome of their Villages. The Inhabitants of *Cruſtuminum* gave Information, that the *Sabines*, who were already on their March towards their City, were preparing to beſiege it. The like News came from an hundred other Places, and filled the *Romans* either with Conſternation or Joy, according to the Party they embraced. And to encreaſe the Terror yet more, an Embaſſy was come to *Rome*, from the *Volſci*, which demanded the Reſtitution of the Lands which had been taken from them in the laſt War. It was neceſſary to give all theſe Deputies determinate and proper Anſwers. The Senators therefore aſſembled to deliberate about it: And *Rome* perhaps never had more knotty Affairs upon the Carpet. So that no Method or Order was obſerved, in asking their Opinions. *Titus Lartius*, a Senator, venerable for his Services and his Moderation, was firſt conſulted. He roſe up from his Place, and came in the middle of the Hall, and ſpake thus. *The Apprehenſions we are under from our Enemies abroad, is the proper Buſineſs of this Aſſembly. But that ought not to be thought the moſt important Subject of our Deliberations. Let but the City be at Peace, and the* Æqui, *the* Volſci, *and the* Sabines, *will carry back no Anſwers but threatning ones.* Rome *is her own moſt formidable Enemy. The Revolt of the* Plebeians *on the one hand, and the Severity of the Senate which cauſes it, on the other, are the only true Sources of our Misfortunes. Our Factions, by dividing us in Intereſt, make us two Republicks, which are more formidable to one another, than the common Enemy. Hoſtilities are already begun between the two Factions; and, which is ſcarce credible, both Parties like better to bear a foreign Yoke, than to*

22 The *Æqui* were a People of *Latium*, ſituated between the *Sabines*, the *Marſi*, the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*. *Virgil* calls them *Æquicolæ*; *Ptolomy*, *Æquiculi*; and *Pliny*, *Æquiculani*. Theſe People inhabited a Part of the *Campagnia di Roma*, round about *Sublaco* and the *Teverone*. *Livy*, ſpeaking of them, ſays, they were as expert at robbing, as the *Romans* were at fighting: *Et quantum pugnandi arte iſti, tantum hi incurſionibus valebant.* *Virgil* deſcribes them in the ſame manner:

——————*Semperque recentes*
Convectare juvat prædas, & vivere rapto.

Year of ROME CCLIX. A. Virginius, and T. Veturius, Conſuls.

relinquiſh any thing of their private Intereſts, in favour of their Fellow-Citizens. There is an Emulation between them, like that between two Nations which are mutually jealous of each other's Glory. To abate our Jealouſies then, and appeaſe our Diſcords, ought to be the main Subject of our Conſultations. For which Reaſon, I move, that the Houſe may ſit again to-morrow, to deliberate about our domeſtick Broils. As for the preſent, ſince the Affair of the foreign Ambaſſadors is the Buſineſs of the Day; let the Volſci *be anſwered, that it is neither juſt in them, to take from us the Fruits of our Conqueſts, nor for the Honour of the Republick, to give up a Diſtrict, which it ought to tranſmit to Poſterity, in the ſame Condition in which it conquered it. As for our Allies, let them be aſſured, that the Republick will never leave them expoſed to the Inſults of her Enemies, without ſending them Succours.*

LARTIUS's Opinion was univerſally approved. The Senate made a Decree accordingly, and the Ambaſſadors were diſmiſſed. The next Day was ſpent in conſulting about the proper Means of appeaſing the Tumult in the City. Then *Virginius* declared his Opinion firſt. He was a popular Man, and good-natured. He took the middle Way, between the Severity of *Appius*, and that univerſal Diſcharge of Debts, which the *Plebeians* demanded. He ſpoke thus.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 370.

The *People of* Rome *did us too important Services the laſt Year, not to deſerve to have ſome regard ſhewn to their Supplications. They ſignalized their Valour againſt the* Volſci *and the* Aurunci. *And ſhall we be ſo ungrateful, as to envy them the Fruit of their Labours? I am of opinion, that we ought to put the Soldiers of this victorious Army, under the Protection of the Senate, againſt their Creditors; to free them from their Debts; and to grant their Families, from the Grandfathers to the Grandchildren, the ſame Indulgence. As for the other Debtors, let them ſuffer the Severity of the Law.*

Dion. Hal. ibid.

The wiſe *Lartius*, who ſtood up next, ſpoke in favour of all the poor Debtors in general, without Diſtinction. *Your Favours*, Conſcript Fathers, ſays he, *ought not to be confined to thoſe Soldiers only, whoſe Lot it was to be in the Battels of the laſt Year. If you don't extend them to all the People, it will be in vain for you to attempt to put an end to our Diviſions. In that caſe, you only cut off the Branches, and leave the Roots to ſhoot out afreſh. The ſame Murmurs will then ſoon be revived, and the Sedition never end, but with the Deſtruction of the Republick.*

APPIUS, who was obliged to ſpeak third, enumerated in a long Harangue, the Motives which had engaged him to put himſelf at the Head of the *Patrician* Party. And his Diſcourſe ſeemed to ſhew, that his Obſtinacy was now confirmed by a new Motive of Vanity. *What will the World think of me*, ſaid he, *if I lay aſide thoſe Opinions with my* Conſulate, *which I maintained with Danger, all the time of my Office? What will then become of that Conſtancy, upon which I valued myſelf in ſuch difficult Times? Let it be called hard-heartedneſs as much as you pleaſe: this at leaſt I will take care of, that it ſhall never be ſaid,* Claudius *ever countenanced Novelties which were dangerous to the Republick. The Contracts made between Creditors and their Debtors, have ever been in all Places, the main Support of civil Society. To violate them, is to introduce an inexhauſtible Source of Diviſions, into the beſt eſtabliſhed Cities. I am not for confining others to be of my Opinion. Let them abate the Rigour of the Laws, if they pleaſe. It will indeed be a Grief to me; but* Claudius *will never give his Vote in favour of an Innovation, which is contrary to Equity, and prejudicial to the publick Tranquillity. All Commerce depends upon Credit. And what* Roman *then would lend his Money to a Man, who had it in his power to take up Arms, to prevent his Repayment of it? But it is ſaid, the preſent Buſineſs is that of appeaſing the Seditious, and prevailing on a mutinous Populace, to aſſiſt their Country in Extremity. And is there then no Way of bringing them to their Duty, but by violating the Laws? The nominating a* Dictator, *is both an uſual, and an effectual Remedy. Will the moſt mutinous hold it out againſt the Authority of a Man, who is ſurrounded with the* Lictors, *and has Power to puniſh the leaſt Act of Diſobedience with Death, without Appeal?*

The Method *Appius* propoſed, was thought dangerous by the oldeſt Senators: but he had got a Majority of his Side. The *Patricians* being the richeſt Perſons in *Rome*, were almoſt all Creditors to the Commons. Private Intereſt therefore prevailed over the moſt reaſonable Fears. *Appius* himſelf had very like to have been created *Dictator*. And there had been an end of the Republick, if the *Patrician* Faction had added this Piece of Imprudence to ſo many other Errors in Conduct. The *Conſuls*, and the wiſeſt of the Senators, diverted the Blow. They pitched upon a Man, who was venerable for his Age, and was of a Family, which had always been devoted to the Peo-

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ple, and was remarkable for his Moderation. It was *Manius* [23] *Valerius*, Brother to the great *Poplicola*, and to one *Marcus Valerius*, who was killed in the Battel of *Regillum*. It is true, that to raiſe *Manius* to the *Dictatorſhip*, was to break thro' a Law which had been made ever ſince the firſt Creation of *Dictators*. It enacted, that none but *Patricians*, who either actually were *Conſuls*, or had been ſo, ſhould be raiſed to that Office. But the urgent Neceſſity of the Caſe, made the Senators overlook Rules. They were perſuaded, that the Dignity of his Office, the Memory of his Brothers, and his own Good-nature [24] and Courage together, would procure *Valerius* both the Eſteem and Affections of the Mutineers. And they were not deceived. Tho' the Citizens ſaw, that the *Dictator* had been created only to keep them in Subjection; yet they were not at all uneaſy at the Governor which was ſet over them. They had not forgotten, that his Brother *Poplicola*, by making them the laſt Reſort in capital Caſes, had delivered the *Plebeians* from the ſevere Perſecutions of the Nobility. In ſhort, they found another dear *Poplicola* in his third Brother.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 371.

§. X. As ſoon as *Valerius* was proclaimed *Dictator*, he made *Qu. Servilius* his General of Horſe. He was Brother to *Servilius*, the *Conſul* for the preceding Year, and his Family had never given any Umbrage to the People. All Perſons were well inclined to the new Government. The *Dictator* therefore aſcended *The Tribune* with Confidence, and made this Harangue to the People. Romans, *I am very ſenſible what a Pleaſure it has always been to you, to ſee any of the* Valerian *Family raiſed to the firſt Dignities in the Republick. The ſtrict Adherence they have always ſhewn to the People, and the Benefits you have received from them, have always made you, either out of Affection or Gratitude, ready to obey any of them, which have been placed in the Magiſtracy. All the Return then that I deſire, for the Services my Brothers have done you, is, that you would not deny me your Confidence. No; you ſhall never find me to be one of thoſe who have ſo little Sincerity, or ſo much Weakneſs, as to make you Promiſes, which it is impoſſible to keep. Are not my Age, my Honour, my Character, and my paſt Conduct, ſufficient Securities for the Integrity of my Proceedings, and my Deſigns? Conſider me no longer as a Man ſet up by the Senate, to deceive your Party. I am ready to give up my Life to your juſt Reſentments, if ever you find Reaſon to ſuſpect me of playing the Impoſtor with you. And when you have placed your Confidence in me; then,* Romans, *lend your Country that Aſſiſtance which it expects from you. Turn, turn that Terror upon the common Enemy, which you have ſpread throughout the City. Convince the Nations who are jealous of your Glory, by freſh Acts of Valour, that* Rome *is invincible, even when ſhe is full of Diſſentions. After all, we ſhall have no body to fight with, but ſome* Sabines *and* Volſci, *who have often been ſubdued by your Arms. And they have no more Strength or Skill now, than they had formerly. You will certainly conquer them,* Romans: *And this I promiſe you as the Reward of your Victory, that I will procure of the Senate, all thoſe reaſonable Indulgences, which you can expect. In the mean time, I command, that no mention be made of Confiſcations, or Impriſonments for Debt, during my Adminiſtration. Being then free from any Apprehenſions, follow the Example,* Romans, *of an old Man, who is ready to endure all the Fatigues of War with you, and to run all the Hazards of it.*

Dion. Hal. ibid.

THIS Diſcourſe of *Valerius* was taken in good part by the People. They depended upon the Promiſes of the *Dictator*, and obeyed him, not ſo much out of fear of that

23 I deſignedly write the *Dictator Valerius*'s *Prænomen* at length, and call him *Manius*. His *Prænomen* is expreſſed in *Livy* and *D. Hal.* only with a ſingle *M:* which has much embaraſſed many learned Men. The Letter *M* without any Addition, is always underſtood to ſignify *Marcus*; and yet *Marcus Valerius*, *Poplicola*'s Brother, was killed in the Battel of *Regillum*. How then could he be choſen *Dictator* above a Year after he was dead? Beſides, *Livy* declares, that this *Dictator* had never been *Conſul*. Whereas, it is certain, that *Marcus Valerius*, *Poplicola*'s Brother, had been raiſed to the *Conſulate*. The *Faſti Capitolini* remove the Difficulty. This *Dictator's* Name is written in them thus: M.' VALERIUS. The Reader may obſerve, that there is an Apoſtrophe at the Letter *M*, which ſtands for this *Roman*'s *Prænomen*. Whereas, that of *Marcus* is always written with an *M* without an Apoſtrophe. Wherever we find an *M* with an Apoſtrophe, *M'*, we are to read it *Manius*, and not *Marcus*. This Man was a third Brother of *Poplicola*, and was called *Manius*, becauſe he was born in the *Morning*, *mane*. The Editors of *Livy* and *D. Hal.* have much confounded learned Men, for want of obſerving this. *Plutarch* likewiſe, or his Copyiſts, are miſtaken, when they give *Valerius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*.

24 *Tully*, in his *Brutus*, gives great Commendations to *Manius Valerius*, who, he ſays, deſerved the Surname of *Maximus*, for having reconciled the People to the *Patricians*, by his obliging Behaviour, and his Prudence. But beſides, that the *Roman* Orator falſely gives him the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, he is doubly miſtaken: 1. In that he ſuppoſes, contrary to the Teſtimonies of *D. Hal.* and *Livy*, that *Manius Valerius* was ſtill *Dictator*, when he harangued the People after their Retreat to the *Mons Sacer*. 2. In that he gives him the Honour of having reconciled the People to the *Patricians*. It's true, *Valerius* was ſent to the *Plebeians*, with nine *Conſular* Perſons, and he ſpoke with a great deal of Eloquence; but the Succeſs was owing to *Menenius Agrippa*'s Management, who had recourſe to the famous Fable of the Stomach and Members.

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ſovereign Power with which he was inveſted, as out of Affection for his Perſon. Then the Levies were eaſily completed, and *Rome* furniſhed the *Dictator* with ten *Legions*, of 4000 Men each. The *Romans* had never had a more numerous Army. But *Valerius* did not himſelf adminiſter the Oaths to the new Troops; he ordered it to be done by the *Conſuls* for the preſent Year, and in their Names. As for him, he was ſatisfied with dividing the Troops between them and himſelf: and accordingly made three Bodies of them. The firſt conſiſted of four *Legions*, whom the *Dictator* himſelf led againſt the *Sabines*. The ſecond Body conſiſted of three *Legions*, the Command of which he gave to *T. Veturius*, to go againſt the *Æqui*. And the third, which alſo contained three *Legions*, was ordered to march againſt the *Volſci*, under the Command of *Aulus Virginius*. *T. Lartius* was left to guard the City with ſome Troops of old, and ſome Companies of young, Soldiers. *Veturius* firſt took the Field. The *Æqui* [25] were already entered into the Country of the *Latins*; and the Devaſtations they had committed on the Lands of theſe faithful Allies, had forced them to have taken up Arms in their own Defence, if the Senate had not politickly prevented them. The Senators choſe rather to fly immediately to their Aſſiſtance, than to give them a Pretence for arming themſelves. The brave *Veturius* therefore uſed the utmoſt Diligence to come up with, and fight, the *Æqui*. But theſe were affrighted at the very Sight of their Enemies; and poſted themſelves in inacceſſible Places. They were ſo diſtruſtful of their own Forces, that they durſt not appear in the Field. They retreated to Foreſts and Mountains. They thought to eſcape the Fury of the brave *Romans*, by acting only on the defenſive: But they only retarded their Defeat. *Veturius* attacked them in their Entrenchments with ſo much Vigour, that their Camp was taken and plundered. They ſaved themſelves by a precipitate Flight thro' inacceſſible Places: but the *Latin* Cities they had poſſeſſed themſelves of, were either retaken by the *Conſul*, by Force, or elſe voluntarily ſurrendered to the *Romans*.

Livy B. 2. ch. 30.

As for *Virginius*, he made War with the *Volſci* with equal Succeſs. The *Volſci* had more Courage, or rather Preſumption, than Wiſdom. Emboldened by the Number of their Soldiers, which was a little ſuperior to that of the *Romans*, they were in haſte to give Battel. Being offered it by *Virginius*, they began the Attack; whilſt their Infantry were diſperſed over the Plain, and ſcarce obſerved any Order; ſo much did they deſpiſe their Enemies. The *Romans* had experienced, how terrible the firſt Shock of the *Volſci* was. The *Conſul* therefore, the better to guard againſt it, did not march his Men one Step towards the Enemy: and forbad them to return their Shouts. The *Roman* Army continued without any Motion, with their Spears fixed in the Ground. But when the *Volſci* were come within reach of them, the *Romans* then cloſed their Ranks, and had Orders to uſe no Weapon but their Swords. After this, they moved forward, and fell upon the Enemy, who were out of Breath with their ſhouting, and the haſte with which they advanced. The *Volſci* had aſcribed the *Romans* continuing without Motion, to their Fear of their Numbers and Valour. But they were much of another Mind, when they ſaw the Swords of the *Romans* glittering in their Hands. They were as much ſurprized and terrified, as if they had fallen into an Ambuſcade. They were put to flight, and ſoon overtaken by Men who were freſh, and had not ſpent their Strength by running themſelves out of Breath, to no purpoſe. They were purſued to their very Camp, which was taken and plundered. Nor was this all; the *Romans* followed them cloſe, even to the City of *Velitræ*. Nay, they entered it with the Fugitives; and in this confuſed Engagement, they ſpared but a few of the Inhabitants, who threw down their Arms. The reſt were put to the Sword. In ſhort, more of the Enemy's Blood was ſpilt in *Velitræ*, than in the Plain.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 373.

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

WHILST the two *Conſuls* were, each in his Station, driving two troubleſome Enemies from the Frontiers, the *Dictator* made War with the *Sabines*, and ſubdued the fierceſt Nation in *Italy*. One Battle, which he won, made him Maſter of the Country. It muſt be granted, it was more honourable to overcome the *Sabines*, than to rout the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci*. The former had been long trying their Strength with the *Romans*, and were ſcarce inferior to them, either in Valour, or Experience in the Art of War. Yet it may be obſerved, that they were guilty of a conſiderable Fault, in the drawing up of their Troops, when they were forced to fight *Valerius*. In order to

[25] *Livy* and *D. Hal.* don't agree in placing the Battels which were fought, in *Manius Valerius*'s *Dictatorſhip*, in the ſame Order. The latter pretends, that of the *Volſci* was firſt; and *Livy*, that of the *Æqui*. I here prefer *Livy*'s Order, who, contrary to his uſual Method, gives us a fuller Account of theſe Battels, than the *Greek* Hiſtorian. He ſeems to have followed more circumſtantial Memoirs than *D. Hal.*

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make their Front the larger, they did not close their Battalions enough, but left too great a Space empty in the Center of their Lines. This the *Dictator* saw, and made his Advantage of it. He commanded his Cavalry to begin the Attack, where the Enemy's Men stood thinnest, in order to force their Way thro' them. At the same time, the *Roman* Infantry broke into the *Sabine* Battalions, and put their Army into Confusion. *Valerius* drove them quite to their Camp, and made himself Master of it. Then *Sabinia* was left a Prey to the *Roman* Army; the Villages of the *Sabines* were plundered, and their Country laid waste. In short, the Soldiers returned to *Rome* loaded with Spoil, and brought with them a prodigious Number of Prisoners, whom they made Slaves. It was agreed, that no Action, since that of *Regillum*, had brought more Honour to the Republick. After these glorious Expeditions, *Valerius* disbanded his Army. The *Dictator* had evidently merited a Triumph: The Senate and People therefore decreed him [26] that Honour. And to this they added another Mark of Distinction, which became hereditary in his Family. They allotted him an honourable Place in the *Circus*, at the Celebration of the publick Games, and appointed that a *Curule Chair* should always be placed there [27] for him.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. ibid.

§. XI. BUT *Valerius*, when in the Height of his Glory, did not suffer his Mind to be so much elated with it, as to forget the Promises he had made his Soldiers. The first Day he appeared in the Senate, he declared what Obligations *Rome* lay under to the People, whose Valour had gained them these late Victories. And he demanded of the Senate the Performance of those Promises which they had made the People by him. But how strangely perverse are Avarice and Obstinacy! The *Patrician* Usurers had laid their Plot so well, during his Absence, and had managed so artfully, that they refused to answer either the Promises of the *Dictator*, or the Demands of the People. Nay, the youngest Senators, and most violent *Patricians*, who were very numerous in the House, were wanting in respect to the *Dictator* himself. They reproached him, That his Family, which had been blindly devoted to the *Plebeian* Faction, had betray'd the Interests of the Senate; and, That his Brother *Poplicola* had unjustly deprived the Senate of the Power of judging in criminal Affairs. To this, said they, it is owing that the Citizens thus escape with Impunity, after having been guilty of the most inexcusable Mutinies.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. ibid.

BUT these new Proceedings of the Senate threatned *Rome* with the greatest Misfortunes. The wise *Dictator* foresaw them, and thought to have prevented them, in part at least, by clearing the City of many of those unfortunate Debtors, which were going to be reduced to Despair. *Velitræ* was just taken from the *Volsci*. He therefore thought it proper to send thither a Colony of these poor Wretches, who would at least find Bread in their new Habitations. But there yet remained too many *Plebeians* in *Rome*, who were over-run with Debt, thro' the Usury of the Rich. *Valerius* therefore spoke again to the Senate, in their Favour. But his Motion was rejected. Upon this, he replied to the Senators, in great Anger, *You now dislike the Proposal I have made to you. In a little time you will perhaps wish you had such an Intercessor with the People, as my self. I will never more deceive my Fellow-Citizens, by flattering them with your Promises, and desiring them to depend again on a mere Shadow of a* Dictator. *You placed me in this Office, only to appease our domestick Seditions. It was then necessary that the People should be satisfied, in order to induce them to make War abroad. Now, our foreign Enemies are subdued, and our Divisions at home revive. I therefore will rather choose to be a Spectator of them in private Life, than to fall a Victim to them in the Magistracy.* Thus spake *Valerius*, and went hastily out of the Senate. The People were assembled by his Orders, and the *Dictator* spoke thus to them

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 375.

26 *D. Hal.* and *Livy* mention this Triumph of *Manius Valerius*; nor is it omitted in the *Fasti Capitolini*. Some of the Antients assure us, that from that time, he had the Surname of *Maximus* given him, which continued in his Branch of the Family; and that *Valerius Maximus*, whose Works we have, and who probably wrote in the time of *Tiberius*, was one of his Descendents. *Pædianus, upon the Oration against* Piso, and *Antias*, affirm, that an House was built for the *Dictator Valerius*, at the Expence of the Publick; and that this House opened outwards. But they seem to give *Manius Valerius* the Honours which were formerly done his Brother *Poplicola*. Moreover, it is not at all surprizing, that the two *Consuls* should not share the Honours of the Triumph, with the *Dictator Manius*. They were only Subalterns to him. The *Roman* Laws granted the Honours of a Triumph only to that Magistrate, whom the Republick had made Commander in chief of the Army, and under whose Conduct the Victory had been gained.

27 *Livy* is the Man who gives us this Piece of History, in these Words: *Super solitos honores, locus in Circo ipsi, posterisque, ad spectaculum datus. Sella in eo loco Curulis posita.* As for myself, I am of opinion, that this Honour was granted only to the eldest Branch of *Manius Valerius*'s Descendants. The *Curule Chair* was placed there, in the times of the Sports, for the eldest Descendant, whether he was promoted to the greatest Offices, or not. This is the most natural Interpretation that can be given this Passage.

them from *The Tribune:* Romans, *I am indebted to you, on a double Account. You did not refuſe to follow me to the War, and you conquered under* [28] *my* Auſpicia. *For the one I am indebted to your Affection; for the other, to your Courage. And as to my ſelf, what have I not done in Return for your Services! I have charged the Senators with the Promiſe they gave me, of making me the Arbitrator between you and them. But what have I gained by my Remonſtrances and Prayers? The young* Patricians, *who are proud and turbulent, prevail, in the Senate, over the oldeſt, and the moſt wiſe. Is a Man of ſeventy then capable of withſtanding a Multitude, whoſe Rank and Wealth make them untractable? Unfortunate Man that I am! to how low a State am I reduced by their refuſing to remove your Miſeries! As I am grown odious to the Senate, am I not ſo to the People alſo? No,* Romans, *no; you ſee that both you and I have been deceived; and that I have been more ignominiouſly treated than you. Nor are they content with this: The Senators turn all I have done in your Favour, to my Diſadvantage. They reproach me with having given my Troops too much Liberty; with having enriched them at the Expence of the Publick; and with having ſo much increaſed the Wealth of ſome of the* Plebeians, *that above* 400 *of them have got Knights Eſtates. To which they add, that I have enriched my ſelf with the Spoils of the Enemy. Alas! why am I diſabled, by a miſerable old Age, from defending my ſelf from their Calumnies! Nothing now remains for me to do, but either to bury my Uneaſineſs in the Solitudes of a private Life, or elſe to ſurrender up my ſelf to your Reſentments, if you yet retain any the leaſt Suſpicions of my having betrayed your Intereſt.*

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THIS ſaid, *Valerius* inſtantly abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*, and ſtripped off the Badges of his Office. The People, who were moved with Compaſſion towards this great Man, and were full of Indignation againſt the Senate, conducted him home with Acclamations. Then the *Patricians* foreſaw what muſt be the Conſequence of the Abdication of an injured *Dictator*. To prevent therefore thoſe Diſorders in the City, which they were apprehenſive of, they made a Decree, that the *Conſuls* ſhould lead the Army into the Field. It was eaſy to find a Pretence for ſo doing, from ſome little Motions which the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* made. It has been already obſerved, that the military Oaths had not been adminiſtred in the Name of the *Dictator*, but in that of the *Conſuls*. And therefore the Army ſeemed to have regard to the Engagements they had entered into with them, for the whole Time they ſhould continue in their Offices; that is, till the End of the Year. So that the *Legions* marched out of *Rome*; but their March, which the Senate thought would be of Advantage to the City, proved fatal to it, and brought on a Revolt the ſooner.

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§. XII. WHEN the two *Conſular* Armies were come into the Plain, they encamped pretty near each other. And the Communication the Men of both Armies were by this means able eaſily to keep up with one another, contributed not a little to ſowre the Minds of both, by their ſeditious Diſcourſes. They firſt propoſed to aſſaſſinate the *Conſuls*; not out of any perſonal Hatred, but merely to free themſelves from the [29] Oaths they had taken to them. They thought the Obligations they lay under to them, would die with them. But afterwards, the moſt active in the Sedition conſidered, that it would be monſtrous, to put an End to the religious Engagements they had entered into with the *Conſuls*, by criminal Means. So that upon the whole, they contented themſelves with carrying away the military Enſigns [30] and Standards, and

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 375.

28 The General only had the Right of the *Auſpicia* in the *Roman* Armies. They were taken in his Name, as if the Succeſs of the Enterprize had been annexed to the Fortune of him who had the chief Command of the Troops. It is in this Senſe that *Horace* pays the following Compliment to *Auguſtus Cæſar*.

Te copias, te conſilium & tuos
Præbente Divos. Carm. B. 4. Ode 14.

Ovid ſays the ſame thing, in different Words,

Per quem bella geris, cujus nunc corpore pugnas,
Auſpicium cui das grande, Deoſq; tuos. Triſt. 2.

In conſequence of this Prejudice, even the ſecond Officer in the Army was not allowed to have any Claim to the Honours of a Triumph, tho' he had gained a conſiderable Victory in the General's Abſence; becauſe, according to the Superſtition and Language of that Time, he had fought *alienis auſpiciis*. The prevailing Opinion then was, that the Victory was to be aſcribed to the *Auſpicia*, or Fortune of the General, or to the Protection of thoſe Gods, who declared themſelves in his Favour. This is what *Sueetonius* means, when he ſays of *Auguſtus*, *Domuit partim ductu, partim auſpiciis ſuis*. We ſhall hereafter have occaſion to ſpeak of the different Sorts of *Auſpicia*, the Ceremonies uſed in taking them, and the Perſons employed in that Office.

29 The military Oath was ſo eſſential in inliſting Men, that no *Roman* could ſerve in the Army, even as a Volunteer, or kill an Enemy, till he had bound himſelf by a ſolemn Promiſe to obey his General. In conſequence of this Cuſtom, which was authorized by the Laws, *Tully* tells us, in his *firſt Book of Offices*, that *Cato* wrote to *Pompilius*, to inform him, that his Son could not continue in the Army, without taking the military Oath again; becauſe the Time of his former Engagement was expired. *Cato ad Pompilium ſcribit, ut ſi filium pateretur in exercitu remanere, ſecundo eum obligaret Sacramento; quia priore amiſſo jure, cum hoſtibus pugnare non poterat.*

30 The *Romans* had no other military Enſign, or Colours, in the Times of their firſt Simplicity, but a Bundle of Hay, or Graſs, tied to the Top of a Pole.

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A. Virginius, and T. Veturius, Conſuls. *Liv. B.2.c.32.*

with cauſing all the Troops to follow them, without the Privity of their Officers. One *Sicinnius Bellutus* was the main Spring of the Revolt. He raiſed it by his Diſcourſes, and conducted it by his Counſels. As ſoon as the Standards were taken away, all the 31 *Legions* followed them, without any Orders from their Generals, and quitted the two Camps. How ſtrict the *Roman* Soldiers were in following their Enſigns, is well known. They thought them a ſort of Divinities, and carried their Reſpect for them even to Adoration. Tho' they had neither *Tribunes* nor *Centurions* to lead them, they followed their Standards, wherever they were carried, and came and encamped beyond the *Anio*, three Miles from *Rome*, upon a Mountain 32, which has ſince been called, *The Sacred Mountain*. This remarkable Retreat of two Armies, contrary to the Inclination of their Leaders, had ſomething very ſurprizing in it; the Memory of which the *Roman* Hiſtorians had preſerved, by calling it *The Seceſſion*, or Separation.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 375.

Livy, ibid.

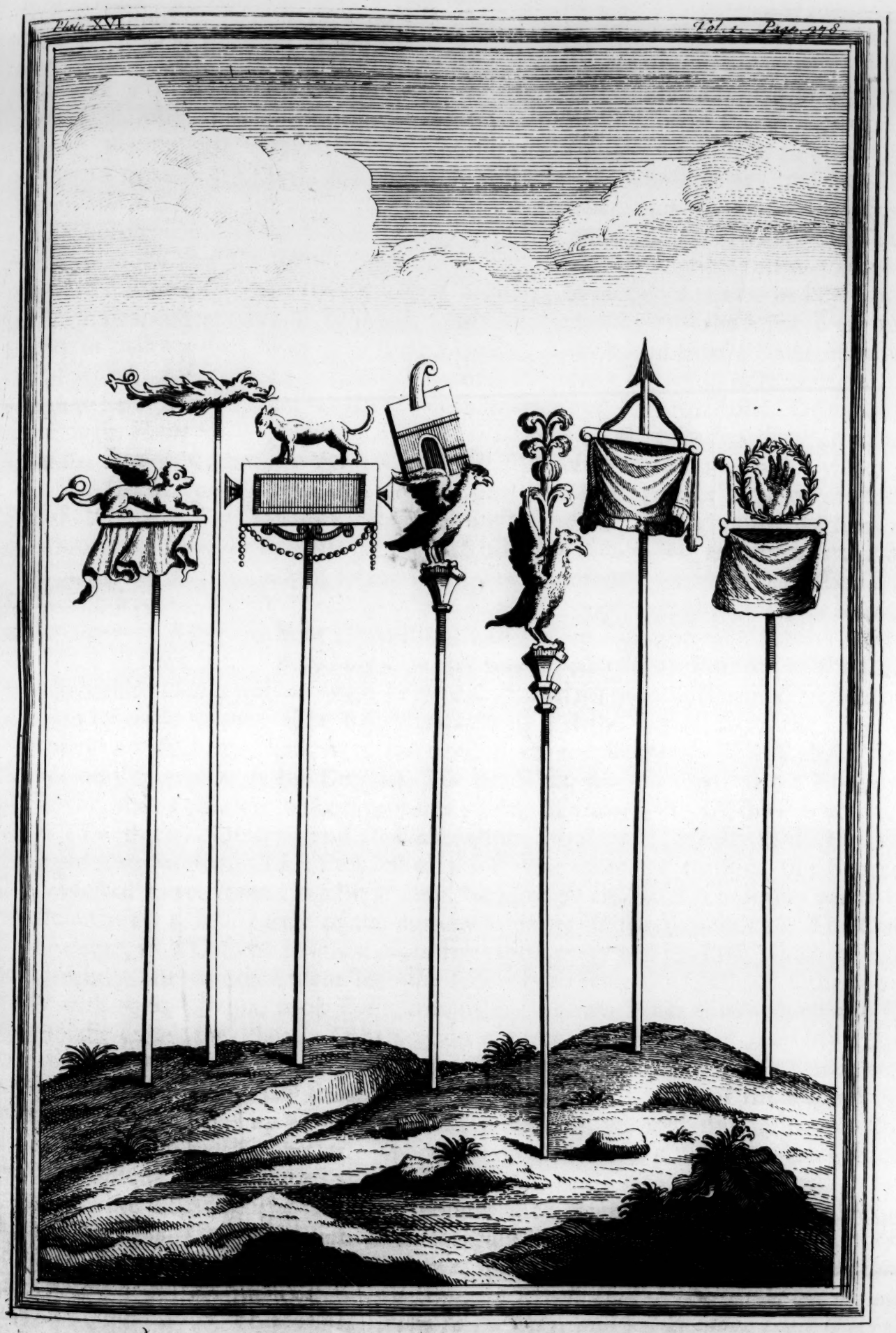
The firſt Buſineſs of the rebellious Armies, was to chooſe themſelves a General, and make new Officers. *Sicinnius* was the Man they pitched on to command them: After which they fortified themſelves, and ſecured themſelves within good Entrenchments. Within theſe the *Roman Legions* continually kept themſelves; they neither committed any Hoſtility, nor took any Plunder; but contented themſelves with getting Proviſions brought them for their Subſiſtence. The *Roman* Soldiers did not yet go to War at the Expence of the Publick. Then the *Conſuls* and Officers, who were deſerted by their Troops, quickly diſpatched a Deputation to *Sicinnius*, to perſuade him to return to the Camp himſelf, and bring back his Troops to their Duty. But

In ſucceeding Ages, they made uſe of the Figures of Monſters and Animals for that Purpoſe; ſuch as the Eagle, Dragon, Boar and Wolf. The Rapaciouſneſs of theſe Animals was a Symbol of War, and Battles. The Figure of the *Minotaur* was uſed as a *Roman* Enſign, to ſhew, according to *Vegetius*, *B.* 4. that the Deſigns of the General ought to be as intricate and difficult to diſcover, as the Avenues of the Labyrinth, in which the *Minotaur* lived. The *Romans* often changed the Form of their Enſigns, as there was Occaſion; which is manifeſt from the *Antiques* both of Marble and Braſs. Sometimes they uſed only a Pike with a Piece of Wood of a moderate Size tied croſs it, ſo as almoſt to be in the Form of the Letter T. Sometimes *a Hand* was placed upon this croſs Piece of Wood, perhaps in Alluſion to the Word *Manipulus*, which ſignified a Sort of Battalion, conſiſting of two *Centuries*, i. e. 200 Men. Every *Manipulus* had indeed its own Enſign. Upon the Top of this Sort of Croſs, were pretty commonly placed round and oval Bucklers, on which were repreſented the Images of the warlike Deities, as *Mars*, *Minerva*, and *Romulus*. To theſe were added, in the Times of Slavery, the Pictures of Emperors and Generals. This made *Tertullian* ſay, *Apol. c.* 16. *Omnes illi imaginum ſuggeſtus inſignes, monilia crucium ſunt. Suppara illa vexillorum & labarorum, ſtolæ crucium ſunt.* The Enſigns ſometimes terminated in a Ball; probably, to ſhew the Extent of the Dominion of the *Romans*, in the three Quarters of the old World. The Horſe made uſe of a Standard, for their Enſign, which was called *Vexillum*. This was made of a Piece of rich Stuff, of about a Foot ſquare. It was faſtened to a croſs Piece of Wood, which was fixed to the Top of a Pike. We here intend only to give the Reader a general Idea of the Enſigns and Colours uſed in the *Roman* Armies. The Sequel of the Hiſtory will give us more Occaſions than one, of running into a more particular Account of each of theſe Enſigns, which varied in Form, according to the Time and Temper of the *Romans*. Beſides, the Uſe of theſe Enſigns ſeems to be of a very modern Date, with reſpect to the Time we are now treating of, when the Republick was yet, if we may ſo ſpeak, in its Infancy. Should we therefore ſay more of them here, it would be miſplaced, and ill-timed. We ſhall only obſerve, that every *Legion* had a *Roman* Eagle in it: Whence the antient Writers reckon the Number of the *Legions* by that of the Eagles. But it does not appear, that the *Romans* placed the Figure of this Bird on the Top of their Standards, in the firſt Ages of *Rome*. At leaſt, the Hiſtorians ſay nothing at all of it. So that we can give no exact Account of the Form of the military Enſigns which were uſed in the Time of which we are now ſpeaking.

31 *D. Hal.* gives us the Reaſon of it. The *Romans*, ſays he, reſpect nothing, when they are in the Field, more than their Enſigns and Standards. They are to them as ſo many Deities. They indeed ſwear by their military Enſigns, and pay them a ſort of religious Worſhip. On certain Feſtivals, they crown them with Flowers, and perfume them. *Aquilæ certe, ac ſigna illa pulverulenta, & cuſtodiis horrida, inunguntur etiam feſtis diebus. Utinamque dicere poſſemus quis primus inſtituiſſet! Plin. B.* 13. This Cuſtom is alſo atteſted by an Inſcription on an antient Marble; which runs thus, Coronæ. Inlatæ. Signa Que Uncta. Animated by this ſuperſtitious Prejudice, the Soldiers braved the greateſt Dangers, and deſpiſed Death it ſelf, to ſecure theſe precious Pledges from being taken by the Enemy. It often was as much as a Man's Life was worth to ſuffer his Standard to be taken from him: Hiſtory gives us ſeveral Inſtances of thoſe who were condemned to be whipped, and to loſe their Heads, for having loſt the Colours which was committed to their Care.

32 Why was this Mountain called *Mons ſacer*? Was it becauſe it became *execrable* by the Revolt of the People? This ſeems to be a forced Interpretation, and not very agreeable to the Relations of the Hiſtorians. It was then, becauſe the People, after they were reconciled to the *Patricians*, erected an Altar upon it to *Jupiter Faunus*, as a Monument of their Re-union, or in Memory of the Pannick with which the People were ſtruck, when they deſerted *Rome*, to fly from the Proſecutions of the Nobles. Or perhaps it was ſo called, becauſe that *ſacred* and inviolable Law was here made, which gave Riſe to the *Tribunes of the People*. From that time their Authority became ſo formidable, that if any one dared offer any Violence to the Perſon of a *Tribune*, he became immediately the *Curſe* of the People. The Aggreſſor was proſcribed, and he was no longer looked on as any thing but a Victim devoted to *Jupiter*. *Piſo*, an antient Writer, quoted by *Livy*, pretends, that this firſt Separation of the People was made on the Hill *Aventinus*. But *D. Hal.* and *Livy* agree, that it was on this *Sacred Mountain*, beyond the *Teverone*, three Miles from *Rome*, on the *Nomentane Way*, between *Sabinia* and *Latium*, in the Place where *Caſtello di San Silveſtro*, now ſtands.

his



The Military Ensigns of the Romans.

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his Anſwer was that of a reſolute Man, who was determined to keep no Meaſures with them. *It well becomes you,* ſaid he to the Envoys, *to endeavour to bring thoſe Men back into the Service, whom you have forced to leave it; and to call home thoſe Citizens of* Rome *whom your own Oppreſſions obliged to leave the City! What Security can you give, ſufficient for us reaſonably to rely upon, who have ſo often deceived us with falſe Promiſes? Go, and dwell in the City by your ſelves, ſince you alone claim all Authority there. This vile Populace will no longer obſtruct your Tyranny. It is of little Conſequence to us in what Place we live, provided we have but our Liberty in it. Wherever we ſhall enjoy Liberty, there ſhall be our Country.*

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A. Virginius, and T. Veturius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 375.*

It is incredible, what Diſtraction the News of this Separation of the Troops cauſed in *Rome,* when it was brought thither. Thoſe of the *Plebeians* who had not yet left the City to march into the Field, prepared to join thoſe who had deſerted it. The Women and Children lamented the Loſs of their Fathers and their Husbands. All was in Confuſion within the Walls. The *Patricians* were forced to guard the Gates themſelves, to hinder the People from going out. The Streets were full of Citizens, who were reſolved to leave their native Country. Some were not to be kept without Entreaties, others were to be ſtopped only by Violence; and the latter were not dilatory in making their Way with their Swords. They broke thro' a ſmall Number of *Patricians,* and came to *Sicinnius*'s Camp. Whilſt they who were not ſtrong enough to force their Way, filled the City with Cries and Lamentations. One would have thought *Rome* a City taken by Aſſault. The reciprocal Jealouſies the *Patricians* had of the *Plebeians,* and the *Plebeians* of the *Patricians,* would not ſuffer either to reſt. The Houſes were guarded Day and Night, and both Parties were continually upon the Alarm. The Senators aſſembled daily, and enquired after the Authors of this Misfortune. They mutually accuſed each other of Indulgence and Severity. And in the mean time another Fright ſeized them, from another Quarter; the *Æqui* and *Volſci,* who were no longer reſtrained by the *Roman* Troops, ſpread themſelves all over the Territory of *Rome,* without Oppoſition, and led up ſome of their Parties to the very Walls of the City. The whole Country was expoſed to the Plunder of the Enemy. *Sicinnius*'s Camp only enjoyed Tranquillity, and no otherwiſe cauſed any Diſorder, than by its Inaction. New Recruits came to it daily, as well from the City, as the Caſtles and Villages, which were ſcattered about the Country. The Rebel-Party was not only increaſed by the Debtors, but by all the Malefactors, all the Robbers, and all the Male-contents in the Republick; and, in a word, by all thoſe who were diſpleaſed with the Nobility, and all thoſe whom a Love of Novelty uſually brings into a growing Faction. This Progreſs of the Revolt therefore terrified the Senate. They expected to ſee *Rome,* in a little time, beſieged by an Army, conſiſting partly of rebellious Citizens, and partly of the antient Enemies of the Republick. The *Conſcript Fathers,* in a Caſe of ſo great Neceſſity, took every one his Poſt, which he was to maintain. The youngeſt went into the Country to ſeize the Caſtles. Others, attended with their Clients, took Poſſeſſion of the narrow Paſſes thro' which the Enemy might enter the Plain. Others again encamped round about the City; and only the oldeſt were left to guard the Walls. However, the Terror of the Senate was a little abated, when they ſaw the Rebels did not join the Enemies of the Republick, but kept themſelves ſhut up within their Intrenchments, without murdering any Body, or committing any Robberies. This made them think it poſſible to bring back the Male-contents, by a Treaty.

Indeed, the wiſeſt of the Senators thought they might come to a Capitulation with theſe unhappy Citizens, whom an extravagant Severity had made deſperate. *After all,* ſaid they, *their preſent Conduct ſhews, that they have not loſt all Love to their Country. Their preſent Moderation is a ſufficient Proof, that if they could but obtain reaſonable Terms of us, they would return to the City, and not abandon their Wives, their Children, and their Houſhold Gods. Let us not therefore value our ſelves upon an ill-judg'd Conſtancy in oppoſing them. This would only double their Obſtinacy. It is ſometimes neceſſary to abate of that inconſiderate Haughtineſs which is concealed under the Pretence of maintaining the Dignity of the Senate. It is never diſhonourable to make up Differences with thoſe whoſe Anger may prove fatal to us. We often treat with our Enemies; and why ſhould we now diſdain to capitulate with our fellow Citizens? The People of* Rome *have as much, if not more Authority in the Republick, than we. Where then is the Diſhonour of coming to a Compoſition with them? And if there were any, what a Madneſs is it to prefer* Decorum *to Safety?* The Advice of theſe Ibid. *p.* 377.

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wiſe Senators prevailed againſt the Opinions of ſome very hot and moroſe Men, who were for no Accommodation with the Rebels, unleſs they laid down their Arms, and abſolutely delivered themſelves up to the Diſcretion of the Senate. Deputies were therefore nominated, to go to *Sicinnius*'s Camp, and propoſe a Reconciliation. Theſe, purſuant to the Inſtructions given them by the Senate, did not declare at once all they were inclined to grant the Rebels; but contented themſelves with offering them Impunity for their Revolt; and then demanded to know what they wanted, and upon what Terms they would return to the City. This Demand ſhock'd the Mutineers. *Theſe People*, ſay they, *would have us declare our Pretenſions: What! can the Senators be ignorant of them? Don't they know to what Extremities we have been reduced, by the Avarice of the* Patricians? *They offer us Impunity; as if they had yet a Power of puniſhing as they pleaſed. We have nothing to do, but to give them up to the Swords of their foreign Enemies; and then, what will become of theſe Uſurpers of the ſupreme Authority in* Rome! This was all the Anſwer the Deputies brought back to the City; which filled it with Conſternation. The Tumults in it increaſed. The Senators could neither find out any Remedy for the Evils which threatened *Rome*, nor any Expedient to poſtpone them. They aſſembled daily; and their Deliberations ended in nothing but mutual Invectives, and uſeleſs Quarrels. They roſe without making any Decree. Even thoſe of the People, who continued at *Rome*, out of ſome Regard for the *Patricians*, fell off from them by little and little, and came and joined the Army on the *Sacred Mountain*. Every Morning diſcovered that a good Number of Citizens had gone off the preceding Night. The *Conſuls* Year was not yet expired. But as they were both fallen into Contempt, it was thought impoſſible to reconcile the People to the Senate, while they continued in their Office; and every Body was ſo much afraid of it, in ſuch difficult Times, that none ſtood for it. Nevertheleſs, the *Centuries* which were left at *Rome*, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, and there choſe two Men, *Poſthumius Cominius* 33, and *Sp. Caſſius*, who were equally acceptable, both to the People and the *Patricians*. They were choſen before the uſual time, but this was not made any Objection to their Election. They had both born this Office before, with general Approbation: And a great deal was now expected from their wiſe Adminiſtration.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 377.

Ibid. *p.* 378.

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§. XIII. The two new Governors of the Republick delayed not to aſſemble the Senate, whoſe Meetings could not but be leſs tumultuous than before, on account of the Eſteem the *Conſuls* were in, and the Reſpect which was paid to their Perſons. The Senators firſt asked *Menenius Agrippa* 34 his Opinion. He was an old Senator, grown grey in the Service of the Republick, and yet more conſiderable for his ſteady Probity, than for the great Employments to which he had been promoted in *Rome*. He had all along kept neuter, in the Diviſions of the People and the Senate, without fomenting the Pride of the one, or countenancing the Licentiouſneſs of the other. Beſides, he had been as inoffenſive and blameleſs in his private Character as the famous *Poplicola* was, whom he took for his Pattern. He thus declared his Opinion, concerning the Neceſſity of a Reconciliation with the People, who had ſeparated themſelves from them. *It is ſurprizing*, ſaid he, *that Paſſion ſhould carry ſome Senators ſo far, as to make them believe, that* Rome *may ſubſiſt without the People, who have ſequeſtered themſelves from us, and may ſupply the Place of our own Troops with foreign Recruits. No,* Conſcript Fathers, *without the ſame Soldiers who were born within our Walls, who have diſtinguiſhed themſelves in our* Legions *by their Valour, and whoſe Hearts are entirely* Roman, *you are not to hope you ſhall be able to guard againſt the Inſults of our foreign Enemies, and maintain the Aſcendant* Rome *has gained over them. And will the new Inhabitants we ſhall bring into the City, live more peaceably than our old Citizens? Conſider how many different Nations are riſen up againſt us all at once, upon a Report of our Diviſions. The* Sabines, *the* Æqui, *the* Volſci, *and the* 35 Hernici, *have all taken hold of this Opportunity to de-*

33 *D. Hal.* tells us, that the new *Conſuls* entered upon their Office on the *Calends of September*, i. e. a Month before the *Conſulate* of *T. Veturius* and *A. Virginius* expired, according to our former Remark on the *Conſulſhip* of *Brutus*. Nevertheleſs, to ſpeak the truth, nothing is more uncertain, than the Beginning of the *Conſular* Years; as we have more than once obſerved.

34 We find his Name written in *D. Hal. B.* 4. *Agrippa Menenius*. Which has made ſome falſly imagine, contrary to the Teſtimony of moſt Authors, that this Senator's *Prænomen* was *Agrippa* This Surname was given him, as we have elſewhere obſerved, either becauſe his Mother brought him into the World with great Difficulty, as *Pliny* has obſerved, *B.* 7. *Quod ægre partus ſit*; or becauſe, according to *Gellius*, he could hardly ſtand upon his Feet, *ab pedum ægritudine*.

35 The *Hernici* formerly inhabited the Territories of *Anagni* and *Alatro*, in the *Campagnia di Roma*.

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Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Caſsius, Conſuls.

ſtroy us. Campania *and* Hetruria *are either in Motion towards us, or making Prepa-rations, to take Advantage of our Misfortunes. The* Latins *themſelves, thoſe faithful Friends, begin to ſtagger already; and the Love of Novelty makes ſome Impreſſion on their Minds. So that* Rome, *which was formerly the Terror of her Neighbours, is now ſunk ſo low, as to fear them; and inſtead of attacking them, ſhuts her Gates, and keeps herſelf upon the defenſive. And in the mean time, what Evils do we not ſuffer? Our Country is become a Prey to the Enemy, and the Proviſions which ſhould abound in this City, are carried to the Camp of our Citizens which are ſeparated from us. O* Rome! *O my Country! A Famine is ſenſibly felt already. What then will become of thee, if thine Enemies lay ſiege to thee! Will dried Skeletons be able to guard thy Walls? Or whence ſhould we have any Succours, when our Walls are inveſted by the Flower of the* Roman *Youth? It's ſaid indeed, they yet continue quiet; but will they always continue ſo? If we call in Foreigners to ſupply their Places, will not thoſe who are gone off from us, oppoſe their March? And if theſe New-comers enter* Rome, *will they be more moderate in their Pretenſions, than our old Citizens? You have forced them to break off from you, and you compel them to be obſtinate in their Separation. Is it always reaſonable to have recourſe to Amputation, as ſoon as a Member has received a ſlight Wound? Let us rather heal the Wound we have made, and not render it incurable. As often,* Conſcript Fathers, *as you have ſignalized your Clemency towards your Enemies, what Advantages has it not produced? And will you then be inflexibly ſevere only againſt* Romans? *This City owes its Riſe, to its having offered an* Aſylum *to the Guilty? And will you ſhut out thoſe brave Soldiers from their old Habitations, whoſe only Crime is the Beggary to which your Uſuries have brought them? Do you remember, that they have ſhared our Fatigues, and our Victories, with us; that they were brought up in your Sight; and that they are united to you in the ſame civil Society? They have been guilty of Sedition, I grant you; but are they incapable of being brought back to their Duty by gentle Methods? If they have hitherto deſpiſed our Embaſſies, it is becauſe they thought they could have no dependance, either on our Deputies, or the Senate who deputed them. Our Breach of Promiſes gives them juſt Reaſon to think ſo; and our unworthy Artifices are juſt Grounds for their Suſpicions. Let us therefore ſend to this People, who continue to act diſcreetly and moderately, even during this Revolt, ſuch Plenipotentiaries as are agreeable to them, and ſuch whoſe Determinations ſhall not be liable to be called in queſtion by the Senate. Let their Power be abſolute, and uncontrollable. You will then find that Part of the State return to you, which is moſt wanted, in ſuch troubleſome Times as theſe.*

This Speech of *Menenius Agrippa* was thought wiſe by the Majority of the Senate: but Intereſt, and a Spirit of Faction, blinded the Eyes of thoſe Senators, who depended on the Confiſcation of the Eſtates of the Mutineers. To proceed: The Senior *Conſul* deſired *Manius Valerius* next to give his Opinion freely. This wiſe old Man was come to the Senate, tho' diſguſted at the *Conſcript Fathers*; being doubtleſs induced thereto, by the Change of the *Conſuls*. He began his Speech, with complaining of the little regard which had been ſhewn for the wholeſome Advice, which he had given them. *I forewarned you,* ſaid he, *of all the Misfortunes which now beſet us. Let then the Event, which has juſtified my former Predictions, at leaſt give ſome weight to thoſe I am now going to make. The longer the Senate ſhall delay to come to a Reconciliation with the People, the more advantageous will be the Terms, it will be forced to give them at laſt. If you had offered the revolted People, the Abolition of their Debts, by your firſt Deputation, you would by this time have ſeen* Rome *in Peace, and our Enemies repulſed. You are cheapening a Peace; and they will encreaſe their Demands in proportion to your Advances: and the more you offer, the more obſtinate they will grow in refuſing it. I ſhall be much miſtaken, if they don't now require, beſides their firſt Demands, ſuch laſting Securities, as ſhall always keep them out of the reach of our Oppreſſions. And indeed, by how many Acts of Injuſtice have we provoked the Citizens of* Rome? *Ever ſince the Recovery of the publick Liberty, the Authority of the* Curiæ *in* Rome *has been ſuperior to ours. Our Decrees have been of no force, till they thought fit to confirm them. They were the ſupreme Judges in capital Caſes, and determined them without Appeal. And yet what Artifices have not we made uſe of, to deprive them of their Privileges? At this very time, we would fain have our Decrees become abſolute Determinations. The* Dictatorſhip, *the Child of our Policy, robs the People of their ſupreme Power in criminal Affairs. Nor is this all. This powerful Body are reduced to be Slaves to the* Patricians, *who by exceſſive Uſury, and partial*

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Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Cassius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 386.*

Sentences, which they paſs in their own Cauſe, either deſtroy or ſink the Dignity of the People. I am therefore of Menenius Agrippa's *Opinion, adding this to it, that we ought not to delay giving the People Satisfaction one Moment. Let their Demands be granted, be they what they will. We ſhall not, after all, have made them ſufficient Amends for the Injuries we have done them.*

ALL that *Valerius* had ſpoken againſt the *Patricians* in general, *Appius Claudius* applied to himſelf. He had no Reaſon indeed to reproach himſelf with any ill Uſe of his Wealth, or any perſonal Oppreſſions. Yet he made an unneceſſary Apology for himſelf to the Senate on that account. The Fault which was found with his Conduct, was his being entirely devoted to the *Patrician* Party, and his being determined to endeavour to take away all Authority from the People, in order to bring the Republick under the Government of a ſupreme Council, conſiſting of a few choſen Men. With this View he voted againſt the Treaty which the Senate ſeemed diſpoſed to enter into, with the revolted People. When the Queſtion was put to him, he ſpoke thus. *I am extremely ſurprized,* Conſcript Fathers, *to ſee you ready to grant a rebellious People, what you refuſed them, when they behaved themſelves ſubmiſſively. Shall we make Untractableneſs and Obſtinacy a Title for obtaining by Force, what could not be procured by juſt Means? What Bounds will the Commonalty then ſet to their Deſires? We ſhall ſoon ſee the Government of* Rome *reduced to a mere Democracy, and find Madmen giving Law to the moſt noble and moſt wiſe Members of the State. Did you throw off the Dominion of a ſingle Prince, only to ſink into Slavery under a vile, unthinking Populace? When they have once extorted from you what they want, by Violence and Neceſſity, to what exceſſive Heights will not their Pride then be carried? When they have gained one Victory over you, that will only be a Step towards aſpiring at another; and then, whenever you refuſe them any thing, Inſults and Seditions will be the Conſequence. But, ſay ſome, we are now ſtreightened both by foreign Wars, and domeſtick Diſſentions. Let us preſerve our Country; I conſent to it: but let us do it in a manner conſiſtent with our Honour and Dignity. Let us not conſider our Deſerters as a formidable Army. Their Number is by no means equal to that of thoſe who continue faithful to us. Cannot we ſet our Slaves at liberty, and arm them? Can't we lead out the People which are left, into the Field, after we have forgiven them their Debts, not indeed by a publick Edict, but in our private Capacities? Cannot we gather together the Garriſons which are ſcattered about in the Caſtles in the Country, and call back our Colonies to the Relief of* Rome? *Had we not, the laſt time the People were numbered,* 130000 *Men fit to bear Arms? And are our Revolters one ſeventh part of that Number? At worſt, cannot we enter into an Aſſociation with the* Latins, *in ſo preſſing a War; and will not the Promiſes we ſhall make them, of giving them all the Privileges of* Roman *Citizens, keep them ſteddy in their Affection to the Senatorian Party? But what am I ſaying? Will the Obſtinacy of our Revolters hold out againſt the Hardſhips of the Winter? As they are without either Tents or Covering, expoſed to the Injuries of the Air, will they not prefer their own Houſes to Cold and Froſt? Will they reſolve to beſiege us, at the hazard of ſeeing their own Wives and Children maſſacred by their Fellow-Citizens? Can they have any Dependance on their Commanders, whilſt* Rome *abounds with experienced Generals, who have ſignalized themſelves by ſo many Victories? I therefore ſtill continue to be of opinion, that it is not conſiſtent with the Dignity of the Senate, to forgive the Revolters their Debts, and to ſend a new Deputation to them. In ſhort, all the Clemency that can well be ſhewn them, is to treat them with Tenderneſs, after they have laid down their Arms; and conſidering them as a Sett of Fools or Madmen, to ſhew them Mercy as ſuch.*

THIS Speech of *Appius* divided the Senators into two different Opinions. The young Men were for *Appius*; but the old were of *Menenius Agrippa*'s Opinion. The bare Name of a civil War was dreadful to them. Both Parties made a great Uproar. But the young Senators prevailed both by Number and Force; and already threatened to come to Blows. The Wiſe had nothing left but their Tears and Entreaties. With theſe they abated the Tumult a little, and all were attentive to what the *Conſuls* would ſay. After they had conſulted, and whiſpered together a few Minutes, the eldeſt of the two declared both their Opinions in theſe Words. *It were to be wiſhed, that Concord reigned among us, ſince Diſcord has already ſeparated one Part of the Republick from us. At leaſt the young Senators ought to pay a Deference to the old, in hopes that they alſo ſhall in their Turns find themſelves reſpected in their old Age. But all this while, the Time is ſpent in uſeleſs Diſputes. Let us put an end to*

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the Seſſion, that we may aſſemble again in a few Days. And let the young Men then bring better Diſpoſitions of Mind along with them! Otherwiſe, we may perhaps be obliged to overlook them in our Deliberations, aud to fix by Law, the Age 36 *Men ſhall be obliged to be of, in order to entitle them to a Vote in our Aſſemblies. Beſides, you are not ignorant, that it of antient Right belongs to the People, to determine Affairs of War by their Suffrages. Now the preſent Queſtion relates to War. It will therefore be very neceſſary to have recourſe to the People, if your being divided in Opinion, eternally obſtructs our coming to ſome Determination, which is abſolutely neceſſary.* Thus ſpake the *Conſul*, and diſmiſſed the Senate.

§. XIV. Some Days after, the *Conſuls* ſent Orders to *The Tribes* which were diſperſed about the Country, and to the Citizens who guarded the Caſtles, to come to the City, in great Numbers, on a Day appointed. This Multitude joined the Wives and Children of the Revolters, and waited for the Senators in the *Forum*, whilſt they went to the Senate, which the *Conſuls* aſſembled the ſame Day. Then the People endeavoured, by their Cries, their Prayers, and their Proſtrations, to raiſe the Compaſſion of the Senators, ſome in favour of their Husbands, others of their Fathers, others of their Relations, and others of their Friends. The *Conſuls*, as they paſſed by, commended the Country-people for being ſo punctual in returning to the City in great Numbers; exhorted them to continue peaceable; and gave them Hopes of having a Decree in their Favour, from the Aſſembly which was going to be held. And indeed, every thing was tranſacted in it with more Tranquillity than ever. *Menenius* was deſired to repeat his Opinion; and he ſtill continued to think it neceſſary to ſend Plenipotentiaries to the *Sacred Mountain*, with full Power to grant the revolted People, whatever they thought fit. After this, the Opinion of thoſe Senators was asked, who had been *Conſuls*, and they all voted with *Menenius:* till at length it came to *Appius*'s Turn, who ſpoke thus. *I perceive, my giving my Opinion here, is to no manner of Purpoſe. You are determined,* Conſcript Fathers, *to receive the Mutineers within theſe Walls upon their own Terms. Yet at leaſt give me leave to ſay, this ſhall never be done with my Conſent. The more raſh you now think my Obſtinacy to be, the more you will one Day, (tho' perhaps not till after my Death!) commend me for my Perſeverance. O Great* Jupiter! *who art worſhipped in the* Capitol! *Ye Tutelar Gods of the Empire! and ye Heroes and* Genii *who protect us! make, I beſeech you, the Return of our Rebels an Happineſs to us; and grant, that I may be deceived in my Apprehenſions.*

It muſt be granted, that the Senate had great Reaſon to fear the Conſequences of the Step they were going to take. Yet after all, the wiſeſt Advice they could follow, was to divert the preſent Evil. The young Men themſelves came over to the Opinion of the old. A young Senator, named *Nautius*, of an illuſtrious Family, ſince it was derived from one of *Æneas*'s Companions of that Name 37, paved the Way for their coming over to the better Side of the Queſtion. He firſt made an Apology for the youngeſt Senators, and proteſted that they had not acted either upon Motives of Vani-

36 To judge by the *Conſul*'s Speech, the Laws had not then determined the Age which was neceſſary, in order to being admitted into the Senate. And yet it is certain, none could be incorporated into the Senate, but ſuch as were of a mature Age. This appears from *Tully, pro Lege Manilia.* He ſpeaks thus with reſpect to *Pompey: Quid tam præter conſuetudinem, quam homini peradoleſcenti, cujus a Senatorio gradu ætas longe abeſſet, imperium atque exercitum dari?* *Tacitus, Annal.* 15. ſays, that *Vivianus Annius*, Son-in-law to *Corbulo*, was not yet arrived at the Age neceſſary for being a Senator. *Plutarch* ſays the ſame thing of *Pompey*, when he firſt demanded the Honours of a Triumph. Moſt Authors repreſent the Senators as grave Perſons, advanced in Years: *Quibus corpus annis infirmum, ingenium ſapientia validum erat.* Saluſt. Catil. *Et Romanus Senatus in hunc uſque diem a Senio nomen gerit*, ſays *Plutarch*. And *Q. Rom. Feſtus, Aurelius Victor*, and *Florus*, all agree in this Etymology. The only remaining Queſtion then, is, what Age the Laws afterwards fixed. The Hiſtorians of antient *Rome* leave us in Uncertainty about it. It is true, *Panvinius*, in *Faſt.* 1. pretends, that the Sons of Senators had a Right to ſit in the Senate, down to the Time of young *Papyrius*. Then, ſays he, the Senate made a Decree, whereby they excluded all from their Aſſemblies who were under 25 Years of Age. *Panvinius* quotes *Plutarch, in Pompeio*, in Proof of this; but it unluckily happens, that this Paſſage is not to be found in any Edition of that Hiſtorian. I rather incline to *Sigonius*'s Opinion. He, *B.* 2. *de Antiq. Jure Civium Rom. c.* 2. builds upon a Paſſage of *Valerius Maximus*, and another of *Tully*, to fix the Senatorial Age, to the Time when the *Quæſtorſhip* uſually ended. Now it's certain Men might ſtand for this Office after they were 27. They might therefore aſpire at the Senatorial Dignity, before, or about, 30. Which pretty well agrees with the Law *Pompey* eſtabliſhed among the People of *Bithynia*. By this Law it was enacted, that none ſhould be made a Member of their Senate, till he was 30 complete. It is probable, *Pompey* followed the Cuſtom of the *Roman* Republick, in this Affair; and the more ſo, becauſe *Pliny the Younger* tells us, in one of his Letters to the Emperor *Trajan*, that the *Bithynians* made the *Romans* their Pattern, eſpecially in what related to their Magiſtracy and Senate.

37 This *Nautius* is called *Nautes* by *Virgil*. If we may believe the Commentators on this Poet, *Diomedes* returned into *Nautius*'s Hands, the *Palladium* he had from *Troy*. The ſame Poet ſays, *Minerva* inſtructed him in the Art of Divination.

Tum ſenior Nautes *unum Tritonia Pallas*
Quem docuit, multaque inſignem reddidit Arte.
Æn. B. 5.

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ty, or Views of Intereſt. And then, he conſented, in the Name of them all, that the oldeſt Senators ſhould make a Decree according to their own Inclinations and Deſigns. It was therefore ordered, that ten Deputies [38] ſhould be ſent to *Sicinnius*'s Camp. Hiſtory has not ſuffered their Names to be buried in Oblivion; and indeed no Deputation was ever more honourable. All ten, except young *Nautius*, had been *Conſuls*: which was not ſo much deſigned to do Honour to the Revolted, as to take care that none but wiſe and prudent Men ſhould be concerned in judging what Conceſſions the Republick might make them, ſo as leaſt to prejudice its Intereſts.

§. XV. When the *Conſuls* came out of the Senate, they preſented themſelves before the People who were aſſembled; and when they had given them an Account of the Decree which had been paſſed, exhorted them to contribute all they could towards the Re-union of the Senate and the Army. Then the Deputies were immediately diſpatched away, for the *Mons Sacer*. But the Report of their Deputation came thither before them. The People therefore came to meet them, and a great Body of the Rebels marched out of their Camp, to do them Honour. In the mean time, *Junius Brutus* acted a pretty extraordinary Part among the Revolters. He had a great deal of Wit, and vaſt Penetration, joined with a clowniſh and ſilly Carriage and Behaviour. As then he had the Name of *Lucius Junius*, as well as the Founder of the Republick; ſo his Habit, and his Ruſticity, gained him likewiſe the Surname of *Brutus*. And becauſe he had the ſame Names, he therefore thought himſelf deſtined to deliver the People from the Tyranny of the Senate, as the famous *Brutus* had delivered *Rome* from the Oppreſſions of the *Kings*. And indeed, the Advice he gave, did not a little contribute towards the People's gaining that Superiority over the *Patricians*, which they afterwards maintained, and which made them Maſters of the Republick. *Lucius Junius* therefore addreſſed himſelf to the General of the Revolters, and gave him to underſtand, that it was not proper to fall in very readily with the Propoſals of the Senate. *After all*, ſaid he, *who will ſecure us, that the Promiſes they are coming to make us, will be faithfully performed; and that theſe fine Appearances ſhall not have a tragical End? Let me anſwer them*, adds he, *in the Name of the People; and you ſhall ſee how artfully I will preſerve you from the Cheat, which they may perhaps have reſolved, to put upon our Credulity*. Accordingly, *Sicinnius* knowing what an excellent Fund of Wit the mock *Brutus* had, gave him Authority to anſwer the Senate's Propoſals, in the Name of all the Mutineers. Then the Deputies were admitted into the Camp, and the Revolters came in Crowds about them, to hear what they had to ſay. *M. Valerius*, the *Dictator* the laſt Year, and that faithful Friend to the People, was their Speaker; and he began thus: *To what Purpoſe is it*, Romans, *that you ſtill keep away from your Relations and Families? The Senate has choſen ſuch Men, as it thinks well affected to you, to treat with you, and to ratify any reaſonable Propoſals which you have to offer. It has not ſhewn ſo much regard for its own Dignity, as reſpect for you. It has done that for your ſakes, which it would perhaps never have done for Foreigners. It forgets its Rank in the State, in order to come to a Reconciliation with you. Give therefore the Gods thanks for it, and be grateful for the Kindneſs of the* Conſcript Fathers. *They indeed are truly Fathers, who don't think it unworthy of them, to make the firſt Advances, in order to bring back their Children to their Duty. Make a good uſe of their Condeſcention, and delay not to return to the City, which gave you Birth, and where you enjoyed many Advantages, of which you ſeem to be a little inſenſible.*

SICINNIUS anſwered, in few Words, that the Affair was of ſuch Importance, that it deſerved to be well diſcuſſed by the Perſons concerned. And then he invited thoſe of his Party, to anſwer to what *Valerius* had ſaid. But they all looked upon one another, and continued ſilent: till the new *Brutus* took up the Diſcourſe, as it had been agreed he ſhould; and he firſt addreſſed himſelf to the Soldiers of his Party. *What ſtrikes you dumb, my Friends?* ſaid he to them: *Is it the Fear you are in of the* Patricians? *You wait for ſome one Perſon to take the whole Odium upon him, whilſt you reſolve to take Advantage of all the Benefits he may procure you, at his own Peril. But after all, what have you to fear? Don't you ſee, that this Senate, which was formerly ſo imperious, is forced to make the firſt Advances? We have now recovered that Liberty*

38 *Livy* mentions only *Agrippa Menenius*, and not the other *Conſular* Men, which were ſent to the People. But *D. Hal.* who is more faithful in his Narrations, has tranſmitted to us the Names of theſe Deputies: *viz. Manius Valerius*, the Son of *Marcus*; *Titus Lartius Flavus*; *Agrippa Menenius*, the Son of *Caius*; *Publius Servilius*, the Son of *Publius*; *Poſthumius Tubertus*, the Son of *Quintus*; *Titus Ælutius Flavus*, the Son of *Titus*; *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus*, the Son of *Publius*; *Aulus Poſthumius Albus*, the Son of *Publius Aulus*; *Virginius Cœlimontanus*, the Son of *Aulus*; and *Spurius Nautius*.

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which the Faction of the Great had robbed us of: And I will firſt uſe it my ſelf. I will ſpeak in the Name of you all, and will my ſelf run all the riſque of the Freedom I ſhall uſe. We are told, nothing hinders us from returning to Rome. *But is this an Act of Kindneſs ſhewn us by the Senate? Or does the Senate ask it as a Favour of us? And what are the Conditions of our Return? What Securities will they give us of the faithful Performance of a Promiſe, which their frequent Breaches of Faith cannot but make us ſuſpect? Let us ſtrictly examine where the Blame of our Separation ought in Equity to be laid? Were not we forced to it, by the Injuſtice of the Senate, and the Severity of their Sentences? Is it then we, or they, that ought to ask Pardon? Is it not perverting all the Laws of Equity, to make the Perſons injured, apply for Mercy to thoſe who injured them? Who then ought to be thought ungrateful, the People, or the Senate? What is there that we have not done, to preſerve* Rome, *and extend her Glory and her Conqueſts? And yet, the laſt of the Kings, even* Tarquin the Proud *himſelf, did not carry his Oppreſſions, and his Ingratitude to us, ſo far as the Senate has done. When* Sueſſa *was taken,* Tarquin *permitted his Army to enrich themſelves with the Spoils of the Enemy. Nevertheleſs, we reſented his Abuſe of his Power, which was more heavy upon the* Patricians, *than upon us: and we joined with the Senators to deliver it from an Oppreſſor. O Heavens! did we then imagine that we were going to fall under more tyrannical Oppreſſions! If we had dreamed of that, ſhould we have gone thro' ſo many Wars, and ſpilt ſo much Blood, for ſixteen Years together, only for an imaginary Liberty? And yet we had ſcarce eſtabliſhed that Liberty, by ſo many Exploits, at the Battle of* Regillus, *before it was taken away by Violence from thoſe who defended it. The Senate was not content to expoſe our Lives in ſo many Wars, purely to ſerve their Ambition; but likewiſe treated the Conquerors themſelves, as vanquiſh'd Enemies. They were loaded with Chains, they were reduced to Slavery, and thoſe Debts were rigorouſly exacted of them, which either their Neceſſities, or the Good of the Publick, forced them to contract. They were to be humbled, and abſolutely ruined, by exceſſive Uſuries. And what unjuſt Treatment did not thoſe few* Patricians *meet with from the reſt of the Senate, who were ſo equitable as to be affected with our Miſery? One was deprived of the Honours of a Triumph, which he had deſerved; another was forced to end a glorious* Conſulate *in the greateſt Diſſatisfaction. But what am I ſaying? Why am I recalling the Memory of what is paſt? Let us now, my Friends, think only of taking proper Precautions for the future. What Security will the Senate give us, that we ſhall be perfectly reſtored to our antient Liberties? What Improvement in our Fortunes are we to hope for? With what Demonſtrations of Joy ſhall we be received in* Rome? *Speak, illuſtrious Deputies, explain your ſelves; for you are not to imagine, that when we have taken up Arms upon wiſe and prudent Motives, we will lay them down inconſiderately. Think you, we will depend upon the Conditions of a Treaty, which an* Appius *and his Cabal will diſannul by an Edict as ſoon as we are diſarmed? Shall we deliver our ſelves up to the Envoys of a Senate, which has ſo often broken the Promiſes it has ſent them to make us? Or ſhall we entirely depend on Covenants confirmed only by Oaths? How many times have the Gods looked down with Deteſtation on theſe faithleſs Men, whilſt they were perjuring themſelves? How many Promiſes have they broken, which they called Heaven to witneſs? Neceſſity, ſay they, extorted them from us, and the publick Good diſannulled them. But let us take Care, my Friends, let us take Care, how we fall into theſe Snares. Let us fly wherever Fortune or the Gods lead us. Whereſoever Liberty is, there is our Country. Valour will ſupply the Place of Riches; a brave Man can live any where. When* Æneas *fled from* Troy *with his* Trojans, *he got a Kingdom in this Country. Let us follow his Example, and found a Colony which ſhall rival* Rome. *And let the only Favour we ask at our Departure, as the Reward of our Moderation, be this, that we may have our Wives and Children. Which if not granted, let us call the Gods to witneſs the Injuries which will then be done us; and let us treat that People as Enemies, who ſhall have uſed us like Slaves.*

BOTH the Deputies of the Senate, and the Revolters, were greatly moved with this Harangue of *Brutus*. They all burſt out into Tears. They all agreed, that he had not exaggerated the Misfortunes the People had ſuffered. They acknowledged the Revolters could not be too cautious in guarding againſt the unjuſt Proceedings of a Senate, which had ſo often proved faithleſs. Nevertheleſs, *T. Lartius* undertook to juſtify the Conduct of the *Patricians*, and to ſhew, that the People had had no juſt Cauſe to complain of the ill Treatment of the Debtors. *Your Luxury*, ſays he, *your Debauchery, and your Idleneſs, multiplied your Debts. And was it juſt to refuſe your*

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Creditors the Payment of those Loans, without which you could not have subsisted? But how much respected soever *Lartius* was, his Words were so unseasonable at this time, that he was hissed by the Multitude. *Sicinnius*, the Leader and Chief of the Revolters, took Advantage of it, and made it serve his own Purposes. *Judge ye, my dear Friends*, says he to his Soldiers, *Judge ye, by the Discourse of one who is come to intercede with us, what Treatment we are to expect at* Rome, *when we have laid down our Arms. His Intreaties are Reproofs, and his Supplications Invectives. See, whether you think it proper to follow him to the City without your Arms, and with your Hands tied behind you; and there to undergo the most bitter Reproaches, and the most terrible Slavery.* These Words of *Sicinnius* were received with great Applauses. But in the midst of the Acclamations, *Menenius Agrippa* made a Signal, that he had something to offer. He was known to be a Man of Equity, and well [39] affected to the People. They were therefore all silent, and thought that he, at least, would declare upon what Conditions the Revolters were to be receiv'd. But in truth, *Menenius* was no Orator, his Speech was much fuller of good Sense, than of Eloquence. He spoke with a great Air of Freedom and Goodness, and made as great Impressions on the Minds of his Auditors as could have been expected. *Romans*, says he, *we were not sent hither, either to justify our selves, or accuse you. We have nothing to do at present, but to agree upon a Method of healing our Divisions. The Senate has invested us with full Powers to complete this Work. Let us then enquire into the Causes of your Discontents, and remove them. You complain of the Prosecutions your Creditors have carried on against the poor Debtors. Very well; let such of you as are not able to pay their Debts be discharged from them. Let those also, who are legally confined by their Creditors, be set at Liberty. So much for what is past. And as for the future, the whole Republick, both Senate and People, will unanimously agree to make new Regulations about Contracts, and the Interest of Money. Will not this then be removing the chief Cause of your Complaints? You say likewise, you would have some Security of the Sincerity of our Promises. You shall have the most authentick ones. Set down your Demands in Writing, and the Senate shall comply with them. It shall confirm our Promises, and pass them into a Decree, which shall have the Force of a Law. Can any thing be more inviolable? To which we add, that all we who are sent Deputies to you, will be Guarantees for the Execution of the Promises we make you. We and our Families will for ever be responsible to you for the Performance of them. Nay, the rest of the Senators, and the People too, will enter into the same Engagements, and all give you proper Instruments for that Purpose, signed with their own Hands. In a word, the last Assurance we offer you, is such a one as is regarded both by* Greeks *and* Barbarians. *It is the Sanction of* [40] *Oaths. They are more sacred than* Brutus *has represented*

Silver

39 It is not to be wondered at, that *Menenius Agrippa* should be so much inclined to favour the *Plebeians*. He was himself descended from a *Plebeian* Family, if we may believe *Livy*. *Menenium Agrippam facundum virum, & quod inde oriundus erat, plebi carum.* B. 2. Nevertheless, he had been *Consul*. Yet it is certain the *Plebeians* had then no rightful Claim to the Honours of the Magistracy. The *Patricians* would not yet so much as marry the Daughters of *Plebeians*. We must therefore suppose, either that *Livy* was mistaken, or that *Menenius Agrippa*'s Family, which was originally *Plebeian*, was made *Patrician* by *Tarquin the Elder*, when he increased the Number of the Senators; or else that *Menenius* himself was one of those newly created Senators, which *Brutus* incorporated with the old Senators, in order to fill up the Places of those whom *Tarquin the Proud* had cut off.

40 *Numa*, in order to make his *Romans* faithful to their Engagements, made use of the Sanction of Oaths, as we learn from *Livy*, B. 1. *Ea pietate hominum mentes imbuerat, ut fides ac jusjurandum, proximo regum ac pœnarum metu, civitatem regerent.* From that time the *Romans*, as long as Candour and Simplicity prevailed among them, thought nothing more sacred than Oaths. They looked on them as inviolable Obligations, by which the Bands of Society were fastened, and Men most strictly tied to perform the Duties of Civil Life. The most antient Ceremony used in swearing was to hold up the right Hand, because the right Hand is the Symbol of Fidelity. *I lift up mine Hand unto the Lord*, says *Abraham* *. *Tully* says of *Falcidius*, *Orat. pro Flacco*, that no Body would believe him, tho' he swore with his Hand upon the Altar. *Is si aram tenens juraret, crederet nemo.* Juvenal inveighs against those perjured Persons who were not afraid to lay their Hands upon any Altars.

——*Intrepidi quæcumque altaria tangunt.* Sat. 13.

It

* Gen. xiv. 22.

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them; and tho' ſome wicked Princes may ſometimes have broken thro' thoſe religious Ties, yet Rome *was never known to carry her Impiety ſo far, as to deſpiſe Contracts made in the Name and Preſence of the Gods. Let Concord then reunite us; and let mutual Embraces put an End to thoſe Jealouſies which divide us! Let us again become joint Members of the ſame Body-Politick, and let us collect the diſ-united Parts of it. My Meaning will beſt be underſtood by the following Fable. There was a time when the ſeveral Parts of the human Body murmured againſt the Stomach. It is ſlothful, ſaid they, and makes the Eyes, the Arms, and the Feet, ſubſervient to its Pleaſures. The Hands therefore, and Mouth, and Teeth, refuſed to ſerve it. And what was the Conſequence? The whole Body languiſhed, and the mutinous Members ſuffered, as well as the Stomach. This is exactly our Caſe, with reſpect to our inteſtine Diviſions. The whole Republick is weakned, when any one of its Members refuſes the reſt the Aſſiſtance they expect from it.*

Such a Fable as this was well adapted to the Capacities of the People. They were more ſtaggered by it, than they would have been by any deep Reaſonings. They all called out to their Leader to carry them immediately back to the City: And they had like to have quitted the *Sacred Mountain* immediately, without further Precaution. But *Brutus* put a Stop to the inconſiderate Motion of his Companions, and made them ſenſible, that too much Precipitation would infallibly throw them back into as great Miſery as ever. *It is true,* ſaid he to them, *the Offers which are made us are very reaſonable. We ought to return the Senate Thanks for them. But who can be ſure, that the Spirit of Dominion, which is very natural to the Heads of a Republick, will not prevent the Performance of them; and that the* Patricians, *when they have us in Subjection, will not make an ill Uſe of our Submiſſion, in order to oppreſs us with the more Diſcretion and Policy for the future? The only Means to preſerve us always from their Violences, is to deprive them of the Power of oppreſſing us. Let us bring the Senate to this; and then we ſhall be always ſafe. The Gods have inſpired me with an Expedient, which is the only one that can make our Liberty durable, and the Republick invincible.* *Menenius* preſſed the Orator to declare this important Scheme; and *Brutus* went on thus: *It is this; That they give us Leave to chooſe annually, a certain Number of Magiſtrates, out of the Body of the* Plebeians, *who ſhall have no other Authority in* Rome, *but that of being our Protectors, and having a Power to oppoſe and diſannul any Edicts or Judgments which ſhall be burdenſome to the People.* This Propoſal of *Brutus,* was what the Envoys did not expect. So that they deſired a few Moments to conſider of it. They drew aſide, conſulted together, ſoon after returned to the Aſſembly, and when Silence was made, *Menenius* ſpoke thus: *Your Demand,* Romans, *has given us a great deal of Uneaſineſs. Shall not we, if we grant it, erect two Republicks in the ſame City of* Rome? *Theſe are ſuch well-grounded Apprehen-*

ſions,

It is true, Oaths, tho' always in uſe, yet followed the Fate of the *Roman* Religion, and took as many different Shapes as their Divinities did. Thus the *Romans* ſwore by their Gods, and made them Sureties for what they promiſed. They ſwore by *Caſtor* and *Pollux*, by *Hercules*, *&c.* Nor did they ſwear only by their Gods, but alſo by every thing that had any Relation to their fabulous Divinities; by *Jupiter*'s Thunder, *Apollo*'s Arrows, *Neptune*'s Trident. They ſwear, ſays *Juvenal*, ſpeaking of the *Romans* in his time, by all the Weapons in the Arſenal of Heaven.

Quicquid habent telorum armamentaria cæli.

Caligula inſulted the *Romans*, and their Religion, by ſwearing by the Fortune, the Genius, and the Health of his Horſe. The *Veſtals* ſwore by *Veſta*; the *Roman* Ladies by *Juno*; Husbandmen by *Ceres*; Vine-dreſſers by *Bacchus*; Lovers by *Venus* and *Cupid*. One of the moſt ſolemn Oaths uſed in antient *Rome*, was this, *Per Jovem lapidem*, i. e. *by Jupiter the Stone:* Either alluding thereby to the Stone Statue, which in the earlieſt Ages of *Rome*, was erected to *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*; or in Reference to the Stone which *Saturn* ate, thinking it the new-born *Jupiter*; or laſtly, which is the moſt general Opinion, in Alluſion to the Ceremony then uſed by thoſe who ſwore by *Jupiter*, which was, to take a Stone in their Hands, and then to throw it away with all their Strength, ſpeaking theſe Words, according to *Feſtus*, *If I do not perform my Promiſe, may* Jupiter *throw me from* Rome, *as I throw this Stone from me.* Oaths were often attended with Sacrifices and Libations. *Livy*, *B.* 1. gives us an Account of another Way of ſwearing. The Perſon who ſwore held a Stone in his Hand, with which he ſtruck the Victim on the Forehead, and at the ſame time repeated this Form of Words, *If I break my Word, may* Jupiter *ſtrike me, as I ſtrike this Victim.* We learn from *Æſchylus*, in his Tragedy called, *The Seven before* Thebes, that to terrify them the more, thoſe who took an Oath dipped their Hands in the Blood of the Victim. The *Aquilii*, and the *Vitellii*, who entered into a Conſpiracy againſt *Rome*, in Favour of the *Tarquins*, took their Oaths almoſt in the ſame manner. The *Romans* had ſo ſacred a Regard for Oaths, that they made *Faith*, or *Fidelity*, a Goddeſs, to whom they gave a conſiderable Rank among the Pagan Divinities. Her Province was, to take Care that Oaths were faithfully performed. The white Veil ſhe had on was the Symbol of Frankneſs and Candour. Thus *Horace* repreſents her: *Te Spes, & albo rara Fides colit velata panno.* Her Prieſts wore a Habit of the ſame Colour on Days of Ceremony. No Sacrifices but Libations were offered up to her Honour. *Numa* was the firſt who erected a Temple to her. Her Statue was afterwards placed in the *Capitol*, according to *Tully*, *B.* 2. *de Nat. Deor.* We have this Goddeſs repreſented on ſeveral Medals. Among others, on one of the *Licinian* Family, and another publiſhed by *Struvius*, *c.* 1. *De Diis Rom.* ſhe is drawn with her right Hand extended, and holding a *Cornu-copia* in her left.

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ſions, that we dare not, tho' inveſted with full Powers, determine ſo nice an Affair, without conſulting the Senate. Permit, therefore, ſome of the Deputies to return to the City; and be aſſured, that they will not oppoſe you, even in this. For my Part, I will continue among you, with ſome of my Aſſociates, whilſt Valerius *goes with the reſt, to receive further Inſtructions from the* Conſcript Fathers.

§. XVI. *M. VALERIUS* and his Companions immediately mounted their Horſes, and came to *Rome*. The Senate was ſummoned by the *Conſuls*, and *Valerius* gave his Opinion, in favour of the Revolters. *Appius*, who was always the ſame, cried out againſt the horrible Conſequences, which would follow from *Valerius*'s Condeſcenſion. But his Advice was neglected. All the Senators inclined to Peace. They made a Decree, whereby they granted the People all the Revolters asked, and among other things, the Power of chuſing annual Magiſtrates, to defend them againſt the Attempts of the *Patricians*. A Conceſſion, which deſtroyed the Hopes of the Great, placed almoſt all the Authority in the *Plebeians*, and made that Government almoſt entirely democratical, which before was a Mixture of Democracy and Ariſtocracy. This was making a real Change in the Republick, even while a Republick. Early the next Morning, *Valerius* and his Company returned to the Camp; where they read the Decree they had obtained of the Senate. It was then no difficult Matter for *Menenius* to perſuade the Heads of the Army to ſend Deputies to the Senate, to confirm the Treaty, and to ſatisfy themſelves of the Sincerity of the Senators. *Junius Brutus*, and two others of his Companions, took this Commiſſion upon them, and were accompanied by half the Deputies of the Senate. *Menenius* continued on the *Mons Sacer*, and drew the Plan of the Law for the Creation of the new Magiſtrates. *Brutus* reported, that he had concluded the Treaty in the moſt ſolemn Manner, the [41] *Feciales* aſſiſting at it. And then the People who had revolted aſſembled *by Curiæ*.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 410.

They proceeded to elect in the Camp, the firſt *Tribunes of the People*. *Sicinnius* and [42] *Brutus* were firſt named; and then [43] three others were added to them; *viz.* the two *Licinii*, *Publius* and *Caius*, who were Brothers, and *C. Icilius*. Theſe five Magiſtrates, created by the People, and taken out of the Body of the Commoners entered upon their Office the fourth of the *Ides of December* [44], in the Year of *Rome* 260. A Law [45] was paſſed, whereby the Perſons of the *Tribunes* were made *ſacred*, *i.e.* inviolable.

41 The chief Office of the *Feciales*, regarded the Faith of Treaties: They were entruſted by the Republick with the Care of drawing up the Articles of them. They were ſworn to act juſtly in all Caſes, without any Partiality.

42 *Plutarch*, *Suidas*, and the *Latin* Writers, acknowledge, that the Suffrages of the People fell on *Licinius* and *Brutus*. *Livy* alone, makes *C. Licinius*, and *L. Albinus*, to have been the two firſt *Tribunes*: adding, that they aſſociated *Sicinnius* to themſelves. The Names of the two others he omits; and he ſays it is uncertain who they were. But is it credible, that the People ſhould exclude two ſuch Men as *Sicinnius Bellutus*, and *Junius Brutus*, who had maintained their Intereſts, with ſo much Heat, againſt the *Patricians*? *Tully* places the Creation of the firſt *Tribunes*, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Veturius* and *Virginius*. Which is a manifeſt Anachroniſm.

43 *Tully*, *Orat. pro Cornel.* *Livy*, *B.* 2. *Zonaras*, *Tom.* 2. and *D. Hal. B.* 6. diſagree, as to the Number of the firſt *Tribunes*. The three firſt Authors reckon but two. The laſt, who is always exact in the Circumſtances of Facts, declares, the *Curiæ* choſe five *Tribunes*. *Livy* ſays, the People choſe two, who choſe themſelves three Collegues. But it's probable this laſt Choice was not made without the Conſent and Permiſſion of the Commons. In this Caſe they muſt have had, according to *Livy*'s own Account, a Share in the Election of the five *Tribunes*. Nor does *Piſo*'s Account, quoted by *Livy*, *B.* 2. deſerve to be admitted, any more than this. That old Annaliſt affirms, that the People created only two *Tribunes* at firſt; and that the *Plebeians*, when become more powerful, added three more, in the Year of *Rome* 282, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Claudius* and *Quinctius*. And according to him, they brought up the Number to ten, in the Year 296, when *Horatius* and *Minutius* were *Conſuls*. *Varro* obſerves, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* that theſe new-created Magiſtrates were called *TRIBUNES of the People*, becauſe choſen out of the *Legionary Tribunes*.

44 The 4th of the *Ides of December*, i. e. the tenth of that Month, which gave Birth to theſe new Magiſtrates, was conſecrated by the People. *D. Hal.* ſays, it was the Day appointed for the Election of the *Tribunes*. *Livy* reports, *B.* 29. that *Nævius* was raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip* on the 4th of the *Ides of December*, But *Tully* ſeems to diſagree with them, as to the Day. At leaſt, he ſays of *P. Sulpitius*, that he was to enter upon his Office on the *Nones of December*, i. e. the 5th of that Month, the Day on which the People proceeded to elect *Tribunes*. *Tully*, *Orat. in Ver.* expreſſes himſelf thus: *Publius Sulpitius, judex triſtis & integer, magiſtratum ineat neceſſe eſt Nonis Decembris, eo hodie Tribunus plebis futurus.* There is then only the Difference of four or five Days between them. So that, in order to reconcile *Tully* with *D. Hal.* we muſt ſay, that the *Tribunes* Year being near expired, the People aſſembled on the *Nones of December*, to appoint Succeſſors, who did not begin to exerciſe their Office, till the 4th of the *Ides of December*. However, it is not neceſſary to underſtand *D. Hal.*'s Computation in Strictneſs.

45 The Words of the Law were theſe: *Tribunum invitum nemo quicquam facere cogito, nec verberato, nec aliquem verberare jubeto. Si quis contra fecerit, ſacer eſto, & bona ejus Cereri dicata ſunto. Qui eum occiderit, purus a cæde eſto.* The plural Words, *ſacratæ leges*, uſed by *Tully*, relate only to the different Articles of this Law, and not to any other Laws but this. Beſides, the Name of *ſacrata lex*, which was given to this Law, alluded not only to the Imprecations denounced againſt him who tranſgreſſed it, but alſo to the Oaths by which it was ratified, and the capital Puniſhment annexed to the Violation of it. In this Senſe, *Tully* ſays, *Orat. pro Corn. Balbo*; *Sanctiones ſacrandæ ſunt, aut genere ipſo, ut obteſtatione, & conſecratione legis*; *aut pœna, cum caput ejus qui contra facit, conſecratur.*

violable. It ran thus: LET THE TRIBUNE OF THE PEOPLE BE EXEMPT FROM ALL THE SERVILE OFFICES IMPOSED ON THE CITIZENS. LET NONE OF THEM BE LAID UPON HIM, BUT BY HIS OWN CONSENT. LET NO ONE STRIKE HIM, OR CAUSE ANOTHER TO STRIKE HIM. IF ANY OFFEND IN THIS, LET HIM BE EXECRABLE, AND HIS GOODS APPROPRIATED TO THE WORSHIP OF CERES. IF ANY ONE KILLS HIM, ANY PERSON THAT WILL, MAY KILL THE MURDERER WITH IMPUNITY. In order to make this Law perpetual, the People were made to ſwear for themſelves, and their Poſterity, that they would always conform to it. To this Oath was alſo added a Prayer, in theſe Words: *May they who have confirmed this Law, and ſhall obſerve it for the future, find the Gods of Heaven and Hell propitious to them! And may the ſame Gods be always Enemies to thoſe wicked Perſons who tranſgreſs it!* The Ceremony concluded with erecting an Altar to *Jupiter*, on the Top of the Hill, where *Sicinnius*'s Army was encamped; and this venerable Memorial was called the Altar of *Jupiter the Terrible*. After the Place on which it ſtood had been conſecrated, Sacrifices were offered up on it: And then the People followed the Deputies of the Senate, and returned to the City.

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AFTER the People, upon their Return, had given thanks to the Gods of *Rome*, they made new Demands upon the Senate. The firſt was, that it would ratify the Election of the *Tribunes*, which had been made on the *Mons Sacer*: And it was accordingly done. The ſecond was, that the People ſhould be allowed to give the *Tribunes* two Aſſiſtants, for the eaſier Diſcharge of their Office; and that the *Plebeians* ſhould have the Right of chuſing them. It was to be the Buſineſs of theſe new Magiſtrates, to prepare Matters for the *Tribunes*, and to judge of them in the firſt Inſtance; to take care that the City ſhould be well ſupplied with Proviſions, and to regulate the Price of them: and laſtly, to inſpect all the Buildings, both publick and private, in *Rome*. From this laſt Part of their Office, they took the Name [46] of *Ædiles*. The Senate approved likewiſe of the Creation of thoſe two Offices, on the Foot the People deſired it. So that, the *Ædiles* were originally only inferior Magiſtrates to the *Tribunes of the People*, on whoſe Tribunal theirs was long dependent.

§. XVII. *ROME* now enjoyed a profound Peace. The *Patricians* kept up a good Intelligence with the *Curiæ*, and the *Conſuls* were not thwarted in their Adminiſtration. So that Mens Thoughts were now wholly taken up with foreign Wars. Troops were raiſed in the City, with incredible Eaſe and Expedition. The *Conſul Sp. Caſſius*, to whoſe Lot it fell to ſtay in *Rome*, and take care of Affairs at home, kept but a ſmall Part of the Levies with him. The Command of the main Body was given to his Collegue *Poſthumius Cominius*. His Army conſiſted partly of *Roman* Citizens, and partly of *Latin* [47] Troops, which ſerved under him as Auxiliaries: *Cominius* choſe to turn theſe formidable Forces againſt the *Volſci*. Theſe old Enemies of the *Romans* put a good Face upon it, and ventured to take the Field: But upon the firſt Attack, their Valour vaniſhed. Being routed, they fled to their Cities. The firſt City the *Conſul* beſieged, was *Longula*. The *Volſci* defended it but faintly, and did not ſignalize their Valour by any conſiderable Exploits. *Longula* was taken and given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Army. From thence *Cominius* marched to *Poluſca*, a City near *Longula*; and it was taken by Aſſault the ſame Day he ſate down before it. It could not withſtand the Aſſault, and its Gates were broken down. This Place formerly belonged to the *Romans*, but had revolted to the *Volſci*. The Authors of the Revolt were put to death, and Fines laid upon the reſt of the Inhabitants. So that being now reduced, and ſeverely treated, it continued ſubject to the *Romans*.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 33.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 411.

§. XVIII. THESE two firſt Conqueſts were only an Introduction to a more conſiderable Expedition. *Corioli* [48] was the Metropolis of the *Volſci*, whence all their Colonies were ſent out, their Capital, and one of the ſtrongeſt Places in old *Latium*. An Army was ready to defend its Walls, which were of an extraordinary Height and Thickneſs. In a word, it was ſo well ſtocked with Proviſions and Ammunition of all ſorts, that it ſeemed impregnable. Beſides, the *Antiates* [49], Allies and Neighbours of

46 Theſe two Magiſtrates were a ſort of Aſſociates, or rather Subalterns, to the *Tribunes*. They were called *Ædiles*, [from *Ædes*, *an Edifice*] becauſe they had the Inſpection of publick *Edifices*. Their Office was a little like that of the Αγορανόμοι among the *Greeks*, and the *Commiſſaires de Police* among the *French*.

47 *Livy* adds, *B.* 2. that *Sp. Caſſius* concluded, or renewed, an Alliance with the *Latins*, during his Abode at *Rome*.

48 There are no Footſteps of old *Corioli* now remaining. We only know, that it was near the *Pontina Palus*, not far from *Longula* and *Poluſca*, formerly two conſiderable Cities in the Country of the *Volſci*; whoſe Situation is not exactly known.

49 We have already placed *Antium*, one of the moſt wealthy Cities in Confederacy with the *Volſci*, at a Mile's diſtance from the City now called *Nettuno*, near the Promontory which the Natives call *Capo d'Anzo*.

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the *Volſci*, were, upon the firſt News of the Siege, to come and fall upon the *Roman* Camp, and attack it on a ſudden, whilſt the Beſieged ſallied out againſt the Beſiegers with all their Forces. However, *Cominius* was ſanguine enough to promiſe himſelf the Conqueſt of this Place. The *Conſul* did not then know that a young *Patrician* would carry away all the Honour of the Action, and by his Valour totally eclipſe the Glory of his General. This Hero, then in the Flower of his Age, was *Caius* [50] *Marcius*, ſo well known ſince by the Name of *Coriolanus*. He had already made ſome Campaigns; at the Battel of *Regillus* he ſignalized himſelf, and fought like a Lion, in his General's Sight. He one day ſaw one of his Fellow-Citizens * like to be cut in pieces at his Side; he revenged the *Roman*, ſaved him from Death, killed his Enemy, and was honoured with a *Civick* [51] Crown for his Reward. *Marcius* was nobly extracted, and born with all thoſe Diſpoſitions, which were then natural to the Nobility of *Rome*. His Life was frugal, his Manners chaſte. He denied himſelf every thing, yet was liberal to others even to Profuſion. Beſides, as he was an avowed Advocate for the *Patricians*; he could ill brook the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People*. Nevertheleſs, he then concealed his Sentiments, and waited to declare himſelf, till his Services and Glory ſhould encreaſe his Credit. Tho' *Marcius* was already known among the Troops, he had no other Superiority in the Army, than that which Birth and Bravery procure private Soldiers who diſtinguiſh themſelves.

* *Plutarch* in his Life of *Coriolanus*.

Livy, *B.* 2. *ibid.* *Plut. ibid.* *Dion. Hal.* *B.* 6. *p.* 412.

The *Conſul Cominius* came and ſat down before *Corioli*. He was ſenſible it would not be ſo eaſily reduced, as *Longula* and *Poluſca* had been. He attempted to ſcale the Walls from Morning till Night; but was forced to call off his Troops at Sun-ſet, with conſiderable Loſs. The next Morning he advanced with his Machines, and renewed the Attack. And then he received Information, that the *Antiates* were to attack him in the Rear, the ſame Day. He therefore divided his Army into two Bodies; one he appointed to ſcale the Walls, the other to oppoſe the Enemy, he expected. He committed the Care of carrying on the Siege to *T. Lartius*, and took upon himſelf the Command of the Army, which covered it. That Day was made memorable by two Battels the *Romans* had to ſuſtain; one with the Troops of *Corioli*, the other with the *Antiates*. The *Roman Legions* never behaved themſelves with more Bravery. Not a Man but ſignalized himſelf by ſome Exploit: And, which is ſcarce credible, *Marcius* appeared in both Armies, and carried away all the Glory of both Battels. His Exploits ſeemed more than human. At break of day, *Lartius* advanced with his Ram, and Towers [52], to the Ramparts of the City, and battered them both at top and bottom

d'Anzo. Tho' *Antium* was near the Sea, it had no Port: and therefore *Strabo* calls it Ἀλίμενος. Some *Greek* Authors give it the Name of Ἄντιον, and Ἀντεία. He that abridged *Stephens*, is miſtaken in making *Antium* and *Antia* two different Cities.

[50] *Lapus* and *Gelenius* give *Marcius* the *Prænomen* of *Cnæus*, upon the Credit of ſome antient MSS. they had in their Hands. *Plut.* *Livy*, and *D. Hal.* call him *Caius*. The Family of the *Marcii* was *Patrician*, and reckoned King *A. Marcius* among its Anceſtors.

[51] The *Civick* Crown was the Reward allotted for him, who had ſaved the Life of a Citizen, by killing his Enemy who was ready to diſpatch him, on the Field of Battel. It was preſented to the Deliverer by the Perſon delivered, in Proof of his Gratitude. *Civica Corona*, ſays *Gellius*, *B.* 5. *appellatur, quam civis civi a quo ſervatus eſt in prælio, teſtem vitæ ſalutiſque perceptæ, dat.* This Acknowledgment was often very unwillingly made, according to *Tully*, *Orat. pro Planco. Id etiam gregarii milites faciunt inviti, ut coronam dent civicam.* The *Civick* Crown was generally made of Leaves of Oaks, or Beach, or Holm-Oak. The *Romans* repreſented, by it, the Simplicity of the golden Age, when Men unanimouſly laboured to preſerve one another. *Plutarch* enquires why the Oak was preferred: and ſays, it was either becauſe being a very common Tree, the Generals were never at a loſs for a Reward for the Valiant; or becauſe it was conſecrated to *Jupiter*, the Protector of Cities; or laſtly, becauſe it is the moſt fruitful and ſtrong of all wild Trees. He who received this Mark of Diſtinction, had a Right to wear it at all Times, and in all Places. Among other Privileges inſeparably annexed to it, one was, that he, his Father, and Grandfather, were exempt from all ſervile Work for the Publick. He had a Right to chuſe an honourable Place at the publick *Games*, at which he no ſooner appeared, but the Senators and People roſe up, to do him Honour. This we learn from *Pliny*, *B.* 16. who concludes this Account with an exceeding fine Reflexion. *O mores æternos, qui tanta opera honore ſolo donaverint, & cum reliquas coronas auro commendarent, ſalutem civis in pretio eſſe noluerint! clara profeſſione ſervari quidem hominem nefas eſſe lucri cauſa.* We find the Figure of theſe Civick Crowns, on ſeveral Medals, with this Inſcription, Ob Civis Servatos. That above, is one of *Auguſtus Cæſar*'s.

[52] Towns were formerly attacked with moveable Towers

with Fury. In that inſtant the Garriſon of *Corioli* opened all their Gates, to make a general Sally. The Beſieged were animated by the Preſence of the *Antiates*, whom they ſaw advancing in the Plain. The firſt Onſet of the *Volſci* was terrible: yet the *Romans* ſuſtained it with Intrepidity. Afterwards, as the Enemy's Troops were ſuperior in Number, *Lartius*'s Men were thrown down headlong from the Top of the Hill, on which the City ſtood. They were already flying towards the *Roman* Camp, when *Marcius* got together a ſmall Body of his Fellow-Soldiers, and checked the Fury of the Enemy. He at firſt fought retreating, and afterwards made a great Slaughter of the *Volſci*. Then he cried out inceſſantly to thoſe who were flying, to rally, and ſtopped a ſufficient Number, to check the Impetuoſity of the Enemy, and recover Ground. After this, he, in his Turn, attacked the Troops of *Corioli*, made them turn their Backs, and purſued them. His Ardour carried him to the very Foot of the Walls, and he and his Company entered the City with the *Volſci*, by the Gate which had been opened for the Conquered. *Marcius*, with a Flambeau in his Hand, ſet fire to the Houſes neareſt the Ramparts. The Streets of *Corioli* were narrow; and thoſe who fled, their Numbers being increaſed by the Fire, were much crowded. The *Romans* ſtrewed the Ground with them, and ſtill drove them before them fighting, tho' the Women threw down a Shower of Stones upon them, from the Tops of the Houſes. *Marcius*, tho' tired with Slaughter, did not think he had yet gained ſufficient Glory. As ſoon as he ſaw the City in the Power of the *Romans*, he left his Fellow-Soldiers to plunder it: Whilſt he, attended by a few brave Men, returned to the *Conſul*'s Army with incredible Expedition. He carried thither the News of the taking of *Corioli*, and came to offer his Service in the Battel they were going to begin with the *Antiates*. *Cominius* would not eaſily have believed the City had ſurrendered ſo ſoon, if the Smoke which was ſeen to ariſe from the burning Houſes, had not confirmed *Marcius*'s Report. And all were ſurprized to ſee him asking no Reward for ſo great Services, but leave to expoſe himſelf to freſh Dangers. *Cominius* permitted him to go with his Troop againſt the moſt formidable Body of the *Antiates*, and fight in the firſt Rank of the *Roman* Army. And here it may be ſaid, that he ſurpaſſed himſelf, and that his firſt Victory was but a feint Sketch of that which followed.

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Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Caſſius, Conſuls.

As ſoon as the Trumpet ſounded, *Marcius* began the Attack. The Troops which faced him, endeavoured in vain to repulſe him. He broke thro' them. But when he had penetrated as far as the Center of the firſt Line, he was inſtantly ſurrounded with Enemies. The imminent Danger of ſo brave a Man, made the *Conſul* ſend him Relief. Then the *Romans* preſſed ſo warmly upon the *Antiates*, that they put them into Diſorder; of which *Marcius* took Advantage, and continued to purſue the Battalions he had broken. The *Romans*, who ſaw that his Strength was exhauſted, and that he had received a thouſand Blows, adviſed him to quit the Field. But he replied, *Do you think a Man is ever tired with conquering?* And without ſaying any more, renewed his Purſuit of the Enemy, with Fury. Till at length, quite fatigued with running a great way, and out of Breath, he fainted. The *Romans*, whom he had outrun, found him upon the Ground, in the midſt of the Dead and Wounded. But as ſoon as he had recovered his Strength, by a Moment's Reſt, he ſtarted up, and put himſelf at the Head of the *Romans* about him. With them he flew to thoſe Battalions of the Enemy, which yet preſerved ſome Order, fell upon them with Fury, put them into Diſorder, and ſlew all before him. Night alone put an end to the Battel: and then *Marcius* went to take a little reſt in the Camp of the Conquerors.

Plutarch, ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. p. 414.

The next Day brought yet more Glory to the brave *Marcius*. It is a queſtion, whether the Honour he then gained by his Modeſty, did not equal the Glory he had acquired the Day before, by his Valour. The *Conſul* erected his *Tribunal* before his Tent, called his Soldiers together, and among the reſt, *Marcius* by Name; and then made an Harangue to them, as was uſual with Generals, after a Victory. The whole Speech was little elſe but a Panegyrick on the brave *Marcius*. Inſomuch, that tho' his Valour had ſhined very eminently in the Action, yet the perſonal Diſtinction *Cominius* ſhewed him, raiſed jealouſy in many Minds, againſt his riſing Merit: And the Uneaſineſs of

Plutarch, ibid.

Towers of Wood, built upon Wheels. By the help of theſe Towers, the Beſiegers made their Approaches, and raiſed themſelves as high as the Walls, to diſcover what paſſed within the beſieged Place, to lay the City in Ruins, and beat off the Garriſon from the Ramparts, with their Darts. The Uſe of theſe military Machines became afterwards very common. We ſhall ſpeak of them more at large at that time. *D. Hal.* declares, that *Cominius* made uſe of *Mantelets*, Hurdles, and Ladders, in the Siege of *Corioli*. We will give an Account of the ſeveral Machines uſed by the Antients, in battering and defending Towns, in another Place.

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Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Cassius, Consuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 6. ibid.

his Rivals was yet more increaſed, by the extraordinary Rewards with which the *Conſul* honoured him. After he had put a Crown [53] of Gold upon his Head, he aſſigned him a tenth Part of all the Spoil taken in the Plunder of the City, and from the *Antiates* after the Battel. *Cominius* gave the young Hero a fine Horſe with ſtately Furniture, in the Name of the Republick; with leave to chuſe out any ten of the Priſoners, which he pleaſed, for himſelf. And laſtly, he allotted him as much Money as he could carry away. But *Marcius*'s Eyes were not dazzled with Preſents, which could only make him rich. Of all thoſe Offers, he accepted only the Horſe; and demanded only one Captive of the ten, and that with a Deſign to give him his Liberty. This was one of the *Antiates*, an old Friend to his Family, and whoſe Anceſtors had been attached to his, by the Ties of Hoſpitality. This generous and diſintereſted Refuſal ſilenced even Jealouſy itſelf. All reſpected an Hero, whoſe Sentiments were as noble, as his Valour ſignal: and the *Conſul* determined to give him the Surname of *Coriolanus*. By which, he ſeemed to take all the Honour of the Victory from himſelf, to give it to an inferior Officer. The Probity of the *Romans* was then capable of exerting itſelf in ſuch equitable Inſtances of Moderation. And, which is yet more, *Cominius* did not enjoy the Honours of a Triumph, as Conquerors uſually did, after an important Expedition. Without doubt, he thought *Coriolanus* better deſerved a Triumph than himſelf. In ſhort, if his Collegue *Sp. Caſſius* had not cauſed it to be inſcribed on a Column, that *Cominius* had made War with the *Volſci*, in his *Conſulſhip*; Poſterity would never have known, that he commanded the Army at the Battel of *Corioli*. So much was the Glory of the General eclipſed, by that of a private Soldier!

Livy, ibid.

§. XIX. The Reduction of the *Volſci* made all the Enemies of *Rome* tremble. The Nations which were ſo fierce, and full of Threatnings, in the Time of the late Seditions at *Rome*, kept at home, and appeared no more in the Field. So that *Cominius* disbanded his Army. Then nothing was thought of at *Rome*, but Works of Religion, publick *Games*, and Treaties of Peace. *Poſthumius* had made a Vow in his *Dictatorſhip*, when he was making War with the *Latins*, to build a Temple to *Bacchus*, *Ceres*, and the Goddeſs *Libera* [54]. This Building was not finiſhed, till *Caſſius* and *Cominius* were *Conſuls*; and the former was pitched upon to dedicate it [55]. This Temple ſtood at the End of the great *Circus*. The *Latins* had deſerved well of the Republick, during the Diſſentions at *Rome*. Their Zeal had ſignalized it ſelf againſt the Enemy abroad, whilſt the *Romans* were labouring to appeaſe the Tumults at home. Beſides, they had augmented the *Roman* Army, with Auxiliaries, in the laſt Campaign. The Republick therefore was not ungrateful for theſe Services. It confirmed [56] the antient Alliance entered into with the *Latin* Nations, by new Oaths; and in order to eſtabliſh it the more, a third Day was added to the *Feriæ Latinæ* [57]: and the new *Ædiles* were ordered to provide Sacrifices, and make all other Preparations for the Feſtival.

53 This Crown of Gold was, among the *Romans*, the Reward of military Valour. It was chiefly given to him, according to *Polybius*, who firſt began the Attack, or ſcaled the Walls, of a beſieged City. Antient Writers mention ſeveral ſorts of Rewards, which the *Roman* Republick aſſigned to brave Men, and of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

54 *D. Hal.* calls this Divinity Κόρη. The Antients gave *Proſerpine* the Name of *Libera*, or *Cora*, indifferently: Which Names have the ſame Signification as *Virgo*, *Puella*, *Filia*. Thus they called *Bacchus*, *Liber*, Διόνυσος, *i. e.* according to the Conjectures of the Mythologiſts, and among the reſt *Voſſius*, Διὸς υἱὸς, *Jupiter's Son*. *Min. Felix*, *in Octav.* ſpeaking of the Rape of *Proſerpine*, calls her *Libera*. *Arnob. B. 5.* does not diſtinguiſh one from t'other: *Quam ætas mortalium conſequens, modo Liberam, modo Proſerpinam nominavit.* The *Bacchus* we ſpeak of, was one of the five of that Name, whom *Tully* mentions, *B. 2. de Nat. Deor.* and who, he ſays, was Son to *Ceres*, and Brother to *Libera* —— *quod ex nobis natos Liberos appellamus, idcirco Cerere nati nominati ſunt Liber & Libera.*

55 *Tacitus* tells us, *Ann. 11.* that this Temple, being deſtroyed by Time, or conſumed by Fire, was rebuilt by *Auguſtus*, and conſecrated by *Tiberius*. *Deûm Ædes vetuſtate aut igni abolitas, cœptaſque ab Auguſto, Tiberius dedicavit Libero, Liberæque, & Cereri, juxta Circum Maximum, quas Poſthumius Dictator voverat.* He ſeems to have thought *Poſthumius* vowed to build three Temples. *D. Hal.* acknowledges but one for theſe three Divinities, Τὸν νεὼν.

56 The new Treaty between the *Romans* and *Latins* was, according to *D. Hal.* drawn up in theſe Terms: Let the Alliance between the two Nations continue as long as the Heavens and Earth; let them never go to War with one another; let them never ſtir up foreign Enemies againſt each other; let not either permit thoſe who have declared War againſt the other, to paſs thro' their Country; let them mutually aſſiſt one another, and unite all their Forces againſt the common Enemy; let them divide the Spoils of the Enemy equally, whenever they ſhall have made War at a common Expence; let all Differences about private Contracts, be decided in ten Days, at the Tribunal of that Nation where the Contract was made; and laſtly, let nothing be added to this Treaty, but by the Conſent of all the *Romans* and all the *Latins*.

57 Beſides what we have already ſaid of thoſe Feſtivals, *Macrobius* obſerves, that theſe were ſome of thoſe Feſtivals which the *Romans* called *Feriæ conceptivæ*; *i. e.* ſuch as had no fixed Time for their Celebration, but were celebrated annually, on ſuch Days as the Magiſtrates thought fit. It was the *Conſul*'s Buſineſs to appoint them. He was not ſuffered to ſet out on any military Expedition, before he had aſſiſted at the Celebration of them. The Want of this Fre-

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POSTHUMIUS COMINIUS, and SP. CASSIUS, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 6. *p.* 415. *Livy*, ibid.

DURING theſe publick Rejoicings, the famous *Menenius Agrippa* died. *Rome* was indebted to him for the Reconciliation of the People with the Senate: But he had done more Honour to his Country, by his exemplary Auſterity and Diſintereſtedneſs, than by his Victory over the *Sabines*, or his Zeal in quelling the Sedition. As he reſembled the Great *Poplicola*, in the Virtues of a rational Philoſophy, ſo he was like him in the Poverty in which he died. In a Meeting of his Relations, the Guardians he appointed over his deſtitute Family, agreed not to be at the Expence of a Funeral Pomp for him. They thought to bury him without any Ceremony. This the People underſtood, and upon the Motion of the new *Tribunes*, reſolved that ſo great a Man ſhould be as much diſtinguiſhed after his Death, as he had been in his Life-time. They agreed to pay a *Sextans* [58] *per* Head, towards the Expence of magnificent Obſequies for him; and never was Contribution raiſed with a more univerſal Conſent. The Sum was already collected, when the Senate entered into a Sort of Emulation with the People, and thought it not for their Honour, that the moſt illuſtrious *Patrician* in *Rome*, tho' the moſt indigent, ſhould be carried to his Funeral-Pile at the Expence of the Commons. They therefore aſſigned a Fund for his Funeral, out of the publick Treaſury. The *Quæſtors* [59] were ordered to take Care that magnificent Obſequies were performed for *Menenius*. And accordingly, they were anſwerable both to the Liberality of the Senate, and the Dignity of the deceaſed. In the mean time the People, that they might be behind the Senate in no Act of Gratitude, refuſed to receive back the Money they had contributed for his Burial; and ordered it to be given to his Children. *This*, they ſaid, *they did to comfort them in their Indigence, and excite them to the Purſuit of Virtue.* Thus the Death of *Agrippa* was equally regretted both by the Nobility and People, between whom he had been a Mediator, when alive.

Precaution, gave the People fatal Prejudices with regard to his Succeſs. Whilſt the *Conſuls* were employed in this Solemnity, the Government of the City was committed to two Citizens of Diſtinction, who exerciſed the *Conſular* Power, till the *Conſuls* themſelves returned thither. An antient Inſcription, mentioned by *Gruter*, confirms the Truth of this Cuſtom.

M. AUR. VICTORI
C. V.
PRÆF. FERIARUM
LATIN. SACERDOTI
DEI SOLIS.

Tarquin the Second inſtituted this Feſtival, as we have elſewhere obſerved, on occaſion of the Alliance concluded between the *Romans* and *Latins*. The general *Rendezvous* was upon the Hill of *Alba*. The two Nations met there, one Day in the Year, to join in offering Sacrifices in the Temple of *Jupiter Latialis*. Each City was obliged to contribute towards the Expence of the Ceremony; and all brought their Offerings, either in Lambs, or Cheeſes, or a certain Quantity of Milk, or other Proviſions. The *Romans* preſided in theſe Sacrifices, which were offered up in the Name of all. A Bull was ſacrificed, and divided between the two Nations. *Tarquin* appointed only one Day for the Celebration of theſe *Feriæ*. A ſecond was added, ſays *D. Hal.* after the Expulſion of the *Kings*. The third was added, according to him, partly to confirm the antient Union between the *Romans* and the *Latins*, and partly in Memory of the Return of the revolted *Plebeians*. It will hereafter appear, that the *Romans* were ſuperſtitiouſly exact in celebrating theſe Feſtivals.

58 A *Sextans* was one ſixth of the *Roman As*, or of a Pound of braſs Money. So that it weighed two Ounces.

59 The *Quæſtors of Rome*, had the Care of the publick Treaſure, for which they were accountable, after their Year was out; for their Office laſted no longer. It was their Buſineſs to furniſh the neceſſary Sums for Expences made in the Name of the Republick. Thus we read in *Tully*, *Philip.* 9. that the Senate ordered the *Quæſtors* to erect a Statue of *S. Sulpitius*, and pay the Statuary for it. It was generally their Buſineſs to receive Ambaſſadors, attend them, and furniſh them with Lodgings, and other Neceſſaries. A General could not obtain the Honours of a Triumph, till he had firſt ſworn before the *Quæſtors*, that he had given the Senate a faithful Account of his Expeditions and Victories. The Election of theſe Magiſtrates belonged at firſt to the *Comitia by Curiæ*. *Cicero*, *Ep.* 30. *ad Famil.* tells us, that they were choſen in his Time in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Office of *Quæſtor*, was the firſt Step to great Employments. It is difficult to know the exact Age the Laws required for the *Quæſtorſhip*. Authors differ in Opinion about it. Some pretend, none could ſtand for this Office, till they were twenty ſeven. They quote *Polybius*, in favour of this Opinion, who declares, *B.* 6. that the *Quæſtorſhip* was not to be obtained, till after ten Years Service in the Army. Whence they conclude, that it was neceſſary for thoſe who would enjoy it, to be twenty ſeven Years old; becauſe the *Romans* uſually entered into the Army at ſeventeen; eſpecially thoſe who would come early into the Magiſtracy. The two *Gracchi's*, add they, were *Quæſtors* at twenty ſeven Years of Age. Others are of Opinion, that no Age was fixed for the *Quæſtorſhip*. But what Anſwer will they give *Quintilian*, who ſays, *B.* 12. that *Cæſar* and *Pollio* were *Quæſtors* long before they were of the Age the Laws appointed? Some pretend, it was ſufficient to be twenty five. They build upon the Authority of *Paterculus*, who ſay, that *Tiberius* was appointed *Quæſtor* at nineteen; that is, according to *Tacitus*, *Ann.* 3. five Years before he was of a complete Age. The Difficulty is, how to reconcile this Opinion with *Polybius*, whoſe Judgment is of great weight in what relates to the Cuſtoms of antient *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, it is granted, that in Proceſs of Time, the Severity of the antient Laws was taken off by mild ones, eſpecially when Honours were obtained by Intrigue and Favour. *Tacitus*'s Account of the firſt *Quæſtors* raiſes another Difficulty. He ſays, *1ſt.* That they were choſen firſt by the *Conſuls*; *2dly.* That the People, ſome Years after, took upon them to chooſe them; *3dly.* That the firſt Year of their Election was the ſixty third after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*; *4thly.* That it was their Buſineſs to attend the *Conſuls* in the Armies, and take care of the military Cheſt; and, *5thly.* That the *Quæſtors of Rome*, called *Quæſtores Urbani*, and *Quæſtores Ærarii*, were inſtituted after the former. But we chooſe rather to give Credit to *Livy*, who ſays, that the Inſtitution of the *Quæſtors* called *Quæſtores Urbani*, was prior to the Creation of thoſe *Tacitus* mentions. And *Plutarch* is plainly of the ſame Opinion, when he ſays, *V. Poplicola* gave the People leave to chooſe two *Patricians*, to take care of the publick Treaſury.

Year of ROME CCLX. Posthumius Cominius, and Sp. Cassius, Consuls.

THE *Consulship* of *Sp. Cassius*, and *P. Cominius*, was now near expiring. But besides the signal Events which made it memorable, it ended with a *Census*, and a *Lustrum*, which was the seventh since their Institution. In this Enumeration of the People, there appeared to be but 110000 Men in *Rome*, fit to bear Arms. So that their Number must have been considerably diminished by Wars and Desertions, in the late *Consulships*.

Year of ROME CCLXI. Titus Geganius, and Publius Minutius, Consuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 417.*

§. XX. THE *Centuries* pitched upon [60] *Titus Geganius*, and *Publius Minutius*, to be their new *Consuls*. Their Administration was not disturbed with foreign Wars, but it was made uneasy by a cruel Famine, together with the Distempers and popular Tumults which are the usual Consequences of it. This Scarcity was chiefly occasioned by the old Divisions between the People and the Senate; and by the Separation of the rebellious Army, which marched out of the City, and encamped in the Plain. It was about the Time of the autumnal Equinox, when *Sicinnius* led the Mutineers to the *Mons Sacer*. The Apprehensions the People were under all over the Country, of the Devastations which undisciplin'd Troops might make on their Lands, caused the Husbandmen to desert them; so that they were neither tilled nor sown. Besides, both People and Senators had been so taken up with the Troubles of the preceding Year, that they had neglected to supply the City as usual. Add to this, that the Slaves employed in Agriculture, had taken hold of this Opportunity of running away from their Masters; and that the Horses which were fit for the Plough, had been seized by the Revolters. So that when the Reconciliation was made, it was too late to begin to cultivate and sow the Fields.

IN this Extremity, the only Expedient the Senate could find out, was to send Deputies into the neighbouring Provinces, to get Corn from thence. Some set out for *Hetruria*, others for that Port of *Latium* which was near the *Volsci*, others for *Cumæ*. And lastly, *Manius* [61] *Valerius*, and *Lucius Geganius*, one of the *Consuls* Brothers, went as far as *Sicily*. Then *Rome* felt the ill Effects of her Ambition. Few of the Provinces applied to for Corn, would relieve her in her Necessities; and in the mean time the City was as much straitned by Hunger, as if it had been besieged. Nothing but the Authority of the Magistrates could hinder the People from killing the Slaves, to eat them. Yet there was still Hopes that the publick Purveyors would be able to relieve the City in this Extremity. But they succeeded very indifferently in their Negotiations. The *Hetrurians* were the only People who sent Provisions to *Rome*, which they conveyed down the *Tyber*. And this was, after all, only a slight Refreshment, which lasted not long. The Envoys sent to *Latium*, were interrupted in their Corn-Traffick by the *Volsci*. And at *Cumæ* [62], the *Roman* Deputies were yet less successful. The Tyrant *Aristodemus* [63] seized their Barques by way of Reprisal

Liv. B. 2. c. 34.

60 The *Fasti Consulares*, *D. Hal.* and *Livy*, give *Geganius* the Surname of *Macerinus*, and *P. Minutius* that of *Augurinus*. *Orosius*, whose Copyists have plainly altered the Names, places *T. Gessonius*, and *P. Numicius*, in the *Consulate*, in this Year 261. instead of *Geganius* and *Minutius*. We have already observed, that the *Geganian* Family came originally from the *Alba Longa*, and was transplanted to *Rome* in the Reign of *T. Hostilius*. *Valerius* thinks the *Prænomen* of *Titus* was peculiar to the *Sabines*. *Festus* derives it from *Titulus*, or *Tutulus*, which signifies *a Protector*. Thus, says he, the Soldiers were called *Tituli*, *eo quod Patriam tuerentur* The *Prænomen* of *Publius* signifies, according to some Etymologists, the same as *Popularis*, i. e. *agreeable to the People*. But others derive it from *Pupillus*, to shew, that those who bore this Name, had been brought up at the Expence of the Publick. Some again, with less Probability, derive it from the *Latin* Word *Pubes*, or the *Greek* πόπλιον.

61 If we believe *D. Hal. P. Valerius*, the Son of *Poplicola*, and not *Manius*, was sent to *Sicily* with *L. Geganius*. The *Greek* Author seems to have forgotten, what he says before of the Death of *Publius*, and his Brother *Marcus*, who were both killed at the Battel of *Regillus*. It is plain that he is mistaken, unless we say that *Poplicola* had two Sons, who both bore the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. But this Reason will not be thought sufficient, if we ever so little consider, that the *Romans* gave their Children different *Prænomina*, to distinguish them from one another. The same Writer had before fallen into the same Mistake, with respect to *Marcus Valerius*, *Poplicola*'s Brother. It is surprizing, that he should bring him to Life again, to make him *Dictator*, after he had told us, he was killed at the Battel of *Regillus*. We discovered the Solution of the manifest Contradiction, by the *Fasti Capitolini*. They mention the *Dictatorship* of *Manius Valerius*. The little Difference there was in writing these two *Prænomina*, might be the Reason of the Mistake of the Copyists. It is well known, that to distinguish *Marcus* from *Manius*, they were written thus; *M.* for *Marcus*, and *M'.* for *Manius*. This is the *Manius* we have joined with *L. Geganius*, in the room of *Publius*, who had been dead some Years.

62 In the *64th Olympiad*, according to *D. Hal.* *Cumæ*, an antient *Greek* Colony, was famous for its Riches. It possessed the most fruitful Country in *Campania*, and had very convenient Ports for Trade, within its own Jurisdiction.

63 *Aristodemus* had made himself famous for defending the City of *Cumæ*, against an Inundation of different Nations of *Italy*, and the Attempts of *Arunx*, the Son of *Porsenna*. After this, he gained so great an Ascendant over the People, by several Acts of Valour, that he became absolute Master in *Cumæ*. But at last, his Tyranny and Cruelty made him so odious to the Citizens, that they besieged him in his own Palace. He was there seized by armed Men, who dispatched him, his Children and Relations, by miserable and different kinds of Deaths. His Actions and Death are related at large by *D. Hal. B. 7.* But *Plutarch*, in his *Panegyricks on virtuous Women*, gives a different Account

for the Effects of King *Tarquin*, which *Rome* had refuſed to deliver up to him, tho' he pretended to be that King's Heir. And laſtly, the Meſſengers in *Sicily* had as many little Tyrants to treat with, as there were Heads of Villages; ſo that it was long before they could get a Cargo. It's true, the Tyrant [64] *Gelo*, ſhewed more Regard to the *Romans*; but his Preſents of Corn did not arrive at *Rome*, till the next Year. So that *Rome* periſhed with Hunger, and the Miſery was univerſal. The People murmured againſt the Rich, and envied them the little Suſtenance they purchaſed at a great Price; whilſt they themſelves were forced to eat every thing, and Nature in this Extremity loathed nothing.

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§. XXI. IN the mean time, the *Volſci* thought this a favourable Opportunity to revenge themſelves on their Conquerors. They therefore ſent to all their Cities, to ſollicit them to take up Arms againſt the *Roman* Republick, that eternal Enemy to all her Neighbours. They aſſured them, that as the *Romans* were now grown weak in Body, ſo they were ſunk in Courage. But Providence ſeems to have been watchful in their Preſervation. The *Volſci*, when juſt ready to begin the War, were viſited with a more cruel Scourge than the Famine. As terrible a Plague ſpread it ſelf thro' all their Country, as any Nation ever felt. This appears by the City of *Velitræ* alone; the Contagion made ſuch Havock in it, that it ſcarce left one tenth Part of its Inhabitants alive. They who eſcaped Death, were forced to have Recourſe to *Rome*, ſurrender themſelves up to the Republick, and deſire her to ſupply them with Inhabitants to repeople their City. The Senate thought it would be of Advantage to grant this Requeſt. *Rome* might by this means disburthen it ſelf of many uſeleſs Mouths, which increaſed the preſent Want. The *Conſcript Fathers* therefore ordered a Colony to be got ready for *Velitræ*. The City was great, and the Garriſon to be ſettled in it, was to be a Bulwark againſt the more diſtant Nations. In ſhort, this Place was to be a Barrier againſt the Incurſions of the *Volſci*. The Senate made therefore an Addition to their firſt Decree, and commanded an Army to be raiſed, conſiſting partly of *Patricians*, and partly of *Plebeians*, that the Unanimity which generally reigns among Fellow-Soldiers in the ſame Camp, might a little divert the mutual Animoſities of the two Bodies. This Scheme was not at all diſpleaſing to the People at firſt; they thought they ſhould at leaſt find Bread in *Velitræ*, and the neighbouring Country. The real Deſign of the Senate was indeed to purge the City of the moſt ſeditious Citizens, under a Pretence of ſending them to found a Colony. But *Sicinnius* and *Brutus* were yet *Tribunes of the People*, and they ſeditiouſly oppoſed the Departure of the *Romans*, either for *Velitræ*, or the War. They were heard to ſay in all Places, *Shall we tamely ſee ſo many miſerable Citizens baniſhed from their native City, under the ſpecious Pretence of founding a Colony? The Country deſigned for them, is covered over with dead Bodies, which the Living are yet too weak to put into the Ground. How many Dangers muſt be run, in cultivating Lands which lay under the Curſe of the Gods! Is not there leſs Danger in ſuffering Hunger here, than in going to another Place to breathe infected Air? But to what Purpoſe is it to make War, in a Time of ſuch publick Want? Have not we Calamities enough to undergo at home, without going abroad to ſeek for Death from the Plague, or the Sword?*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 427. Liv. B. 2. c. 34.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus.*

THIS Diſcourſe of the *Tribunes* took off the Edge of the People's Deſire to leave *Rome*. None enrolled themſelves, either for the Army, or the Colony. In the mean time, the Famine encreaſed; and the Commons threw the Odium of it upon the Senators. *They alone*, ſaid they, *are the Authors of the preſent Scarcity. We don't ſuffer ſo*

count of the Death of *Ariſtodemus*; which is this. The Tyrant fell paſſionately in Love with *Xenocrita*. She could not forgive him his having baniſhed her Father, and refuſed to marry him. She was furious in her Reſentment; and in the Height of her Paſſion brought the Conſpirators into his Palace, where they killed him without any Reſiſtance. The People of *Cumæ* offered rich Preſents to *Xenocrita*, in Gratitude for it; which ſhe refuſed. She asked no Reward but Leave to bury the Corpſe of her Lover. This ſhe obtained without Difficulty; after which ſhe was conſecrated a Prieſteſs of *Ceres*.

64 According to *D. Hal. Gelo* was the Son of *Dinomenes*, and had juſt ſucceeded his Brother *Hippocrates*. But the *Greek* Hiſtorian ſeems to be miſtaken, in giving *Gelo* a Brother of that Name. *Gelo* was originally of the Iſland of *Telos*. One of his Anceſtors went into *Sicily*, and ſettled in *Gela*. *Dinomenes*, who deſcended from this Stranger, left four Sons, at his Death, *viz. Gelo*, *Hiero*, *Polizeles*, and *Thraſybulus*; as we learn from the *Scholiaſt* of *Pindar*, who makes no mention of *Hippocrates*. It is very true, according to *Herodotus*, that *Gelo* ſucceeded *Hippocrates*, who reigned in *Gela*: But the latter was Brother to *Cleander*, and reigned till he was killed before the City of *Hybla*. After this, *Gelo*, under Pretence of maintaining *Euclides* and another *Cleander*, both Sons of *Hippocrates*, upon the Throne, declared War with the Inhabitants of *Gela*, who refuſed to obey them. And having conquer'd them in a pitch'd Battle, *Gelo* ſeized the Crown, to the Prejudice of the two lawful Succeſſors. *Gelo* was Tyrant of *Gela*, when the *Roman* Ambaſſadors arrived in *Sicily*. About eight Years after, he ſeized *Syracuſe*, where he reigned ſeven Years, after having given up the Government of *Gela* to his Brother *Hiero*.

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Plut. Life of *Coriolanus.* *Dion. Hal.* *B.* 7. *p.* 433.

much by the Neceſſity of the Times, as by the Malice of the Patricians. *It is a Deſign of theirs, to revenge themſelves on us for our Separation; and to deſtroy thoſe by Want, whom they durſt not oppoſe Sword in Hand:* And theſe Murmurs of the People were encouraged by the Declamations of the *Tribunes.* Then *Coriolanus* could contain himſelf no longer. He thought it his Duty to oppoſe theſe ſeditious Magiſtrates to their Faces. He had all the Nobility on his Side; and in ſhort, became the Idol of the *Patricians.* He got a Decree paſſed in his Favour, and cauſed it to be enacted, that an Army of *Romans* ſhould march into the Country, under his own Command. No body indeed was forced to take Arms, in the Way of legal Levies, the young General was followed only by a few Volunteers, and a conſiderable Body of the Clients of his Family. With this Army he advanced into the Enemy's Country; and ravaged it to the very Gates of *Antium.* The Name of *Coriolanus* was formidable to the *Antiates.* No body appeared to diſpute his Progreſs: He took away the Corn, Cattel, and Slaves; and at length led back his Troops to *Rome,* well furniſhed with Proviſions, for the neceſſary Wants of Life. Upon this, his Friends triumphed, and thoſe of the People, who had been diverted from following him, by the *Tribunes,* were angry with them.

Ibid. *p.* 427.

§. XXII. THE happy Expedition of *Coriolanus* encouraged the Senate to ſend a Colony to *Velitræ,* in ſpight of the Oppoſition of the *Tribunes.* This was indeed wounding their Authority even in the beginning of their Inſtitution: But the Senators ſucceeded. They ordered that the People ſhould, under pain of ſuffering ſevere Puniſhment, aſſemble *by Curiæ,* and draw Lots; and that they, to whoſe Lot it fell, ſhould ſet out for *Velitræ:* And Neceſſity and Fear made the People obedient. The Senate ventured likewiſe to ſend out a ſecond Colony, a few Days after, to *Norba* [65], a conſiderable City of *Latium* [66]. This the *Tribunes* found was an Attack both upon their Credit and Power. To take a Part of the indigent Populace away from them, was to leſſen the Support of their Authority. Nevertheleſs, they thought themſelves ſtrong enough to counter-balance the Power of the Senate. *Icilius* [67] was then the Head of the *Tribunes*; and *Sicinnius,* and his Collegue *Brutus,* were only *Ædiles.* However, *Icilius* made uſe of *their* Eloquence to move the People. They made artful Harangues in the *Comitia,* in order to keep up the Jealouſies the Populace had entertained of the Nobility. According to them, the People had been deſignedly and maliciouſly reduced to Want, by the Contrivances of the Senate. *As for the Nobles,* ſaid the *Ædiles, they have taken care to furniſh their own Families with Proviſions, which they enjoy in ſecret. Their Ill-will to the People is evident, from the Detachments they have ſent out to found a Colony. When will the* Patricians *put an end to their Tyranny? If you will commit your Intereſt to our Care and Management, you ſhall be very ſoon delivered from Oppreſſion.* The People were in the ſame Sentiments as their *Ædiles* and *Tribunes:* And the Senators were alarmed at it. They aſſembled the next Morning; the *Conſuls* repreſented to them the Storm which threatned *Rome;* and every one voted according to his private Views, and Inclination. The wiſeſt were for appeaſing the People with Hopes; and keeping the *Tribunes,* and their *Ædiles,* in Temper with Promiſes. The youngeſt thought it very improper to acquieſce under the Calumnies of an ungovernable Populace; and contended, that it was neceſſary to give the *Tribunes* a publick Reprimand, and threaten them with all the Authority of the Senate. This latter Opinion the untractable *Appius* ſupported with all his Faction; and at laſt gained his Point, after many Clamours againſt it, which the People heard in the *Forum.* The *Conſuls* went out of the Aſſembly, to declare the Decree which had juſt been paſſed, to the *Curiæ,* which were aſſembled. The *Conſuls* had hitherto monopolized the Right of haranguing the People in the *Comitia:* but the *Tribunes* now took upon them to do two things, which both derogated from the Authority of the Senate, and the Dignity of the *Conſuls.* Firſt, they proteſted againſt the Decree: And in the next place they diſputed the *Conſuls* Right of ſpeaking publickly to the People. Then the

65 *Norba* in *Latium,* ſtood upon an Hill where the *Nymphæus* riſes. The Ruins of it ſtill retain a Name very like its firſt. The Natives call it *Norma* to this Day.

66 *D. Hal.* adds, that the Senate haſtened to name *Triumviri,* to chooſe thoſe of whom the new Colonies were to conſiſt, and to conduct them to their reſpective Cities. It was indeed the Cuſtom of the *Romans,* to give this Commiſſion to Magiſtrates, called *Duumviri,* or *Triumviri,* or *Decemviri,* according to their Number. Their Buſineſs was to ſettle the Colony, and to diſtribute the Lands, by aſſigning every one a ſufficient Portion for him to ſubſiſt upon. After which they marked out the Limits of all the Ground divided among them, with a Plough.

67 Inſtead of *Sp. Icilius,* the *Greek* of *D. Hal.* has *Sicinnius. Portus* and *Sylburgius* have rectified this reading, by putting *Icilius* inſtead of *Sicinnius.* This Correction is confirmed by the *Faſti Capitolini.* Beſides, that *Sicinnius* and *Brutus* were then *Ædiles,* is as well evident from the following Part of the Hiſtory, as from thoſe *Faſti.*

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Tribunes, for the firſt time, entered into a Competition with the *Conſuls*. The latter magnified the Superiority of their Office: The former contended, That it belonged to them only to ſpeak to the People in their *Comitia*, by *Curiæ*; and That the Province of the *Conſuls* was confined to the Senate. The Diſpute grew warm, and Reproaches were not ſpared on either Side. The *Patricians* attending the *Conſuls*, undertook to defend them. The People, on the other hand, applauded their *Tribunes*, and ſeemed ready to fight for them. The Determination was indeed a Matter of great Importance; the *Conſulate* would have been brought very low, if the Office of the *Conſuls* had been confined to the Senate-Houſe: The ſovereign Authority in *Rome* would then have been lodged in the Hands of the People, and their *Tribunes*. This made both Parties obſtinate, and the Conteſt ſeemed ſuch, as nothing could end but a Battel. Night drew on, when *Brutus* asked the *Conſuls* leave to ſpeak to the People, and promiſed to quiet the Diſpute. The *Conſuls* were delighted, that the Orator of the People ſhould pay them ſo much Deference, as to ask leave of them to ſpeak, rather than of the *Tribunes*: and they granted his Requeſt. But they were much ſurprized to hear him addreſs himſelf to them, and to find themſelves obliged to anſwer his captious Queſtions. *Do you remember*, ſays he to them, *that one of the Articles of the late Peace is this, that no* Patrician *ſhall appear at the Aſſemblies of the People, when convened by the* Tribunes? *We do*, replied the *Conſuls*. *Why then do you now come hither, to diſturb the Conference between the People and their* Tribunes? *Becauſe*, ſays Geganius, *this Aſſembly was ſummoned by our Direction, and not yours.* At theſe Words, *Brutus* cried out aloud, *That's enough. You grant all we would have. Let us retire now, and to-morrow I will tell you how far our Power does extend, and how far yours.* This ſaid, the Aſſembly broke up, and every one went to his own Houſe. The People were charmed with *Brutus*'s wiſe Management, and took it for granted, that ſo ſolid a Man would not leave his Work imperfect. The young Senators, on the other hand, treated him as a Trifler, and fancied that he had raſhly uttered Threatnings which would vaniſh into Air. But the old *Patricians* thought otherwiſe of the Affair, and conſidered it as a very critical Conjuncture, with reſpect to the Government of *Rome*. Every one ſpent the Night in great Expectation of what the next Day would produce. The *Tribunes* and *Ædiles* neglected their Reſt, to conſult what Means would be moſt proper to humble the Senate, and ſecure the People ſuch an Independence, as would free them from the Yoke of the *Patricians*. The Method they took, was this. Before it was day, they went to the Temple of *Vulcan*, which ſtood in the Place where the *Comitia* were held. Upon their Arrival, the People were ſummoned to aſſemble, whoſe Curioſity, and the Importance of the Affair, brought them together in greater Numbers than ordinary. Then *Icilius* aſcended *The Tribune of Harangues*; and in a bitter Satyr on the Pride of the *Patricians*, put together all the old and new Complaints of their Tyranny: And at length he came to the Attempt made by the *Conſuls* upon the Right of the *Tribunes*. *Yeſterday*, ſays he, *an Attempt was made to impoſe Silence upon us, in the Aſſembly of the* Curiæ, *which have appointed us to be their Defenders: But how can we ſpeak without Authority? or how can we defend you, if we are obliged to hold our Peace? What Affair can be concluded to your Advantage, if we don't firſt conſult you about it? Either therefore*, Romans, *take back to yourſelves the* Tribuneſhip, *which you have inveſted us with, or give us a Power by Law to aſſemble the People without hindrance, and confer with them about the Preſervation of their Intereſts.* It is very well known, that as to Laws, the old Cuſtom [68] among the *Romans* was, to let the People make them. The Senate only confirmed them. And theſe Laws were called Plebiscita [69], as the Decrees of the Senate were called

68 The Authority of the Senate formerly underwent many Variations. Under the *Kings*, to *Tarquin the Proud*'s Time, and in the firſt Ages of the Republick, the *Plebiſcita*, or Decrees made in the *Comitia*, had not the Force of Laws, till confirmed by the Senate. Afterwards, this Authority ſuffered many Changes, from the time that *The Tribunes of the People*, who were always upon their guard againſt the *Patricians*, had ſhaken off the Yoke of Dependence. From that time, the People, encouraged by their Magiſtrates, aſſumed a Right of deciding abſolutely, and without Appeal. So that the Conſent of the Senate became no longer neceſſary for the Validity of the Determinations made in the *Comitia*. The Reader will, in the Progreſs of this Hiſtory, often obſerve ſuch Changes in the Government of the Republick.

69 Strictly ſpeaking, the *Romans* called thoſe Regulations, or Laws, *Plebiſcita*, which were made by the *Plebeians*, aſſembled at the Requeſt of the *Tribunes*. This is *Juſtinian*'s Definition of them: and *Feſtus* ſays, *Scita Plebis appellantur ea, quæ Plebs ſuo Suffragio, ſine Patribus juſſit, Plebeio Magiſtratu rogante.* There was this Difference between the *Plebiſcita*, and the other Laws, that the former were enacted, *Rogante Tribuno*, i. e. *at the Deſire of the* Tribune *who aſſembled the People*: whereas the latter were publiſhed in the Name of the *Curiæ*, or *Tribes*, or *Centuries*, aſſembled by the *Conſul*, or one of the chief Magiſtrates, in his Abſence. The *Plebiſcita* were at firſt obligatory only on the *Plebeians*; but what was enacted in *Comitia* aſſembled by the *Conſul*, or his Repreſentative, had the Force of a Law over all Citizens, with-

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SENATUS-CONSULTA 70. *Icilius* therefore deſired the People to make a Law, whereby the *Tribunes* ſhould be empowered to aſſemble and harangue the *Curiæ*. They all cried out, that they commiſſioned him to prepare one. This the *Tribune* was already provided for; he and his Collegues together had drawn one up in the Night, which he read, in theſe Terms: LET NONE CONTRADICT OR INTERRUPT A TRIBUNE WHEN HE IS HARANGUING THE PEOPLE. IF ANY ONE DOES, LET HIM IMMEDIATELY GIVE SECURITY, THAT HE WILL PAY THE FINE WHICH SHALL BE SET UPON HIM AT HIS TRYAL; AND IF HE REFUSE TO GIVE THIS SECURITY, LET HIM BE PUT TO DEATH, AND HIS GOODS BE CONFISCATED. THE DIFFICULTY WHICH SHALL ARISE ABOUT THESE SECURITIES, SHALL BE REFERRED TO, AND DETERMINED BY, THE PEOPLE.

THIS Law was no ſooner read, but the *Curiæ* were brought into the Voting-place, with great Expedition. There it paſſed unanimouſly, before the *Conſuls* knew any thing of it, or were able to make any Oppoſition to it. Thus *Brutus* performed his Promiſe. His Addreſs raiſed the Power of the *Tribunes*, and took away from the *Conſuls* the beſt Part of their Authority. The Senate indeed would not confirm this new Law; but then the People, in their Turn, refuſed to accept the Decrees of the Senate. So that theſe two Tribunals were eternally oppoſing one another; but the People always gained their Point, by their Numbers, and the Unanimity of their Heads. What is ſurprizing, is, that neither Party carried their Reſentments to Exceſs, in the midſt of ſo many Conteſts. The People never offered Violence to the *Patricians*; nor did the *Patricians* ever arm their Clients, to drive away an intractable Populace by Force. The Proceedings on both Sides were always carried on with an Air of Law, and covered with the Appearances of Juſtice. During ſo great a Famine, the Houſes of the Rich were never plundered; the People contented themſelves with Roots and wild Herbs, as long as Corn and Money were wanting. Indeed many of the *Roman* Citizens accepted the Invitations of the neighbouring Cities, and preferred a peaceable Life in a foreign Country to the Trouble of being perpetually haraſſed with the ſudden and violent Concuſſions of a Republick, continually agitated by Factions.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus.*

§. XXIII. THE Animoſity of the People againſt the *Patricians* remarkably ſhewed itſelf, when the Time came for electing new *Conſuls*. *Coriolanus* was one of the chief Candidates 71. It is a queſtion, whether thoſe who aſpired at this moſt honourable Employment, did then diſtinguiſh themſelves by the extraordinary Whiteneſs of their Robes; but they certainly at leaſt appeared in publick without their Veſts, and ſhewed the People the honourable Wounds they had received in their Breaſts. *Coriolanus* appeared in this manner in the publick Places, eſpecially on Market-days. His Wounds and his known Services pleaded for him. It ſeemed impoſſible for the People to neglect a Man of his Birth and Merit, without Injuſtice. He had made ſeventeen 72 Campaigns, and diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them all. Yet his Glory was obſcured

out Exception. In After-times, the *Patricians* themſelves were ſubject to the *Plebiſcita*. As to the *Comitia by Centuries*, *D. Hal. B.* 9. and *Livy*, *B.* 1. and *B.* 8. ſhew that nothing was concluded there, but by the Conſent and Authority of the Senate.

70 The *Senatus-Conſultum* had not the Force of a Law, 1. If the *Tribunes*, or any chief Magiſtrate oppoſed it. This *Cicero* obſerves in his third Book *de Legibus* .... *Ni Poteſtas par majorve prohibeſſit, Senatus-conſulta perſcripta ſunto.* 2. If the chief Magiſtrates deſired the Promulgation of it might be deferred. 3. If the Decree had been drawn up after Sun-ſet. 4. If the Senate had been aſſembled, after ill *Auguries*, or contrary to the Advice of the *Augurs*. 5. If the Senate was held in an irregular Place; *i. e.* a Place not conſecrated by the *Augurs*. 6. If the Senate had been convened without the neceſſary Forms, or without the Participation of the *Dictator*, *Conſuls*, or for want of them, of the other Magiſtrates, whoſe Right it was to aſſemble it. 7. If the Senate was held on any Days, but thoſe appointed for its aſſembling.

71 It is certain, that Candidates ſhewed themſelves to the People in the *Forum*, eſpecially on Market-Days. There, by an affable and obliging Behaviour, and by reciting their Exploits, they uſed all Means to ſecure the Suffrages of the Commons. They were generally attended by their Friends and Clients. This Crowd of People, who did their utmoſt to ſerve the Candidate, prejudiced the Commons in his Favour; they being generally taken with Appearances. *Magnam affert Opinionem, magnam Dignitatem, quotidiana in deducendo frequentia*, ſays *Tully*, in his Book, *De Petitione Conſulatus*. According to *Plut.* it was an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom, even in the Time of *Coriolanus*, for thoſe who aſpired at great Employments, to appear conſtantly in the *Forum*, and become a ſort of Suppliants there. They were not aſhamed to beg Votes, to make their Court to the meaneſt Citizens, and to appear in an humble Habit, and without a Tunick, that the Scars of their Wounds might the better appear as ſo many Marks of their Valour. Then, adds *Plutarch*, they canvaſſed for great Employments, by Sollicitations, Careſſes, and Prayers. It was lawful at *Rome* to carry Matters to this Length. The People were even offended, to ſee a Candidate affect Airs of Preſumption and Diſdain. Such an haughty Carriage, if ill conſtrued, would have ruined their Pretenſions. The *Romans* were jealous even of Merit, when it grew too proud. This was the only manner of canvaſſing for Honours, then in uſe at *Rome*; and it was afterwards confined within due Bounds by ſeveral Laws. Moreover, if any one was convicted of having bought Votes with Money or Preſents, he was declared infamous, and incapable of holding the Office he ſtood for. *Polybius* aſſures us, that ſuch Offenders were, in his Time, condemned to be baniſhed. *Pliny*, *B.* 35. ſays, that it was imputed as a Crime to *Quintus Coponius*, that he made a Preſent of a Meaſure of Wine to a *Roman* Citizen, who was going to give his Vote.

72 If it be true, as *Plut.* himſelf obſerves, in the *Life* of

in the Eyes of the People, by the great regard the *Patricians* ſhewed him. They were afraid of ſeeing a Man inveſted with the *Conſular* Power, whoſe Steadineſs gave Umbrage to the *Tribunes*; and who had Intrepidity enough to be capable of reſtoring the Senate to its former Luſtre. However, *Coriolanus* depended ſo much on his Merit, that he ſtill continued to hope, he ſhould be preferred before his Competitors, to the very Day of the Election. But his Expectations were fruſtrated by that very thing which at another time would naturally have raiſed them. The great Number of *Patricians*, who conducted him to the *Campus Martius*, and preſented him to the People, alienated all their Affections from him. They therefore pitched upon *M. Min. Auguri-nus*, and *A. Semp. Attratinus*, two Men of an advanced Age, who had already been *Conſuls*. This unexpected Choice put *Coriolanus* out of all Patience. Being uſed to conquer in Battel, he depended as much on the Suffrages of the People on this Occaſion, as he uſed to do on his own Valour, when his Sword was drawn. Beſides, the ſame Vivacity 73 which made him terrible in War, made him paſſionate, and the leſs able to brook Diſappointments which affected his Honour. As he was better qualified for being a brave Soldier, or great General, than an artful Stateſman, he knew not either how to diſſemble his Uneaſineſs, or ſubmit to ill Succeſs, or comply with the Times. He openly declared his violent Reſentments againſt the People and their *Tribunes*. Beſides, his Rage was heightened by the Complaints of the young *Patricians*, who adored him. He excited them to an Emulation for Glory, by his Example and Diſcourſes; and as he was above Jealouſy, he neither leſſened the Commendations due to the Valour of the young *Romans* by his Silence, nor refuſed them the Praiſes they deſerved. Being therefore ſupported by the Faction of the Nobility, he only waited for an Opportunity to revenge himſelf on the *Plebeians*, and their Leaders: And it was not long before one offered it ſelf.

Year of *ROME* CCLXI. Titus Geganius, and Publius Minutius, Conſuls.

Year of *ROME* CCLXII. M. Minutius Augurinus, and Aulus Sempronius Atratinus, Conſuls. *Plut. ibid.*

§. XXIV. The new *Conſuls* were Men of Experience in Buſineſs, and zealous for the Publick Good. Their firſt Care was to baniſh Want from *Rome*, in order thereby to put an end to all Seditions. They filled the publick Granaries; but Plenty only made the People the more inſolent. Indeed, Barks and Carriages loaded with Corn, came to *Rome* in ſuch Plenty, that the publick Purveyors ſeemed to have exhauſted all the reſt of *Italy*. And to complete the Happineſs 74, the Veſſels, which ſet out the laſt Year from *Sicily*, were entered the *Tyber*, loaded with Corn, which was partly bought at a low Price, and partly ſent as a Preſent to the Republick, by King *Gelo*. It was always cuſtomary in *Rome*, for the Senate to inſpect the buying, regulate the Price, and direct the Diſtribution, of Corn: The Senators therefore conſulted, what Uſe they ſhould make of the Proviſions, which they daily expected; and the *Tribunes of the People* were called to the Aſſembly. Thoſe of the *Conſcript Fathers* who favoured the Citizens, were of opinion, that all the Corn which ſhould come for the preſent, ſhould be given *gratis* to the People. This, they ſaid, was a ſmall Relief, which was due to them, after ſo long a Series of Miſery: and an Obligation, which would calm the Minds of thoſe who were ſowered with ſo many Calamities. But the oppoſite Faction was for holding up the Price of Bread, and thereby keeping the People in Dependance and Subjection. *Coriolanus* put himſelf at the Head of the ſeverer Party: and as he was both intrepid and provoked, he ſpoke without any Reſerve, and with ſo loud a Voice, that he was heard by a great Number of *Plebeians*, who were crowding

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 433.

Plut. ibid. Livy, B. 2. ch. 34. Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 434.

of Coriolanus, that this *Roman was yet very young*, at the Time of the Battel of *Regillus*, in the Year of *Rome* 257, there muſt be a Miſtake in that Hiſtorian's Calculation, and we muſt read but 6 Years, inſtead of 17. But then, whilſt we avoid one Miſtake, we fall into another. *Coriolanus* was exceeding young, according to *Plutarch*, when he gave the firſt Proofs of his Valour at the Battel of *Regillus*. In the Year 260, in which *Corioli* was taken, he was in the Flower of his Age, according to *Livy*: *C. Marcius Adoleſcens*. How then could he offer himſelf for the *Conſulſhip* ſo ſoon as two Years after, when he was yet ſo very young? He certainly could not then be of the Age the Laws required; for none could legally ſtand for the *Conſulate*, who were not 43. as we learn from *Tully*'s fifth *Philippick*; unleſs we ſay, that in theſe firſt Ages, the Republick had not ſo much regard to the Age, as the Merit and Virtue of the Candidates. Upon this Suppoſition, *Coriolanus*'s Victories gave him reaſon to hope for the *Conſulate*, before he was of a legal Age for it. Thus *Corvinus* was afterwards made *Conſul* at 23, notwithſtanding the *Villian* Law, which required the Candidates to be 43. Whatever is ſaid to clear up the Text of *Plutarch*, it is abſolutely impoſſible to make out the 17 Years, which this Author ſuppoſes paſſed, between *Coriolanus*'s firſt Campaign, and the Time when he ſtood for the *Conſulſhip*. Nor can we form any good Conjecture about it, by reaſon of the Silence of other Writers.

73 *Plutarch* ſays of *Coriolanus*, that he was ſuch an one as *Cato the Elder* required a Soldier to be; *viz.* his Blows were heavy, he had a frightful Aſpect, and a ſurprizing Tone of Voice, which ſtruck all who heard it with Terror.

74 *D. Hal.* ſays, that *Geganius* and *Valerius* arrived from *Sicily* with ſeveral large Veſſels, which brought 50000 Meaſures of Corn, πέντε μυριάδας μεδίμνων. The *Medimnos* of the *Greeks* was a dry Meaſure, which contained 108 Pounds, or 6 Buſhels, of 18 Pounds each.

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crowding at the Door of the Senate-Houſe, in Expectation of the Deciſion. *Make Preſents to the People,* ſaid he, *and furniſh Food to their Fury! Heavens! how mad a Project! Will this People thank us for our Profuſion, or rather will they not inſult us for our Weakneſs? Thus you ſee,* will they ſay, *how a fearful Senate gives way to the Dread we ſtrike into them. Our* Tribunes *make them tremble, and the Remembrance of our Separation puts them into a Pannick. Thy* Tribunes, *ungrateful People! ſay rather our Tyrants! Shall we have ſhaken off the Dominion of one Man, only to make ourſelves many Maſters? Thy* Tribunes! *Would to God, theſe Monſters had been ſtifled in their Birth, and* Appius's *Opinion had prevailed! Let theſe* Tribunes *be gone, let them be ſent out of* Rome, *with all their Train! The* Sacred Mountain *may ſerve them for a Retreat a ſecond time. Let us diſannul and aboliſh the Treaty which eſtabliſhes them. There never was a more favourable Opportunity. Let us no longer be governed by vain Scruples. Force and Violence extorted our Oaths from us; let then Reaſon and Equity free us from the Obſervance of them! Unjuſt* Tribunes! *have not you your ſelves broken theſe Oaths? To what Exceſs have you not carried an Authority weakly founded? Have you not made it abſolute? What unjuſt Laws have you cauſed to be made by a mad Multitude! So that you are the Maſters, the Tyrants of the Republick!* Conſcript Fathers, *ſhall we ſuffer this? No; let this People, who are now ſo imperious, be made ſenſible of their Indigence, and the Need they ſtand in of us! Let them go ſtarving with Hunger, and languiſhing for Want of Strength, and carry that Famine and Deſolation elſewhere, which they have brought upon this State! The Time is come for executing Vengeance upon them for all their paſt Exceſſes.*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 437.

Whilst *Coriolanus* was ſpeaking thus, the *Tribunes* trembled with Rage. They demanded Juſtice of the Senate, for the bitter Invectives thrown upon ſo venerable a Part of the Republick, as the People. They required, that *Coriolanus* ſhould be condemned to Death upon the Spot; and threatned, that if their Complaints, were neglected, they would cauſe the aſſembled *Curiæ* to pronounce Sentence on the Criminal. On the other hand, the young *Patricians* applauded the Diſcourſe of *Coriolanus*, and called him the only Defender of Liberty. As for the *Fathers*, they were divided in Opinion; but the greateſt Part inclined to deſtroy the *Tribuneſhip*, and the Treaty which eſtabliſhed it. Theſe Proceedings enraged the *Tribunes*, and they left the Aſſembly in great Fury. They called out aloud on the Gods, the Avengers of the Breach of Oaths, to witneſs what had paſſed; and the People, who crowded round them, were ready to enter the Senate-houſe by Force, but the *Tribunes* ſtopped them. That the Proceedings might be regular, the *Curiæ* were aſſembled, and *Coriolanus* ſummoned to appear before them. But he deſpiſed a Summons brought him from a Tribunal, whoſe Juriſdiction he did not acknowledge. The next Day therefore the *Tribunes* and *Ædiles*, attended by a Company of Officers, came to ſeize him. But he had a ſtronger Guard than they; the young *Patricians* about him, drove away the *Tribunes*, uſed the *Ædiles* ill, and diſperſed the Officers. Upon this, the Uproar was increaſed, on the one hand, by the Crowds of People who ran together from all the Shops; and on the other, by the great Number of the Nobility, and rich Citizens, who came to aſſiſt *Coriolanus*. But the *Conſuls* put a Stop to the Fury of both Parties, for that Day. The next, the *Tribunes* prevented the *Conſuls*, and took Poſſeſſion of the *Tribune of Harangues*, from whence they both ſpoke to the People, one after another. The Subject of their Harangues was *Coriolanus*'s Offence. They repeated the very Words he had uſed in his bitter Invective againſt the People and *Tribunes*; and appealed to the oldeſt and moſt venerable Senators, as Witneſſes of his extravagant Words in the Senate. Then they exaggerated his Rebellion, as being open and barefaced, and the ill Uſage the *Ædiles* had received from him and his Company. They concluded with ſaying that it was neceſſary to give the *Patricians* an Hearing; and deſired the People to continue their Aſſembly till the Senate was broke up.

Plut. ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 438.

§. XXV. The *Conſcript Fathers* were deliberating among themſelves at the ſame time that the People were aſſembled in *Comitia*. It was but a Step from the Senate-houſe to *The Tribune*. So that as ſoon as the Senators were broke up, the *Conſuls* appeared upon it, and *Minutius*, as eldeſt, ſpake firſt, in this manner: Romans, *nothing is more groundleſs than your Suſpicions of, nothing more unjuſt than your Complaints againſt, the Senate. The* Patricians *are not the Authors of the late Scarcity in* Rome. *Your Separation was the Cauſe of it. Ground untilled, Farms deſerted, Cattle loſt, and Slaves diſperſed, were the Conſequences of the unhappy Diſcords, which divided us. In order to eaſe the City, which was burthened with too many Inhabitants, we ſent out*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 439.

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out Colonies from it. By them our Frontiers are defended, our Territory enlarged, our Proviſions furniſhed with more Eaſe, and the Succeſs has ſhewn, you had Reaſon to conſent to their Departure. And why then are the People thus eternally murmuring againſt the Senate? Why muſt we be accuſed of having baniſhed your Fellow-Citizens, and of deſiring to keep up a Scarcity of Proviſions in Rome, *in the midſt of Plenty? Are the Opinions of ſome Senators, who are not ſo well affected to the* Plebeians, *the Rules of our Determinations? Ought you, upon bare Suppoſitions, raſhly to indulge your Hatred, and raiſe violent Tempeſts in the State? Have we made any Decree, whereby we aboliſh your* Tribunes? *And yet you believed it upon their Report; which Report was founded upon groundleſs Apprehenſions. No; their Office ſhall not be extinguiſhed; but let their Authority be confined within its original Bounds. We have indeed given them leave to protect you; but did we ever give them Power to deſtroy the* Conſulſhip, *to introduce Confuſion among all Orders of Men in the State, and to hinder the Senators from declaring their Opinions?* Marcius *ſpoke indeed with Warmth againſt the Encroachments of the* Tribunes, *and the Licentiouſneſs of the People. And this you think a capital Crime. Judge then of the Injuſtice of your Complaints, by your ſelves. When any one of you, which ſometimes happens in your Aſſemblies, inveighs againſt the Severity of the Senate, do we condemn him to Death only for this?* Romans, *let us not deprive each other of the Liberty of giving our Opinions freely, in our Aſſemblies. Don't exerciſe your Severity on account of Diſcourſes which were privately made in the Senate; ſince we paſs over the paſſionate Harangues you make in the* Comitia? *If you are for taking all Liberties your ſelves, and allowing others none, is not this confirming the Suſpicions ſome have conceived, that your* Tribunes *aim at Tyranny? If* Marcius *was too ſevere in his Reproaches, remember his Virtues, and his Valour. How great a Support would you deprive your Country of, by his Baniſhment or Death? How many Citizens owe their Lives to his Courage? Shall unguarded Expreſſions be put in the Balance with ſignal Exploits, and great Services? But whether he be innocent or guilty, yet at leaſt ſpare him at the Deſire of the Senate, ſince they requeſt it. We will not indeed put you in Mind of the Obligations we have laid upon you, to reproach you. But nevertheleſs, ſince our Condeſcention went ſo far as to give you* Tribunes; *let your Gratitude be great enough to reſtore to us the Defender of* Rome, *the Conqueror of the* Volſci, *and the only Pledge of a perfect Reconciliation between you and us.*

This Diſcourſe of *Minutius* had ſoftened the People, and his Promiſes of reviving Plenty very ſoon, had calmed them. But the Artifices of *Sicinnius*, effaced all the Impreſſions it had made on their Minds, in favour of *Coriolanus*. *Sicinnius* was of mean Extraction, had no military Virtues, nor any thing to recommend him but his ſeditious Intrigues; and yet he was now *Tribune of the People* the ſecond time. He thought *Coriolanus* would be an eternal Obſtacle to his riſe. If he gained his Point in extirpating the *Tribuneſhip*, *Sicinnius* muſt ſink back again into his primitive Meanneſs. He had Reaſon to be continually afraid of the Intereſt of a Man, who was adored by the *Patricians*, and an implacable Enemy to the Power of the People. He therefore reſolved to deſtroy him. After he had conſulted with his Collegues, he gave this Anſwer to *Minutius*'s Diſcourſe. *What Thanks ought we not to return the* Conſuls, *and the whole* Patrician *Body in general, for their Compaſſion for an afflicted People! Theſe Illuſtrious Chiefs of the Republick, have at length vouchſafed to caſt an Eye of Pity on our Miſeries, and comfort us in our Wants. Only then perform what you have promiſed, and we have all we deſire! As for you,* Marcius, adds he, looking on Coriolanus, *who can hinder you from applying your ſelf to the Clemency of the People, and perſuading them to moderate the Rigour of their Sentence, by your Apologies.* *Sicinnius* fully expected, that if *Coriolanus* ſpoke to the People, he would not at all abate his Pride, and would exaſperate the Multitude, who were already prejudiced againſt him. And his Stratagem ſucceeded to his Expectation. *Coriolanus* had too lofty a Spirit to ſtoop to humble Supplications. He may be ſaid to have carried Magnanimity to an Exceſs. He did not appear as a Criminal before his Judges; he gave himſelf the Air of a Maſter, and pretended to give Law, and to reprimand. He owned every thing he had been reproached with ſaying in the Senate, and gloried in it. He refuſed to ſubmit to the Judgment of the People; and would acknowledge none to be his Judges, but the *Conſuls*. He proteſted, with an exalted Tone of Voice, and a threatning Air, that he would not have vouchſafed to have appeared in a tumultuous Aſſembly of ſeditious Men, had it not been to reproach them with their Crimes, and to put ſome Check to their boundleſs Deſires. And laſtly, he openly de-

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clared his Hatred to the *Tribunes*, and charged their Creation with being prejudicial to the Publick.

It is eaſy to imagine, that ſuch an audacious Speech muſt greatly offend the *Plebeians*. The tumultuous and confuſed Clamours of the Multitude ſhewed their Rage. Some even prepared to maſſacre *Marcius* with their own Hands, as an open Enemy, whom any one might kill in Battle. Nevertheleſs, the *Tribunes* thought it neceſſary to obſerve ſome Form of Juſtice in cutting him off. They conſulted together; and after they had collected the Votes, ordered him to be ſeized, and thrown down headlong from the Top of a ſteep Rock, which overlooked the *Forum Romanum*. This was then a Puniſhment frequently inflicted on Malefactors. The *Ædiles* therefore inſtantly advanced with their Officers, to put the Sentence in Execution: And then no Meaſures were kept any longer. The *Patricians* interpoſed between the Criminal and the Officers, and expoſed their own Bodies to Danger, to defend his. The People, on the other hand, endeavoured to break thro' them, and carry off their Victim. Many Blows were given on both Sides, and Reflections ſpared by neither. The Preſence of the *Conſuls* was the only thing that could put an End to the Commotion. The People of *Rome*, as ungovernable as the *Tribunes* had made them, yet retained a Reſpect for theſe chief Governors in the Republick. They, with the Aſſiſtance of their *Lictors*, broke thro' the Crowd, and diſperſed it. *Sicinnius* only continued to make ſome Reſiſtance, being very anxious about the Sentence he had pronounced, and very unwilling to leave the Work of his Hatred unfiniſhed. Nevertheleſs, he recollected himſelf a little, and took the Advice of *Brutus*, who was ſo ready at finding out Expedients in difficult Caſes. *Brutus* then adviſed the *Tribune* not to puſh on the Affair to Extremity: *The* Patricians *are enraged*, ſays he, *and it is ill-judged to make uſe of Violence now. After all, it has the Appearance at leaſt, of Injuſtice, for you to make your ſelf both Party and Judge in* Marcius's *Affair; and by a Form of Juſtice, hitherto unknown, raſhly to pronounce Sentence of Death againſt a* Patrician *of renowned Birth and Valour. Stop your Hands for a few Days; and after you have ſummoned the Criminal to appear, give your ſelf time to draw up his Proceſs, and enter a formal Accuſation againſt him, according to Law. Theſe Appearances of Moderation will do you Honour, and at the ſame time not ſave the Enemy of the* Tribuneſhip *from our common Vengeance.*

SICINNIUS followed the Advice which was given him. He returned to the Aſſembly, and ſaid, *You yourſelves have been Witneſſes of the ſeditious Reſiſtance the* Patricians *have made to the Authority of your Ordinances. Their Plea for this is a Law as antient as the Monarchy, which is, that* It is not lawful to put any Citizen of Rome to Death, till he has been condemned according to Law. *Let us therefore ſhew thoſe who break thro' all Laws, that we have all the Deference they deſire for the Law on which they lay ſo much Streſs. Retire,* Romans, *and exceed them in Moderation, who accuſe you of Violence. And be aſſured, that if they neglect to give you Satisfaction, as to the Sale of the Corn, we will take effectual Care our ſelves that it ſhall be diſtributed among you.* When *Sicinnius* had ſaid this, he diſmiſſed the Aſſembly.

§. XXVI. The *Conſuls* were in the mean time deliberating in the Senate, how they might appeaſe the Populace. They propoſed to pacify them, by ſelling them Corn at a low Price, and gaining over their Magiſtrates to favour *Marcius* and the *Patricians*. They all feared, the *Tribunes* would make this firſt Inſtance a Precedent for their giving Law to the Senate, and depriving them of the Liberty of declaring their Opinions freely. They had indeed already found Means, I know not how, to be always preſent at the Deliberations of the Senate, without having any other Power in it, but that of oppoſing any Decrees which they thought contrary to the Intereſts of the People. The Senate then reſolved to defer *Marcius*'s Tryal as long as they could, and to give the Hatred of the Commons Time to cool. After this, they made a Decree, that the Corn ſhould be ſold at as low a Price, as it uſed to be in the beſt Markets, before the Troubles. And they laboured to prevail upon the *Tribunes* to deſiſt from all the Proſecutions they had begun againſt *Coriolanus*. But it was not poſſible to ſoften them. However, they were perſuaded to grant the accuſed as much time as was deſired, for his Defence. Then the Senate made uſe of an Artifice, to poſtpone a Trial a great while, the Conſequences of which they dreaded. They made a Decree, that a War ſhould be entered into with the *Antiates*, and that no Affairs in Diſpute ſhould be determined during the Campaign. An Occaſion offered it ſelf for marching againſt theſe old Enemies, which was this.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus.*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 446.

As

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As the *Sicilians* were returning home with their empty Barques, in which they had brought Corn to *Rome*, the *Antiates* infeſted the Seas with their Pyracies, ſurprized the *Sicilians*, ſeized their Ships and Money, and carried the Men with them into Captivity: And *Rome* was concerned to revenge the Inſult offered to the *Sicilians*, her Benefactors. However, ſhe firſt attempted to accommodate the Difference amicably: But the *Antiates* inſiſted upon keeping their Prize. Upon this therefore the *Romans* declared War with them, and marched their Troops into their Country. But the Expedition was ſoon ended: The *Antiates* returned to Reaſon, releaſed the Ships, and made their Peace with *Rome*.

§. XXVII. THE Army returned ſooner than the Senate had hoped: And then the *Tribunes* cited *Marcius* to appear on a Day appointed. This made a great ſtir among the *Patricians*; for it was a Blow they were very nearly concerned to ward off; and the *Conſul Minutius* tried all poſſible Ways to divert the Storm. He called the *Tribunes* together, and endeavoured to diſſuade them from an Enterprize which would be ſo prejudicial to the Republick. He firſt commended them for their Vigilance in keeping the Multitude within Bounds, for their Moderation in preventing Blows, and their Wiſdom in proceeding regularly, according to Law. After this, he ſaid, *You cannot be ignorant of an immemorial Cuſtom, which was eſtabliſhed even in the time of the* Kings. *All Proceedings in capital Caſes, begin with the Senate's declaring, whether it be proper to bring them before the People. Will you then break through a Cuſtom, which has been religiouſly obſerved for above* 200 *Years? Sicinnius* was of Opinion that the Affair had been already determined by the People, without any preceding Trial. He pretended, that it naturally devolved upon them, as the ſupreme Court of Judicature. But the other *Tribunes*, whoſe Authority was equal to his, had more Equity and Complaiſance than the turbulent *Sicinnius*. They ſignified, by one of their Body, named *Decius*, their Conſent that the Senate ſhould firſt judge whether *Marcius*'s Cauſe ought to be brought before the People; but upon two Conditions. The firſt, That the *Tribunes* ſhould be allowed to report it to the Senate. The ſecond, That the Senators ſhould vote regularly; and That after they had all been ſworn, every one ſhould then give his Opinion, and the *Conſuls* pronounce Sentence according to the Majority of Voices. Theſe Conditions being accepted, *Decius* undertook to ſhew, that it belonged to the People to hear this Cauſe; and appointed a Day to determine it. The Senate was therefore aſſembled, and *Decius* 75 addreſſed himſelf to them thus.

WE *are not ignorant*, Conſcript Fathers, *into what Danger we have run our ſelves by the blind Deference we have paid you. To ſuffer the Senators to determine, whether the Commons are the proper Judges of* Marcius's *Affair, is to expoſe our ſelves to their Reſentments. May not they reproach us with having betrayed their Cauſe, and puniſh us as Miniſters who have not been true to their Intereſts? A Law was made from the firſt Eſtabliſhment of the Republick, at* Val. Poplicola's *Requeſt, by which the* Plebeians, *who were ill uſed by the* Patricians, *had Leave given them to bring their Complaints before the People.* Marcius *has been guilty of a notorious Inſult upon the Authority of the* Roman *People, and the Dignity of their* Tribunes. *Who his Judges are, is ſufficiently declared by the Law. It is true, in doubtful Caſes, where the Law is ſilent, it belongs to the Senate to determine, whether it be proper to bring them to a Hearing before the People; but in Caſes wherein the very Letter of the Law is clear, there is no room for Deliberation. Shall the meaneſt* Plebeian, *if injured, have Recourſe to the* Curiæ, *and ſhall not the injured* Tribunes *implore their Help, without the Conſent of the Senate? What then becomes of the Ballance of Power between the People and you? It was equitably ſettled with the Republick it ſelf: And can it be otherwiſe deſtroyed than by one Side's encroaching upon the other? The* Patricians *and the Rich have their Prerogatives, which we don't diſpute with them. The chief Magiſtrates are choſen out of their Body. They poſſeſs the Places of moſt Diſtinction. Their* Centuries *are firſt named in the great* Comitia: *Whilſt the poor People have no Privilege, but that of being protected from Oppreſſion. The Law which gave them this, was, without doubt, a very wiſe one; and we will maintain it with Conſtancy. To endeavour to rob us of it, is to plunge the State again into all the Miſeries of civil Diſſentions. The firſt Sparks of a civil War have alarmed you: What then will be the Conſequence, if it break out into a Flame, and ſet the whole Republick on Fire?*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 447.

75 This *Decius* was one of the Deputies ſent to the Senate, to receive its Ratification of the Treaty, made in Favour of the *Plebeians*, who retired to the *Mons Sacer*.

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Whom will you then blame, but the Ambition of your Youth, and your inconſiderate Hatred to the People? Some would fain deprive them of their Protectors, by deſtroying the Tribuneſhip. *But pray, did you grant them* Tribunes *out of Equity, or out of Neceſſity? If you did it upon the Motives of Reaſon, let them continue, as long as there is any Juſtice in* Rome! *If it was out of Neceſſity, how are you ſure, that ſuch another Separation as then made you tremble, will never happen? And if you did not think it a formidable one, what forced you to put on ſuch an Appearance of Fear? And yet it is this very Office of* Tribunes, *eſtabliſhed by ſo many Oaths, conſecrated by the moſt holy Ceremonies, and the only Pledge of our Reconciliation, which* Marcius *endeavoured to deſtroy. Nay, you know he did not ſtop there. He charged that Equality of Power, which the People pretend to maintain themſelves in, with Tyranny. He raiſed your Paſſions, to make you revenge our Separations. He would have had us reduced to Want again, and thereby forced to an involuntary Exile. Theſe are his Crimes. And are not they of the Nature of thoſe, the Cognizance of which is by the Law confined to the People? If his Scheme had ſucceeded, what would have become of* Rome? *Either the People would in their Fury have ſhed all the Blood of the* Patricians, *or the* Patricians *would have filled the City with the Slaughter of their Fellow-Citizens. Extreme Miſery would have known no Law. What horrible Maſſacres would the ſeditious* Marcius *have cauſed within theſe Walls! Nor is it enough to ſay he would have done it; his Deſires were very near being put in Execution. What Mutinies were there actually raiſed on his Account! The* Tribunes *were repulſed, the* Ædiles *ill-treated, and the Officers of the People beaten and diſperſed. Might not ſo many ſcandalous Revolts have been a juſt Pretence for us to have made an Inſurrection? We have indeed prevented it; but is the Author of theſe things the leſs guilty? Speak,* Marcius, *ſpeak; make your Defence here at leaſt. Abate that Pride, which makes you ſuſpected of a Tyrannical Diſpoſition. The* Conſuls *have not diſdained to intercede with the People for you. They condeſcended ſo far, as to entreat them to favour you. You are the only Man, who perſiſts in acting like a Man independent. Have you at all changed* [76] *your Habit, to raiſe Compaſſion? Has the Sentence of Death pronounced againſt you, made you criminal as you are, appear any otherwiſe than the moſt unblemiſhed Citizen? You depend upon your Valour: And yet, how many* Patricians, *whoſe Triumphs have given them a Fame ſuperior to yours, have ſtooped down ſo low, as to implore the Clemency of the People for you? What! cannot even the Example of their Modeſty ſubdue your Pride? Cannot even Afflictions bring you down from the Clouds, to which your Vanity has raiſed you, and put you upon a level with the reſt of Mankind? No,* Conſcript Fathers, *no; ſuch intolerable Vanity is unworthy of your Protection. Will you, for his ſake, undertake the War, which the People will be forced to make with you? Ought he not to be afraid of it, at leaſt for your ſakes, and acknowledge your Obligations, by diverting the Miſeries you are threatned with, by his Submiſſion? His Haughtineſs of Temper is heightened by his Ingratitude. Such is the Hero, to whom the Peace of the State is to be made a Sacrifice. Give him up,* Conſcript Fathers, *to the Juſtice of his proper Judges; and let the factious Youth who protect him, be made to know by his Example, that to offer Violence to the Authority of the* Roman *People, is to be guilty of a criminal Attempt againſt the Republick it ſelf.*

The *Tribunes*, who were preſent in the Senate, added many things to what *Decius* had ſaid, and at length the Votes were taken. The moſt antient and venerable Senators gave their Opinions firſt. It was not then cuſtomary for the young Senators to make Speeches when they voted. They generally followed the Opinion of ſome old Senator whom they liked, and placed themſelves round him whoſe Opinion they embraced. *Ap. Claudius*, that old *Conſul*, and obſtinate Enemy of the People, ſpoke one of the firſt, and appeared to be ſtill the ſame Man.

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 453.

Would *to God*, ſaid he, *Regard had been had to the Proteſtations I always made againſt the Return of the ſeparated People, againſt the Treaty whereby the* Tribunes *were introduced, and againſt the boundleſs Pretenſions of the* Plebeians! *I thought you more prudent than my ſelf, and therefore gave way to the Stream, and acquieſced in your Determinations. But, tho' what I apprehended beforehand has ſince proved true, I ſhall not,* Conſcript Fathers, *take Advantage of the preſent Opportunity to reproach you,*

[76] Criminals at *Rome* uſed to appear before their Judges in ſuch a Dreſs as to raiſe their Compaſſion. They changed their white Robe into one more ſlovenly and negligent, and let their Beards and Hair grow. But *Sigonius* is miſtaken, in thinking they wore a black Robe. Not only the Perſons accuſed, appeared in this humble Dreſs, but their Friends and Relations; and from hence they had the Name of *Sordidati*.

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you, tho' I might do it with Juſtice. We cannot amend what is paſt; let us remedy preſent Evils. But what am I ſaying? Can I ſpeak of Liberty, without running the hazard of my Life? Shall I eſcape the Danger which threatens Coriolanus? *But nevertheleſs, I will ſpeak, and the publick Good ſhall prevail with me over well-grounded Fears. I have long devoted my Life to the Service of the Republick. In the firſt place then, you ſeem to me to have thrown away the Favours by which you have endeavoured to ſooth an untractable Populace. They impute your Condeſcentions to your Weakneſs; and if we may believe them, it is your Fear, which has extorted them from you. How gradually have they gone on till they are now come even to give Law to you? Formerly, they artfully aggravated their Indigence, and only demanded the Abolition of their Debts. After their ſeditious Separation, they ſeemed content with obtaining Impunity, and Leave to return to their own Country. After this, they thought fit to demand a College of* Tribunes, *who were to protect them againſt our Decrees. The Authority of theſe Officers they would have to be ſacred, and their Perſons inviolable. Then, by the help of theſe new Magiſtrates, they have made Laws without our Privity, deſpiſed the Authority of the Senate and* Conſuls, *and diſannulled our Decrees. And now, by an unheard-of Piece of Uſurpation, they ſummon the moſt illuſtrious* Patrician *to appear at their Tribunal, and make it a Crime in him, to have delivered his Opinion freely. As for myſelf, I oppoſed every one of theſe Encroachments, and thought they ſhould have been diſputed with them Inch by Inch. But your Indulgence,* Conſcript Fathers, *prevailed over my Steadineſs; and you have already repented of it. It's true, the People, at preſent, abate a little of their Deſires. They will determine no Affairs, but ſuch as the Senate permits them by Decree to take Cognizance of. Let us then ſeize ſo favourable an Opportunity. Nay, the Law it ſelf which they object to us, does not permit the People to judge the Nobility. Has one ſingle* Patrician *ever ſubmitted to be tried by them, in all theſe eighteen Years, which this Law has been made? This is then deciſive, in favour of* Coriolanus. *Beſides, if the Law was expreſs, as they pretend it is, would the People, who are ſo jealous of their Rights, apply to you in this manner for leave to bring* Coriolanus *before their Tribunal? And indeed, if the People's judicial Power extended to us, where would be that Equality of Power between us and them, which is ſo much boaſted of? The Senate would, in that Caſe, have no Power of trying either* Plebeians *or* Patricians; *and the entire Cognizance of all capital Caſes would devolve on the People. What! Shall the Senate be more ſuſpected of Injuſtice in favour of their own Members, than the* Curiæ *in favour of their* Plebeians? *Are not all the Orders in the Republick equally deſirous of promoting the publick Good? But you ſay, a civil War muſt be the Conſequence of our Refuſal. Will you then,* Conſcript Fathers, *ſink under ſuch inſignificant Threatnings? Has not long Experience taught you to deſpiſe the Storm, of whoſe Approach you have early Notice? Gods and Men will unite in our Defence. Our Colonies won't ſee their native Country ruined; nor will the* Latins *look on tamely, and ſee that City plundered, wherein they themſelves have the Privileges of Citizens. In ſhort, we will arm both our Slaves and Allies againſt the Rebels. O ye Gods, who protect this Empire, divert ſuch terrible Misfortunes from us; and grant, that Deſigns ſo contrary to the publick Good, may vaniſh in mere Words!*

Thus ſpake *Appius*, and concluded againſt ſuffering the People to try *Coriolanus*. But the popular *Valerius* was of a contrary Opinion. He exaggerated the horrible Conſequences of a civil War. He ſhewed, that *Coriolanus*'s Pride was ready to raiſe one. He endeavoured to demonſtrate to the Senate, that their paying ſome Deference to the People, was the only Means of quieting their Fury, both againſt their threatened Country, and the Offender. *It is not poſſible,* ſaid he, *but that, when the* Curiæ *ſhall ſee ſo great a Man, in a negligent Dreſs, humbling himſelf before them, and ſubmitting to their Deciſions, the Senſe of his Virtues, and the Reſpect due to his Birth, muſt make Impreſſions on all their Hearts. Beſides, the whole Body of the* Patricians *will aſſiſt him with their Intereſt. We will attend him to his Tryal. We will ſollicit our Clients, our Friends, and in a word, all thoſe who are any way obliged to us, in his Favour; and in ſhort, will get their Votes. Add to this, that our Tears ſhall ſpeak for us; and we will join our Sighs to the humble Defence which* Coriolanus *ſhall make.* At theſe Words, the good old Man burſt out into a Flood of Tears, and ſighed deeply. The Senators were ſtaggered at this: and then *Valerius* purſued his Diſcourſe. *I perceive, the only thing which ſuſpends your Determination, is the Fear of granting too much Authority to the People, who may abuſe it. But how dangerous is it, to carry your Suſpicions too far! ſince we have thought fit to make the Government of* Rome *partly Ariſtocratical,*

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 459.

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cratical, and partly Democratical, there will never be any Peace in the Republick, till there is a perfect Æquilibrium *eſtabliſhed between theſe two Powers. Whenever the Balance inclines to either Side, Jealouſies, Diſcontents, and civil Wars, will always be the Conſequence. This we found by Experience in the Time of the* Kings. *Let us not therefore run headlong into the ſame Confuſions. The Senate then pretended to aſſume all Power to themſelves: The People, in their Turn, have done the ſame. Let us therefore ſet ſuch juſt Bounds to the Pretenſions of both Senate and* Plebeians, *that keeping within them, we may preſerve Concord among us. The Senators have their* Conſuls: *Let the People have their* Tribunes: *and let both join in puniſhing the wicked Attempts which are made upon the Authority of either Body. Let us mutually conſent to deliver up Offenders to each other. Have not we reaſon to fear, that without this Precaution, the Republick will again degenerate into a tyrannical Government? Beſides, if the People, proud of their Authority, ſhould madly carry things to an Exceſs, have not we a Remedy, which has been already tried more than once? We of the* Patricians *have a Right to chuſe a* Dictator [77], *whoſe Power in the Republick is abſolute. This Power alone is a Barrier which we can at any time ſet againſt the Licentiouſneſs of the People. Why then ſhould we magnify our Fears of them without meaſure? Why ſhould we make the Liberty we ſhall give them of trying State-Criminals, a Bugbear? The more People there are upon the Watch to prevent all tyrannical Attempts, and the more Tribunals thoſe who engage in them have to fear, the more ſeldom will factious Men appear among us, and the more readily will their Cabals be defeated.*

This Diſcourſe of *Valerius* had its deſired Effect. It paſſed by a Majority of Voices, that *Coriolanus* ſhould be tried by the People. The Decree for it was juſt ready to be drawn up, when he deſired leave to ſpeak. His Deſign was to know exactly, what Crime he ſhould be accuſed of, before the People. So that, he prayed to be informed of the Facts which would be laid to his Charge, before the Decree was paſſed. *Your Accuſation,* replied the *Tribunes, will chiefly relate to the Crime of deſigning to uſurp tyrannical Power. Upon that foot,* replies *Coriolanus, I have nothing to object to the Decree of the Senate. Let it be put in Writing. I will appear before the People, and anſwer this frivolous Accuſation.* Thus this famous Warrior fell into the Snare the cunning *Tribunes* laid for him. He was not aware, that when the People ſhould have him in their Power, it would be wholly in the *Tribunes,* to draw up what Accuſations againſt him they pleaſed.

Plut. Life of Coriolan.

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 463.

§. XXVIII. As ſoon as the Decree was paſſed, the *Tribunes* renewed all their Proceedings. They ſent a freſh Summons to the Criminal; and gave him a Month, or thereabouts, to prepare [78] for his Defence: That is, they ſummoned him to appear on the third Market-Day; and Markets were then held at *Rome* every nine Days. The Reaſon why the *Tribunes* choſe a Market-Day for *Coriolanus*'s Tryal, was this; that the Country-People then came in Crowds to the City, and brought their Proviſions, which they trafficked with, by Barter. As they all had a Right to vote with the Citizens, it was hoped they would be leſs at the Devotion of the Nobility, than the Inhabitants of the City. And now the Day appointed drew near: It was very viſible, by the

77 The Choice and Nomination of a *Dictator* belonged originally to that *Conſul* who preſided for the Time being. The People had no Part in this Election, ſays *Plut.* in his *Life of Marcellus.* On default of *Conſuls*, this Right was in the *Milit. Tribunes.* Thus the *Augurs* determined in favour of *M. Æmilius*, who was created *Dictator* by *Cor. Coſſus*, then *Tribune.* But it appears, that this Election was made with the Approbation of the Senate, and ſometimes of the People.

78 We have already ſpoken of the Forms obſerved by the *Romans*, in the Cauſes tried at the Tribunal of the People, and in all criminal Affairs. Firſt, the Magiſtrate cauſed the People to be ſummoned by a proper Officer; then he aſcended *The Tribune*, and fixed a Day for the Offender to appear before the *Comitia*, and hear the Heads of his Accuſation. Theſe Formalities were repeated three different Times: and at the End of every ſuch Accuſation, the *Tribune* demanded, that the Accuſed might have a Fine laid upon him, or be condemned to ſome other Puniſhment, according to the Nature of the Complaint. After which, the Accuſed had twenty-ſeven Days given him, to prepare his Anſwer. During this time, the People had leiſure enough to inform themſelves fully of the Caſe; and the Accuſed, and his Relations, Friends, and Clients, did their utmoſt to get the Suffrages of the *Tribes* for him. When the Day appointed was come, the *Tribune* brought his Accuſation before the aſſembled People, the 4th time. An Officer cited the Offender, who appeared in a mournful Habit. He had the Liberty either of undertaking his Defence himſelf, or of committing the Care of it to any who were willing to undertake it for him. Sometimes the *Comitia* were ſpent in Debates and Replications: ſo that Judgment was put off to another Day. Then the Proceedings began again as before, unleſs the Magiſtrate limited the Time, to be ſpent, in the Accuſation and Defence. Sentence was paſſed by a Majority of Voices; and the Determinations of the *Tribune* were confirmed or rejected, according as the People declared themſelves, either for the Affirmative, in the Words *Uti rogas*; or for the Negative, in the Word *Antiquo.* We have theſe Particulars from *Tully*, in his *Orat. pro Domo ſua.* Almoſt the ſame Forms were obſerved, with reſpect to *Coriolanus.* In like manner, the Magiſtrates took care to give notice of the Elections of Magiſtrates, and the paſſing of any Laws, on three Market-Days.

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Steps both the *Plebeians* and *Patricians* took, how much they had the different Intereſts they engaged in, at heart. The People triumphed at being able to revenge the contemptuous Treatment ſhewn them by the moſt haughty Enemy they had ever had. The Senate dreaded this fatal Minute, as moſt deſtructive of the publick Liberty. At length, the Accuſed appeared on the Day appointed. New Wranglings aroſe about the Form 79 of the *Comitia* by which he was to be tried. The *Patricians* pretended, it ought to be by the People aſſembled *by Centuries* 80. The voting *by Claſſes* would indeed have been much more for the Advantage of the Offender. The moſt noble, and the richeſt would have voted firſt, and would have paſſed Sentence, before the Populace, who were moſt attached to the *Tribunes*, would have been called upon for their Suffrages. But the *Tribunes of the People* prevailed, that they ſhould vote *by Tribes* 81. There were then in all, both in City and Country, twenty-one 82. The *Tribunes* took care to have the *Country-Tribes* come to *Rome*, very early in the Morning, under Pre-

79 Hitherto the *Romans* had known no *Comitia*, but ſuch as were aſſembled *by Curiæ*, or *by Centuries*. Before *S. Tullius*'s Time, the *Curiæ* had the Right and Power of electing Kings, Magiſtrates, and the *Tribunus Celerum*; of judging in criminal Caſes; and of making new Laws. And laſtly, every thing relating to Peace and War, was determined in theſe *Comitia*, but with the Conſent of the Senate; as we learn from *D. Hal. B.* 2. Before the Eſtabliſhment of the *Comitia by Tribes* and *Centuries*, the *Curiæ* choſe the *Tribunes of the People*, and the *Plebeian Ædiles*. But after their Eſtabliſhment, the Right of the *Curiæ* was confined, 1. To the confirming the Election of ſome Magiſtrates; but this Cuſtom did not continue long. 2. To the ratifying Adoptions and Wills: and, 3. To the chuſing the *Flamines*, and the chief of the *Curiones*. But indeed, they ſcarce aſſembled at all, in After-times, but merely for Form's ſake. All Affairs were determined by the *Centuries*, and the *Tribes*.

80 From *S. Tullius*'s Time to this, the *Comitia by Centuries* had almoſt the whole Authority in *Rome*. If an Affair of Importance was to be determined, the Cognizance of which the Senate had referred to the People; if a new Law was to be made, or one of the great Magiſtrates choſen; the *Conſuls* aſſembled the People *by Centuries*. After the previous Ceremonies of the *Auguries* and Sacrifices, the *Romans* aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*. All the *Centuries*, each of which joined themſelves under their common Standard, and their own Head, looked like an Army drawn up in Battalia. And as the Suffrages were given in this Aſſembly, eſpecially in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, according to the Order of the *Claſſes*, almoſt every thing was determined, according to the Inclination of the firſt *Claſs*; that alone being more numerous in *Centuries* than all the reſt put together. Add to this, that it contained all the richeſt and moſt eminent Citizens. So that it would have been for *Coriolanus*'s Advantage, to have had the *Comitia* held *by Centuries*. The Party of the Rich and Great, who all had declared for him, would not have failed turning the Balance to his Side; and the *Tribunes* would have loſt their Point.

81 This 262d Year of *Rome* was the Epocha of the Eſtabliſhment of the *Comitia by Tribes*. Theſe *Comitia*, in Proceſs of Time, aſſumed an Authority which made them formidable to the Senate and *Patricians*. Being ſupported by their *Tribunes*, they overcame all the Oppoſition the Nobility made to their audacious Proceedings. They ſoon aſſumed a Power of creating the Magiſtrates of the ſecond Order, of making Laws, of paſſing Decrees, and of citing the *Conſuls* and Generals of the Army, to appear before their Tribunal. The *Tribes* had before uſurped a Right of inflicting Death on *Roman* Citizens, till this Abuſe was reformed by a Law of the XII. *Tables*, which transferred this Power to the aſſembled *Centuries*. The *Tribunes* alſo found their Account in the *Comitia by Tribes*. The Populace, who were the Majority in theſe *Comitia*, were entirely devoted to theſe Magiſtrates, whom they looked on as their Protectors againſt the Attempts of the *Patricians*. The unjuſt Proceedings of the *Tribunes* were confirmed by the Suffrages of the Mob. So that, it is not ſurprizing, that they ſhould now ſo obſtinately inſiſt on the People's aſſembling *by Tribes*. They could no otherwiſe ſucceed in their Deſign of deſtroying *Coriolanus*.

82 Antient and modern Authors differ about the Number of *Tribes* in the Republick, when the *Tribunes* proceeded againſt *Coriolanus*. They agree that there were but thirty five, even under the *Emperors*, the four *City-Tribes* eſtabliſhed by *S. Tullius* included. It is true, antient Inſcriptions ſeem to ſpeak of ſupernumerary *Tribes*, not included in the thirty five, a Liſt of which Hiſtorians have given us. But we are perſuaded, that theſe antient Monuments have only given us double Names of ſome of the thirty five *Tribes*, which took their Denominations from the Places where they were ſituated, and ſometimes from ſome illuſtrious Families in them. This is the Opinion of *Fabricius*, *Sigonius*, *Panvinius*, and *P. Manutius*, as to thoſe which are called, *Sapinia*, *Papia*, *Cluvia*, *Cluentia*, *Ocriculana*, *Camilla*, *Dumia*, *Minucia*, *Julia*, *Flavia*, and *Ulpia*. It's certain, the three latter were three antient *Tribes*, which changed their firſt Names, and took new ones, from the Families of *Auguſtus*, *Veſpaſian* and *Trajan*. Which being ſuppoſed, the preſent Queſtion is, what was the exact Number of the *Tribes*, before *Coriolanus* was condemned? If we may believe *P. Manutius*, there were at that time thirty one, namely, four in the City, and twenty ſeven in the Country. He builds upon the Authorities of *Fab. Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Venonius*, as quoted by *D. Hal. B.* 4. But at this Rate, the *Tribes* muſt have been many more than thirty five in Number. Indeed, beſides the four which were afterwards added, when the *Romans* had made themſelves Maſters of a Part of *Tuſcany*, Hiſtory mentions ſeveral others of later Date; as the *Tribus Pomptina*, *Publilia*, *Mæcia*, *Scaptia*, *Falerina*, *Uſentina*, &c. There muſt then have been more than thirty five *Tribes* in all. This Conſequence has not eſcaped our moſt able Criticks; but has given occaſion to their correcting ſeveral Copies of *Livy*, *B.* 2. and *B.* 6. where inſtead of twenty one and twenty five, we did read thirty one and thirty five. They have the Authority of ſome of the moſt antient MSS. to confirm this Correction; which was neceſſary to bring the Number to be exactly thirty-five, as all Authors are forced to acknowledge they were. So that we cannot admit of the Teſtimony of *F. Pictor*, *Cato*, and *Venonius*, in this Matter, without running the hazard of falling into a manifeſt Contradiction. Beſides, 'tis certain even from *D. Hal.* himſelf, that there were but twenty one *Tribes* in all the *Roman* Territories, when *Coriolanus* was tried. *Twenty one Tribes*, ſays he, *then gave their Votes*. Nevertheleſs, *Manucius* pretends, that we ought not to conclude from this Paſſage, that there were then but twenty one *Tribes* in *Rome*. He is of opinion, that the *Tribunes* thought they could not be ſure of ſucceeding in their Cabals againſt the Accuſed, without excluding ten other *Tribes*, which they ſuſpected. By the help of this Conjecture, he thinks himſelf well ſupported, in contending, that there were thirty one *Tribes* in *Rome*, from the Year 262. But is it credible, that theſe ten *Tribes*, who were as jealous of their Privileges as the reſt, ſhould thus tamely ſubmit to be excluded

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tence of coming to Market. The *Forum* was full of them. It was, for Order's ſake, divided into as many ſquare Parts, as there were *Tribes*, by Cords tried a-croſs; and every *Tribe* went into its own Square. Then the *Conſul Minutius* aſcended *The Tribune* firſt, and harangued the People in theſe Words.

Romans, *you cannot but remember the Obligations the Senate has often laid upon you. Your Impunity for your Revolts, and the granting you* Tribunes *for your Protection, are Favours which call aloud for your Acknowledgments. The only grateful Return we expect for them is, that you would be content with the Submiſſion of the Great* Coriolanus, *and not purſue a Trial which we conſented to with great Regret, at the preſſing Inſtances of your* Tribunes. *Your Right is confirmed, and your Victory complete: Where then is the Neceſſity of carrying your Hatred any farther, againſt the Defender of your Country, the moſt formidable Hero in our Armies, and the moſt intrepid Conqueror of our Enemies? All his Crime conſiſts in his Liberty of Speech. And is not ſinking his Pride to this humble State Revenge enough for that? But if you will carry on the Trial ſo far as to come to voting, remember that the whole Senate is come hither to ſue for his Pardon. Will you refuſe it to* 300 *the moſt venerable Men* [83] *in the Republick? No; the moſt bitter Enemy can never hold out againſt ſuch powerful Interceſſors.*

When the *Conſul* had done ſpeaking, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* ſaid, with a very haughty Air, That he was not ſo cowardly as to betray the Intereſts of the People; and, That he would take great Care the Aſſembly ſhould not be broken up, till the Affair was determined by Vote. He likewiſe proteſted, he would not at all concern himſelf, either for or againſt *Marcius*; but would content himſelf with barely ſtating the Crimes of which he was accuſed. *Minutius* put him in mind, before he began, of confining his Accuſation entirely to the pretended Tyranny of *Coriolanus*, that being the only Condition, upon which he obtained the Decree of the Senate; and *Sicinnius* promiſing all that was asked of him, began a ſtudied Harangue. He run over the whole Life of *Marcius*, and in ſtrong Terms repreſented every Part of it as diſcovering Marks of an ambitious Spirit, aſpiring at regal Power. The *Tribunes* his Collegues ſpoke afterwards in their Order, and endeavoured to turn all the Hatred the *Romans* had conceived againſt ſuch as would deſtroy the Republican Government, upon the Accuſed. At length, *Coriolanus* began to ſpeak, and was heard with a profound Attention. He firſt enumerated the many Campaigns he had made in the Service of the Republick. Then he came to reckon up the Crowns he had been rewarded with by the *Roman* Generals. Every time he ſhewed the People any of theſe Proofs of his Valour, he called upon thoſe Great Commanders who had honoured him with them, to teſtify the Truth of what he ſaid. He likewiſe called over the Names of thoſe Citizens, whoſe Lives he had ſaved in Battle. Theſe cried out aloud in the midſt of the Aſſembly, and intreated the People not to deſtroy him to whom they owed their Preſervation. Others offered to take the Place of the Accuſed, and ſecure his Life at the Expence of their own. All who did this were *Plebeians*; and their Sighs made ſuch Impreſſions on the People, as to draw Tears from them. They flowed from all Eyes, eſpecially when *Marcius* open'd his Boſom, and ſhew'd the Wounds he had receiv'd in ſo many Battles. Then, with an Air of Confidence mixed with Modeſty, he ſaid, *Judge ye,* Romans, *whether this ſame* Coriolanus, *who has ſaved the Lives of ſo great a Number of your Citizens, in War, could have deſigned to deſtroy them in Time of Peace. Judge ye, likewiſe, whether it be probable, that a Man who has done nothing to gain the Favour of the People, but hazard his Life for them, could deſign to uſurp the Throne. Your Hatred is my Juſtification, and the Haughtineſs laid to my Charge, is my Apology. If the Diſtinction which Bravery procures, be an infallible Sign of a criminal Ambition, I have deſerved to die. But if it be rather the Mark of*

cluded by the *Tribunes*? If they indeed favoured *Coriolanus*, would they not have joined with him, and the *Patricians* of his Party, in declaring all the Proceedings of the *Tribunes* without them null? They would doubtleſs have complained of the Injury which was done them by their Excluſion. *Manucius* himſelf was aware of this Difficulty, and is angry with *D. Hal. Plutarch*, and the other Writers, becauſe they are ſilent on this Article. Indeed Hiſtorians have no where told us, that ever any *Tribes* were injuriouſly preferred before others, who had an equal Right with them, either in the Election of Magiſtrates, or in judicial Proceedings. Only when a *Pontifex* was created, the Number of the *Tribes* who voted were reduced to ſeventeen. But they were drawn by Lot, to remove all juſt Cauſe of Complaint, and that Chance alone might decide it. Beſides, it is credible that all the *Tribes* were united in the ſame Intereſt againſt *Coriolanus*; being all at the Devotion of the *Tribunes*. Theſe therefore were ſo far from having any Reaſon to exclude them, that they found their Account in admitting them. They thereby ſecured a greater Number of Voices.

83 The Senate then conſiſted of but 300 Senators. Their Number was 200, in the Reign of *Romulus* and *Tatius*. *Tarquin the Firſt* added the other 100. If we believe *Florus* and *Plutarch*, *Gracchus* increaſed their Number to 600. It afterwards increaſed ſtill much more, as will be obſerved in the Courſe of this Hiſtory.

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a generous Love for one's Country, let your Averſions ceaſe, and be changed either into Compaſſion, or Repentance.

CORIOLANUS ſaid no more. The moſt worthy Part of the People immediately cried out, he ought to be acquitted. They likewiſe agreed, that it was unjuſt to bring a Man of his Merit and Birth to a Trial, upon ſuch ſlight Preſumptions. Even the moſt mutinous, and the moſt envious, did not find that the Accuſers had given any ſufficient Proofs of the Crimes laid to his Charge. So that the Aſſembly was ready to break up to the Advantage of the Accuſed, when *Decius* the *Tribune* roſe up, and laid a new Charge upon him, in this manner: *Since* Marcius's *Words and Behaviour are not ſufficient to convince you of the tyrannical Spirit which reigns in him, a late Fact will make you fully ſenſible of it. We have a Law which requires our Generals not to diſpoſe of the Spoil they take from the Enemy, according to their own Fancies. The Money it produces, belongs of Right to the publick Treaſury. This Law is juſt, and has never been diſputed. But did* Marcius *ſhew any Regard to it the laſt Year, when he brought back his Troops to* Rome *laden with Proviſions? His Soldiers then lived in Plenty, whilſt the reſt of the People were pining away with Miſery and Want. Did not he in effect give his Troops a Licenſe to plunder the Publick, and has not the Publick a Right to call him to account for it? Nay, what more certain Sign can a Man give of his aiming at tyrannical Power, than the making large Preſents to an Army, in Defiance of the Laws? Let* Marcius *explain himſelf, and let him either prove that he did not diſpoſe of the Spoils of the Enemy, or that no Law forbids it! The Fact is notorious, and the Law univerſally known. What more is wanting? Ceaſe then,* Marcius, *to diſplay your Crowns here, and to make a Shew of your Wounds. We don't judge of the Merit of our Citizens by a mad Bravery, but by their Obſervance of the Laws.* Theſe Words of the *Tribune* gave a great Turn to Peoples Minds. *Coriolanus*, who was not conſcious of having been guilty of Tyranny, in getting a Subſiſtence for his Soldiers, in time of Want, did not imagine this could have been laid to his Charge as a Crime. So that he anſwered like a Man not prepared for this new Chicane of the *Tribunes*. But the bare Fact, as ſtriped of its Circumſtances, and thus maliciouſly interpreted, ſeemed plainly to prove him guilty. The *Conſuls* themſelves, and the Senators, knew not what to anſwer. Then the *Tribunes* pronounced their Determinations aloud, and got *Marcius* condemned to perpetual Baniſhment. They were afraid, if they inſiſted upon his Death, the Compaſſion of the People would make them acquit him. The Suffrages were taken, and thoſe for him were very near equal in Number to thoſe which condemned him. Of twenty one *Tribes*, nine declared for *Coriolanus* [85], and eleven againſt him. An unjuſt Sentence, which gave the People a Power of citing the Senators themſelves to appear before their Tribunal, and thereby made the *Plebeians* ſuperior to the Senate!

84 In ſome MSS. we read *Lucius*, inſtead of *Decius*. He was then *Tribune of the People*, with *Lucius Sicinnius*.

85 *So that if two Tribes*, adds *D. Hal. had joined the nine, which voted for* Coriolanus's *Diſcharge, he would have been acquitted by the Law concerning the Equality of Suffrages.* This Reflection of the *Greek* Hiſtorian has been Matter of Criticiſm with his Commentators. It is very true, that by virtue of an antient Law, the Offender was acquitted, when half his Judges declared for him. For this, ſee *Ariſtotle*'s *Problems*, *Sect.* 29. *Quæſt.* 13. This reaſonable Maxim prevailed among the *Greeks*. *Æſchylus* in his *Eumenides*, and *Euripides* in his *Iphigenia*, confirm this Cuſtom, which paſſed from *Greece* to *Italy*. But, ſay the Criticks, if two other *Tribes* had joined the former nine, *Coriolanus* would have had eleven *Tribes* againſt ten: And conſequently, there was no Neceſſity for having Recourſe to the Law of Equality to acquit the Offender. He would have been ſufficiently diſcharged, not on account of the Equality of the Suffrages, as *D. Hal.* pretends, but on account of their Inequality; he having eleven againſt ten. *Portus* ſtarted this Difficulty, without being able to ſolve it. His Remedy was to correct the Text of the Hiſtorian. He was of Opinion that the Copyiſts, either thro' Negligence or Ignorance, had not given it us entire. And upon this Suppoſition he pretends, that we ought to read ἀφὲ τὴν ἐκ ἰσοψηφίαν, inſtead of ἀφὲ τὴν ἰσοψηφίαν. Which being ſuppoſed, *D. Hal.* ſays no more than this, that in caſe *Coriolanus* had had eleven Votes againſt ten, he would have been acquitted by the Inequality of Suffrages. But beſides that we ought to be very cautious how we admit of Corrections, *Portus*'s Addition is diſproved by all the Editions, and all the MSS. we have of *D. Hal.* Moreover, the Hiſtorian's Reflection would have been ſuperfluous, and childiſh. There is therefore no Neceſſity for altering the Text, in order to make good Senſe of it. The Interpretation ſeems to offer it ſelf naturally, upon the leaſt Reflexion on it. The Hiſtorian then meant to ſay, that *Coriolanus* wanted very few Suffrages to acquit him, ſince it was ſufficient for that Purpoſe, to have his Judges equally divided. Now, in order to have the Law of Equality, which acquitted the Offender, take place in the preſent Inſtance, it was neceſſary, that two of the twelve *Tribes* which were againſt him, ſhould join the other nine which were for him. *D. Hal.* could not think it ſufficient for him to have leſs. One only would not have made an Equality. But ſuppoſing that he had the Suffrages of two other *Tribes*, the Offender would not only have enjoyed the Benefit of the Law, but would likewiſe have had the Advantage of a Majority. This is all *D. Hal.* means. He could not reaſon otherwiſe in the Caſe of an uneven Number, ſuch as that of twenty one *Tribes*. As to the Opinion of thoſe who pretend to infer from this Paſſage, that there were then more than twenty one *Tribes*, we have ſhewn it to be groundleſs.

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But it muſt be granted, that if this Power of the People was afterwards the Cauſe of ſome unjuſt Proceedings, it likewiſe put a Stop to more Factions, and prevented many Attempts againſt the Republican Government. The Joy of the People, upon this great Event, is not to be imagined. The Commons of *Rome* never expreſſed ſo much, even after the greateſt Victories. As the Aſſembly was diſperſing, it was eaſy to diſtinguiſh the *Patricians* from the *Plebeians*, by the Sorrow or Gladneſs which appeared on their Countenances. As for *Coriolanus* [86], he either had too much Greatneſs of Soul to ſink under Adverſity, or was too proud to appear dejected. He neither did, nor ſaid, any thing unworthy of the Magnanimity he profeſſed. Nay, when he came home to his own Houſe, he did not ſeem at all affected with the Tears of his Mother *Veturia*, the Lamentations of his Wife, and the Embraces of his two Sons. The eldeſt was about ten, the youngeſt yet at the Breaſt. Not but *Coriolanus* had a truly tender Regard for his Mother. She, tho' deſcended from a *Conſular* Family, and left a Widow very young, had made it her only Pleaſure, ſo to form the Manners of her Son *Marcius*, as that he might attain to the higheſt Pitch of *Roman* Virtue. All *Coriolanus*'s Diſcourſes conſiſted of Exhortations to his Relations, to behave themſelves with Conſtancy, under the various Events of Life. After this, he advanced towards one of the Gates of *Rome*, without either Money or Proviſions. Many *Patricians* attended him to the fartheſt Part of the City; and when he had bid them farewell, he took only three or four of his Clients with him. Thus that illuſtrious Exile left his native Country, never more to return to it, but at the Head of an Army. He is ſaid to have ſtopped at one of his Farms in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, to ſhake off his Uneaſineſs there. Here, being very penſive, reſtleſs, and deeply affected with the Affront which the Senate had permitted the People to offer him, he firſt formed a Deſign of revenging it: and among the many Enemies of *Rome*, he thought the *Volſci* the moſt likely to eſpouſe his Quarrel. He therefore choſe to ſeek a Retreat in this warlike Nation. He took it for granted, that his Reputation, and the Report of his Misfortunes, would ſoon gain him the Affections of a People, who wanted nothing but able Generals, to make them ſuperior to the *Romans*.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus*.

Year of *ROME* CCLXIII. Quintus Sulpitius, and Sp. Lartius, Conſuls.

§. XXIX. In the mean time, this fatal Year to the *Patricians* expired. The People were aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, and elected new *Conſuls*. The Choice fell upon [87] *Q. Sulpitius*, and *Sp. Lartius*, who was now raiſed to the *Conſulate* a ſecond time. Peace reigned in the City, by means of the great Regards the Nobility ſhewed the People, and of the Plenty with which the Senate took care to furniſh them. In theſe peaceable times, the *Romans* had Leiſure enough to ſhew their Superſtition, by attending to a thouſand trifling Accidents, which they aſcribed to the Anger of the Gods. Some gave Accounts of Viſions, and of hideous Spectres which they had ſeen; others affirmed that they had heard miraculous Voices. Nothing was talked of but the Birth of Monſters. Some fanatical Women uttered Oracles to the idle People in publick; and threatned the State with great Calamities. Beſides, a ſlight Contagion ſpread it ſelf over the Country; but carried off more Cattle than Men. *Coriolanus*'s Friends imputed all theſe Scourges to the Iniquity of the Sentence, by which he had been baniſhed. The moſt ſenſible thought them only common Accidents, which are never attended to, unleſs when a profound Peace gives People time to reflect upon them. Thus all Mens Minds were full of the Prejudices which a falſe Religion inſpires; when a *Roman*, named [88] *T. Latinus*, who uſually reſided in the Country, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the City. He was rich, advanced in Years, and then labouring under a very great Decay. He therefore came in a Litter to the Senate, and told the *Conſcript Fathers* a Dream he had had. *Jupiter Capitolinus*, ſaid

Dion. Hal. B. 7. p. 472.

86 *Livy* differs from *D. Hal.* in ſaying that *Marcius* was not preſent, when Sentence was paſſed upon him. *Ipſe cum die dicta non adeſſet, perſeveratum in ira eſt. Damnatus abſens, &c. B.* 2. The whole Proceedings in this Accuſation, and the Circumſtances of it, are told by the *Greek* Hiſtorian, with ſuch Exactneſs, as juſtifies the Truth of his Relation. Whereas the *Latin* Hiſtorian paſſes haſtily over this important Affair, which required a more particular Account. Beſides, *D. Hal.* has the Teſtimony of *Plutarch* for him.

87 *Q. Sulpitius* is ſurnamed *Camerinus*, in the *Faſt. Capitol.* probably becauſe his Family came originally from *Camerium*. The ſame Annals give *Sp. Lartius* the Surname of *Flavus*. *Livy* does not mention the *Conſuls* for this Year; but that perhaps may be owing only to the Negligence of the Copyiſts; or perhaps to the Hiſtorian's own Want of Exactneſs; he having given us but a very ſuccinct Account of the Hiſtory of theſe firſt Ages. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, we cannot omit theſe *Conſuls*, without confounding the chronological Order of the *Conſular Annals*, eſpecially as to what relates to the Triumph of *P. Valerius*, which the *Faſti Capitolini* place in the Year 278.

88 Authors differ about the Name of this *Roman*, whom *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* call *Titus Latinus*; but *Lactantius* and *V. Maximus* give him the Name of *Atinius*. He is called in *Livy*, *Tib. Atinius*.

he, *appeared to me, and commanded me to tell the Senators, That in the Celebration of the laſt publick* Games, *a bad Dancer led up the Dances; That he polluted the ſacred Proceſſion; That thoſe Games had been diſapproved by Heaven; and That they muſt cauſe new ones to be celebrated. I neglected,* adds he, *the Admonition of the God, for ſome time, and thought it one of thoſe Deluſions which often deceive Men in the Night. But I ſuffered ſeverely for it. I had a Son, who was very handſome, and very healthy. He fell down dead all on a ſudden, in my own Sight, without any Appearance of being ſick. After this,* Jupiter *appeared to me a ſecond time, and to puniſh me yet more for my Negligence, threw me into the Condition in which you ſee me. I feel ſtrange Pains all over my Body, and my benumbed Limbs refuſe to perform the common Functions of Life.* Whether *Latinus* was an Impoſtor, and feigned Pains which he never felt, or whether the Devil had inflicted this Diſtemper upon him, under the Name of *Jupiter Capitolinus*; it is ſaid, that as faſt in proportion as he diſcharged the Commiſſion he had received in his Dream, to the Senate, ſo faſt he recovered the Uſe of his Limbs. This threw the Senate into an exceeding great Fright, and a greater Uncertainty what to do. Where could they find this Profaner of the *Games*, this Criminal, who had made them odious to *Jupiter?* But the Myſtery at laſt unriddled it ſelf. The Manner of celebrating of theſe *Games* was this. On the Day appointed for it, the Ceremony began with a Proceſſion which was conſecrated to the Honour of the Gods. This Proceſſion, which was led up by the moſt illuſtrious *Romans*, ſet out from the *Capitol*, went round the *Forum*, and paſſed on from thence to the *Great Circus*. The young Children [89] of the *Roman Knights* marched at the Head of it, all on Horſeback. They were followed by the Sons of the Commons, on Foot. Then appeared the Chariots, drawn by four, three, or two Horſes; and the Horſemen who were to run for the Prize. After them came the Wreſtlers, naked to their Waſts: And they were followed by the Muſicians, divided into three Chorus's. The firſt conſiſted of grown Men, whoſe Voices were all Baſes; the ſecond of young Men; and the third of Children, whoſe Voices were *higher*. Theſe Singers had both Wind and String [90] Inſtruments among them. They were followed by the Dancers, dreſſed in Purple, girt with Belts plated with Braſs, carrying Helmets on their Heads, adorned with Plumes of Feathers, Shields on their left Arms, and ſhort Javelins in their Hands. At the Head of them was one of their own Body, who regulated their Motions, and begun the Dances. Their *Entries* were grave [91] and martial: And theſe Dancers, called *Salii*, were choſen out of the chiefeſt of the Nobility. Theſe were followed by another Company of Dancers, who were uſed to dance comical *Entries*. They were covered with Skins, and repreſented Satyrs; and had Caps upon their Heads, made like the Heads of certain Animals. Their Art conſiſted in imitating, and turning into Ridicule, the grave Dances of the *Salii*. All theſe Dancers were attended by a great Number of Muſicians, playing on all ſorts of Inſtruments. After them came a long Train of Men carrying Perfume-Pots, which filled the Air with ſweet Odours. And laſtly, the Proceſſion cloſed with the Statues of the Gods, which were carried on Biers, in great State, and thereby gained the Veneration of the People [92].

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C. Fabius, quoted by *Dion. Hal.* ib.

89 Theſe Children, who were about fourteen or fifteen Years of Age, according to *D. Hal.* were ſo placed, that the Sons of the *Roman Knights* were drawn up in Brigades and Squadrons; whereas the others were formed into Battalions, divided into *Claſſes* and *Centuries*.

90 Theſe muſical Inſtruments were, according to *D. Hal.* a ſhort Flute, which was very antiently in Uſe among the *Romans*, an Ivory Harp with ſeven Strings, and a Lute. In the Courſe of this Hiſtory, we will take Care to give the Reader ſome Idea of the Harmony of the Antients. A difficult and obſcure Subject, which deſerves to be cleared up.

91 Theſe military Dances did not differ from the *Pyrrhick Dance*, ſays *D. Hal.* This Dance was very antiently in Uſe among the *Greeks*; whether invented by *Minerva*, who is ſaid to have been the firſt who ever danced, armed from Head to Foot, to celebrate thereby her Victory over the *Titans*; or whether, (to go up yet higher) invented by the *Curetes*, when, according to the Fables of Paganiſm, they endeavoured by jumping up and down, and clattering of their Arms, to drown *Jupiter*'s Cries, when he was in his Cradle. *Pyrrhus*, the Son of *Achilles*, was, according to *Ariſtotle*, the Inventor of the *Saltatio Pyrrhica*, or the *Pyrrhick Dance*, which he danced in his Armour, round his Father's Funeral-Pile. But ſome aſcribe the Invention of it to another *Pyrrhus*, of *Cydon*, who firſt taught the *Cretans* this Way of dancing in their Armour, and how to quicken their *Cadences*. The *Pyrrick Foot*, conſiſting of two *Breves*, ſhews the Quickneſs of it. This Dance took its Name, according to ſome, from the Word πῦρ, which ſignifies *Fire*, to ſhew the Briskneſs of it; or from the *Greek* Word πυρὰ, *i. e. a Funeral-Pile*, becauſe *Achilles* brought it into Credit, by dancing it round *Patroclus*'s Funeral-Pile. It was very much in uſe among the *Lacedæmonians*. They taught it their Children at five Years of Age.

92 *D. Hal.* after his Account of this Proceſſion, takes occaſion from thence to prove, that the *Romans* were originally *Greeks*. He urges, as a Proof of it, the Agreement between the *Games* celebrated at *Rome*, and thoſe in uſe in antient *Greece*; from whence were brought into *Italy*, the Exerciſes of Wreſtling, and of Racing; their grave and military Dances, and their merry and comical; the Worſhip of the Great Gods, the Demi-Gods and Heroes: and in ſhort, all the religious Ceremonies ever practiſed there.

93 This pompous Proceſſion, adds *D. Hal.* concluded with a Sacrifice which the *Conſuls* and Prieſts appointed

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THIS magnificent 93 Ceremony, which preceded the *Games*, had been inſtituted by *A. Poſthumius*, in Performance of a Vow 94 he made at the Battel of *Regillus*. And it happened on the Morning of the Day of this Proceſſion, that a ſubſtantial 95 Citizen of *Rome* had condemned one of his Slaves to be whipped. He had delivered him into the Hands of his Fellow-Slaves, with Orders to lead him through the Streets of *Rome*, and whip him in the Croſs-ways, in the *Forum*, and in the *Circus* 96; that is, in the Places through which this holy Proceſſion was to paſs. And it was found out, that this was the ſacrilegious Leader of the Dance, with whom *Jupiter* had been offended. Perhaps the whole Fable of the Dream, and Cure of *Latinus*, had been invented by ſome Enemy of this Citizen, who had a Mind to deſtroy him. But be that as it will, he was condemned to pay a great Fine; and Preparations were made to begin the *Games* again 97, with double the Expence as before.

§. XXX. Whilſt *Rome* was thus enjoying Peace, and appointing the Celebration of publick *Games*, *Coriolanus* carried on his Negotiations with the *Volſci*, and ſought nothing but an Opportunity of engaging them to take up Arms againſt the *Romans*. After he had reſided ſome time within their Territories, he ſet out for *Antium*. This was the Capital of a Canton of the *Volſci*; and few Cities in *Italy* were better able to contend with *Rome*. *Coriolanus* was not ignorant, what Terror his Name had left here, ever ſince the laſt Wars. But, beſides that Intrepidity was his Character, he had the Confidence to believe, that he ſhould be able to bring the *Antiates*, thoſe old Enemies of *Rome*, to join with him in purſuing their common Revenge. He likewiſe called to remembrance an old Warrior, an Inhabitant of *Antium*, who was the chief Man there, and had a conſiderable Intereſt throughout the whole Nation. His Name was *Attius Tullus* 98. *Coriolanus* and he had often been Rivals for Glory, in Battel. The former thought he could diſcloſe his Reſentments, and entruſt his Life with no body more

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus*. *Liv. B.2. c.35. Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 481.*

appointed for this Office, offered up to the Divinities of *Rome*. They firſt waſhed their Hands, and then threw Water and Corn upon the Victims; which, after certain Forms of Prayer had been repeated, either had their Throats cut, or were knocked down with Clubs. Then they were skinned, cut in pieces, and ſome Parts of the Entrails, and of every Member, were cut off, and carefully ſtrewed over with Barley-Meal. Theſe Pieces of Fleſh thus prepared, were put into Baskets; and the inferior Servants, who took care of the Sacrifices, preſented them to the chief Sacrificers, who placed them upon the Altars, in order to burn them there. While they were burning, they were ſprinkled, from time to time, with Wine. This whole Ceremonial, adds *D. Hal.* was a direct Copy of that uſed in *Greece*; whence he infers, in favour of the *Romans*, that ſome jealous Nations do them an Injury, in queſtioning their having the Honour of being originally deſcended from the *Greeks*.

94 *D. Hal.* alſo adds, that from this time, the Senate appointed the Celebration of theſe *Games* in Performance of the Vow made by *Aulus Poſthumius*, the *Dictator*. The Republick then appropriated a Fund of 500 *Minæ* of Silver, for defraying the Expences of this Solemnity; which, according to our Reduction of the *Minæ* and *Talent*, comes to about 25000 *French Livres*. This Sum was regularly paid, according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian, to the Time of the firſt *Punick* War.

About 1615 *l.* Sterl. *Arbuthnot.*

95 *Macrobius*, *Saturn. B.* 2. gives this Citizen the Name of *Atronius Maximus:* And he differs from the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians, in placing this Fact much later than the Year 263.

96 That his Puniſhment might be the more publick, and inflicted in the ſight of the whole City, the Maſter of the Criminal ordered the Wretch to be led before the Proceſſion of the *Games*, which *Rome* celebrated to the Honour of *Jupiter*. The Slaves who led him to his Puniſhment, had ſtretched out his Arms upon a forked Piece of Wood, which was tied to his Breaſt and his Shoulders. In this ignominious Condition, he was followed by his Executioners, who frequently whipped the Wretches naked Body with Rods, as he paſſed. The Violence of his Pain extorted a thouſand Imprecations from him, and forced him to ſcrew himſelf into Poſtures which were ſhocking to modeſt Eyes. So indecent a Sight therefore very ill agreed with the Solemnity of the Feſtival. So that upon the bare Relation of *Latinus*, the Senators, being aſſembled, called to Mind this Criminal. His Puniſhment was thought a Profanation, and they were perſuaded they needed to look no farther for the bad Dancer, whoſe irregular Motions had put *Jupiter* in an ill Humour, as being highly unbecoming the Solemnity of his Feſtival. *Plutarch* relates this Fact much as *D. Hal.* does. But he does not ſay, that the Slave who was condemned to Death by his Maſter, had gone before the Dancers in their March. He only ſays, that the Proceſſion, or pompous March of theſe *Games*, paſſed by, as the others were thus cruelly tormenting this Slave: And, that at this Sight the Spectators, enraged at the Barbarity of the Maſter, uttered a thouſand Curſes againſt him, but did not quit their Ranks, or endeavour to deliver the Sufferer out of the Hands of his Executioners. This Inhumanity, adds *Plutarch*, provoked the Aſſiſtants the more, becauſe the *Romans* had then made a Law, requiring all to treat their Slaves with Lenity and Compaſſion. They looked upon them as their Companions in Labour; had a Fellow-feeling with them in their Sufferings; entruſted them with their moſt ſecret Concerns; ſhared their Drudgery with them; and omitted nothing that could alleviate the Yoke of Slavery. This Deſcription ſhews us the Moderation and Simplicity of the firſt *Romans*. This Cuſtom of ſtretching the Arms of a Slave along two Pieces of Wood, which were like a Fork, gave thoſe who underwent this Puniſhment the Name of *Furciferi*. Hence the Word *Furcifer* comes to ſignify a *Rogue*. Agreeably to this Cuſtom, *Plautus* makes one of his Actors reproach a Servant, in this manner,

Et ob eam rem in carcerem te eſſe compactum ſcio,
Et poſtquam es emiſſus, cæſum virgis ſub furcâ ſcio.

97 On this Subject, *Plutarch* tells us what the Superſtition of the *Romans* was, at theſe ſolemn Times. If the leaſt Fault eſcaped them, the whole Proceſſion, and Sacrifices, and *Games* were begun again. If one of the Horſes, in the Chariots in which the Statues of the Gods were carried, happened to ſtumble, or if he that led them took the Reins in his left Hand, theſe were monſtrous Irregularities; and the whole Ceremony was renewed. It ſometimes happened, that the ſolemn Sacrifice was repeated thirty times.

98 *Plutarch* calls this Warrior *Tullus Amphidius*.

safely, than with a brave Man, who might perhaps retain as great an Esteem for him, as he had conceived for *Attius Tullus*. At his House therefore he resolved to seek for an *Asylum*, without any previous Enquiries into his Inclinations. Accordingly, he disguised himself, as *Ulysses* had formerly done, and came into *Antium* in the Evening. Many People looked at him, but no body knew him. When he came to *Tullius*'s House, he went in and wrapped his Head up in his Cloak. *Attius* [99] was at Supper in a private Apartment, when News was brought him, that an unknown Person, of a very majestick Air, but who would not speak, was come in, all on a sudden, and [100] sate down by his *Hearth*. The Novelty of the thing made him rise from Table: and he came to *Coriolanus*, who uncovered his Face, and threw himself at his Feet. *Attius* then asked him who he was. The *Roman* replied, *If you cannot recollect me, nor upon sight of me, remember who I am; I must of necessity discover my self to you. I am that* Marcius, *called* Coriolanus, *who was formerly so formidable to the* Volsci. *The bare mention of the Name must revive in your Breast your antient Enmity; but my present Misery will perhaps abate it. The* Roman *People have been so unjust, and the Senate so weak, as to condemn me to Banishment. I am come to seek a Retreat among your* Domestick Gods, *not to avoid Death; (for should I come to you to preserve my Life?) but what brought me hither, is an earnest Desire of revenging myself upon my Enemies and yours. Is not the very having recourse to you, doing so in some measure? Make the best use then you can of my Misfortune, and employ my Arm, to destroy our common Enemy. You have already had some knowledge of me, in the Wars I made with you. You shall know me better, when I shall fight for you. Resentment will give an Edge to my Valour; and the Experience I have had of the Stratagems of the Enemy, will secure you against them, in the Day of Battel.*

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Plut. Life of *Coriolanus*.

Upon hearing this, *Attius Tullus* received *Coriolanus* graciously, and with great Joy desired him to rise, and offered him his Hand. After he had assured him of the Friendship of the *Volsci*, and confirmed his Hopes; he invited him to Supper, and kept him in his own House. The following Days were spent in private Conferences about the Means of punishing *Rome* for the Mischief she had done the *Volsci*, and the hard Usage *Coriolanus* had received from her. The great Point then was, how to engage the whole Nation to declare against the Republick. The *Volsci* had lost many Men in the former Wars, and more by the Plague, for some Years last past. Though *Tullus* had a great deal of Power in the Diets of the Cantons of his Country, yet he could not promise himself, that he should be able to persuade the whole Nation to take up Arms so soon. But *Coriolanus* proposed an Expedient, whereby he removed all Difficulties. *We must*, says he, *bring the* Romans *to take umbrage at your Countrymen. You know how easily* Rome *is provoked: Which she shall no sooner be, but her Pride will certainly make her threaten the* Volsci, *or commit Hostilities upon them. Then we will blow up the first Sparks of a kindling War, and prevail on the* Volsci *to declare themselves Enemies to the* Romans. They waited some Months for a favourable Opportunity to open the Scene: And in the mean time, *Coriolanus* continued concealed in *Tullus*'s House, unknown to the *Antiates*.

Livy, B. 2; *ibid.*

§. XXXI. The renewing the *Games* at *Rome* had been deferred till after the Election of the new *Consuls*. The People had chosen *C. Julius Iülus* [101], and *P. Pinarius Rufus*; both Men of a pacifick Temper, fearful, and but ill qualified for military Enterprizes. They fixed the Day for the magnificent Show, which *Jupiter* had ordered to be repeated. The Report of it was spread among the neighbouring Nations, and the Concourse of Strangers at *Rome* was incredibly great. The *Volsci* especially, excited and led by *Attius Tullus*, and their own Curiosity, came thither in greater Numbers

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99 *D. Hal.* differs a little from *Plutarch* in his Account of this first Interview. *Tullus*, according to him, was sitting near the *Hearth*, when *Marcius* accosted him in a Suppliant Posture, in order to relate his Misfortune to him. Unless we say, according to another Version, and the Text of the *Vatican* MS. that *Marcius being sitting near the* Hearth, *then threw himself at* Tullus's *Feet*, for whom he was waiting.

100 This was the Custom of Suppliants, in order to raise the Compassion of those to whom they fled for Relief. To draw near the sacred *Hearth*, was, in some measure, to put themselves under the Protection of the *Lares*, or Household-Gods, and the Master of the House. *Homer* represents *Ulysses* sitting in the Ashes in *Alcinous*'s Palace, whose Assistance he came to implore. *Thucydides* says the same thing of *Themistocles*, when he came to the Palace of *Admetes* King of the *Molossi*. He threw himself, says the Historian, at the Feet of this King's Wife, who advised him to take her Son in his Arms, and stand near the *Hearth*, and wait there till *Admetes* returned to his Palace. *Plutarch* adds, in his *Lives of Themistocles* and *Thucydides*, that this Method of entreating was so forcible, that there was no denying the Petition of the Suppliant, without being guilty of Irreligion.

101 *Livy* omits these two *Consuls*. The *Fasti Consulares* give *Pinarius* the second Surname of *Mamercinus*, which was pretty common in the *Pinarian* Family; as will appear in the Sequel of this History.

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Dion. Hal. B. 8. *p.* 483. *Plut.* Life of *Coriolanus*.

than the People of any other Country. The Two-Years-Truce they had concluded with *Rome*, gave them free Liberty to come thither: but as they were eternal Enemies to the *Romans*, they met but with little Hoſpitality, and few Friends. They had therefore no Lodgings, unleſs in ſacred Places, which were ſet apart for the Reception of Strangers on theſe Occaſions. The *Volſci* went about the City in Companies, and their Numbers gave the *Romans* Uneaſineſs; which was encreaſed by the Artifice [102] *Tullus* had concerted with *Coriolanus*; which was this. He ſuborned [103] one of his Nation, a bold impudent Fellow, to come, and pretend to make a Diſcovery to the *Conſuls*, and betray the Intereſt of the *Volſci*. He told them, that *Tullus* was to attack the *Romans* the next Day, with a choſen Body of the braveſt Youth his Nation afforded, and was to burn *Rome*, while they were taken up with the *Games of the Circus*. The *Conſuls* were ſeized with a ſudden Fright, immediately reported the Information to the Senate, and produced the Informer. He confirmed his firſt Depoſition with ſuch an Appearance of Sincerity, as gained him Credit: and the Senate inſtantly commanded all the *Volſci* to leave *Rome* before Sun-ſet, on Pain of Death. The Decree was immediately publiſhed, and the *Conſuls* were ordered to take care to ſee it put in execution. They therefore cauſed all the Gates of the City to be ſhut, except the Gate *Capena*, through which he drove out the *Volſci*. *Attius Tullus* was at the Head of them, and the Number of the pretended Conſpirators was ſurprizingly great. *Tullus* triumphed at his ſucceeding in the Stratagem which *Coriolanus* had ſuggeſted to him: but it was neceſſary to complete it, and make it produce an entire Rupture between the *Volſci* and the *Romans*. The Method he purſued in order thereto, was this; he got before upon the great [104] Road from *Rome* to his own Country; and ſtanding upon an Hillock, ſtopped his Countreymen as they paſſed by, and exaggerated to them the Affront they had received from the *Romans*. *We only*, ſaid he, *of all the different Nations that were in* Rome, *were not thought worthy to ſee the* Games. *Go, and tell in all your Cities and Villages, the diſtinguiſhing Affront the* Romans *have put upon us*. He found no difficulty in exaſperating Minds already prejudiced: and the whole Countrey of the *Volſci* was very ſoon in a Rage. In ſhort, at *Tullus*'s Perſuaſion, a general Diet was called at *Ecetræ*, a City conveniently ſituated in the Center of all the Cantons of the Nation. The Deputies of every City were of opinion, that they were at liberty to declare War with the *Romans*, without waiting till the Truce expired, ſince they had firſt broken it. *Tullus* then adviſed them to ſearch for *Coriolanus*. *No body*, ſays he, *underſtands wherein the Strength and Weakneſs of his Country conſiſts, better than he. He is capable of doing the* Romans *more hurt than we have received from him*. He was brought to the Aſſembly, which he entered with a melancholy Air, and addreſſed himſelf to it thus. *Your Prejudices, illuſtrious* Volſci, *and the Reports which have been ſpread abroad at* Rome *concerning me, may perhaps give you an Averſion to an unhappy Exile. But in truth, the Zeal I formerly had for my Country is all my Crime. A Faction of* Tribunes *is there formed, who ſet no Bounds to their Deſires. They indeed concealed their Ambition under ſpecious Pretences of ſerving the Publick. Five factious Men ſtirred up even the* Conſuls *to deſtroy me; and the Cauſe of their Hatred was the Freedom I took in oppoſing their aggrandizing themſelves. Happy had I been, if I could have deſtroyed a College, ſo pernicious to my Country! My Misfortunes were begun by Jealouſy, carried on by Artifice, and at laſt completed by the Injuſtice of the* Tribunes, *and the Cowardice of the* Patricians. *But, tho' condemned and baniſhed, I thought I ought not to ſink under Adverſity. Nor would* Coriolanus *have thought it worth while to live, unleſs to obtain Revenge. And tho' I had my Choice of many other Nations, to whom I might impart my Reſentments, I have not had recourſe, either to the* Latins *or* Hetrurians. *I choſe rather to apply my ſelf to a People no leſs warlike, than enraged againſt the Tyrants of* Italy. *Forget then the Terror my Arms formerly ſpread among you; or if you remember it, let it be turned into Confidence in a Man, whoſe Intereſt is the ſame with yours, and who devotes himſelf wholly to your Service. I am baniſhed my Country,*

Dion. Hal. B. 8. *p.* 484.

102 *Plutarch* ſpeaks of this Contrivance in ſuch a manner, as makes it credible that it was laid, without the Knowledge of *Coriolanus*. But *Livy* and *D. Hal.* aſſure us, that the Whole was an Artifice of *Coriolanus*. Such a Deceit was indeed unworthy a *Roman* Soul.

103 If we believe *Livy*, it was *Tullus* himſelf who went to the *Conſuls*, with deſign to deceive them. But it is utterly improbable, that *Tullus* ſhould act ſo baſe a Part himſelf; eſpecially ſince he was reſolved to find out ſome fair Pretence for declaring War with the *Romans*. Doubtleſs, they would not have failed reproaching him with ſo ſhameful an Impoſture, and would have taken occaſion from thence to ruin him; or at leaſt to diſhonour him among thoſe of his own Party, by publiſhing the Cheat.

104 *Livy* ſays, it was at *Ferentinum*, that *Tullus* waited for the *Volſci*, in order to ſtir them up, as they paſſed by, to revenge the Affront they had received at *Rome*.

torn

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torn from my Relations, and without hopes of being ever laid in the Sepulchre of my Fathers; Rome, *thou haſt declared me thy Enemy: and know, that I am ſo indeed! I will no longer eſteem* that *my Country, which has thrown me out of her Boſom: The Country which receives and adopts me, will I look upon as my native Land. If the Gods grant us their Protection, illuſtrious* Volſci, *how formidable are you like to be! You may judge of the Opinion the* Romans *have of your Valour, by their Behaviour towards you. They have ſurrounded you with Colonies. They have not reſtored you any of the Cities they took from you, as they have done to other Nations.* Rome *aims at nothing but weakening you. But what a Change will you quickly ſee! Your Union and Conſtancy, in making War upon her without Interruption, will turn that Slavery with which you are threatened, upon herſelf. If my Experience in War and Politicks may give my Advice any Weight, I am of opinion, that we ought to make both Gods and Men Parties in our Cauſe, by making Juſtice the Foundation of the War. The Country, the* Romans *originally poſſeſſed, is neither ſpacious nor fruitful. They could not ſubſiſt, but by their Conqueſts. Demand then the Surrendry of what they have taken from you. But don't imagine, that* Rome *will do you Juſtice. She will be afraid, that the* Æqui [105], *the* Albans, *the* Hetrurians, *and many other Nations, will come in their turn, and demand the Reſtitution of the Lands which have been forced from them by Violence. However, you will at leaſt have the Credit of having taken Arms, only to recover your uſurped Eſtates; and perhaps you will, by that means, ſtir up all the other injured Nations to be active as well as you. Don't let ſlip the preſent Moment, when* Rome *is divided, the Senate jealous of the People, and the* Conſuls *are Men unexperienced in War. As for my ſelf, I ſhall be very well ſatisfied to aſſiſt your Generals with my Counſels, and my Sword, without aſpiring at any Command in your Armies.*

CORIOLANUS's Diſcourſe was received with general Applauſe. A Decree paſſed upon the Spot, whereby the Deputies of the chief Cities were appointed to go to *Rome*. Nor did the *Volſci* delay making Preparations for War, till the Senate had rejected their Demand. They thought the Great *Coriolanus* had brought them all the Valour of the *Romans* along with him. His Prediction indeed proved true. The *Romans* refuſed to ſurrender the Lands the Deputies demanded; and all they brought back, was this haughty Anſwer. *The* Volſci *will be the firſt who take up Arms, but the* Romans *the laſt who lay them down.* This Bravadoe of the *Romans* was reported to the Diet: Upon which, *Tullus* and *Marcius* were unanimouſly named for Generals. And the National Aſſembly was juſt upon breaking up, when *Coriolanus* deſired that the Commanders might have Leave to raiſe an Army of Voluntiers with the utmoſt Expedition; in order to attack the *Romans*, before they had raiſed their Troops, or made due Preparations for the War. Accordingly, the Generals raiſed two Bodies of Troops, by the Conſent of the Nation. With the firſt, *Tullus* covered the Country of the *Volſci*, on the Side of the *Latins:* With the other, *Coriolanus* entered the Territory of *Rome*; and committed inconceivable Devaſtations in it. As this ſudden Irruption was unexpected, *Coriolanus* found many *Roman* Citizens diſperſed abroad about the Country; and theſe he made Slaves. The Cattle, Slaves, Corn, and Inſtruments of Husbandry, he either carried away, or broke to pieces. The Farms he burnt; and all the Country was in Flames. Nevertheleſs, *Coriolanus* did not give himſelf up ſo entirely to his Reſentments, as not to obſerve ſome prudential Meaſures, and ſhew ſome Regard to his old Friends. He ſpared the Houſes of the *Patricians*. By this he increaſed the Suſpicions the Commons had of the Nobility, and kept up a reciprocal Enmity between the two Parties. The *Plebeians* at *Rome* complained of the *Patricians*, and accuſed them of bringing this dreadful Enemy upon them: Whilſt the latter found it difficult to clear themſelves, tho' they made it evident that this was only an Artifice in the General, to keep up mutual Diſcords between them. And their Diſputes had this Conſequence at laſt, that no Body durſt appear in the Field to drive the *Volſci* out of the Territory of *Rome*. So that they returned home loaded with Spoil, and the whole Nation had great Confidence in the famous *Coriolanus*. They made Haſte to raiſe a regular Army, which was to be commanded by the two Generals. It conſiſted partly of old Troops, and partly of Levies newly raiſed. *Coriolanus* was for dividing them into two Bodies, one conſiſting of Veterans, the other of the Youth who had been little inured to Arms. The latter were to remain in the Country to defend it; the former to make Head againſt the Enemy. *Coriolanus* left

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 488.

[105] The *Æqui* formerly inhabited that Country in *Italy*, which is now a Part of the *Compagnia di Roma*, near *Subiaco*, and the Head of the *Teverone*.

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Livy, B. 2. ch. 39. Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 489. Plut. Life of Coriolanus.

his Collegue to chooſe which Army he would command, and what Part he would act; and *Tullus* did the *Roman* Juſtice on this Occaſion. He left him the choſen Troops of his Nation; and contented himſelf with employing the others in repairing the Fortifications of diſmantled Cities, in cleanſing the Ditches round them, building Caſtles for a Retreat for the Peaſants, making Arms, getting ready Convoys of Proviſion, and providing Machines for Sieges.

§. XXXII. *CORIOLANUS*, now at the Head of a noble Army, entered upon Action, without Delay. He firſt turned his Arms againſt the City of *Circæum*. It was a mixed Colony, conſiſting partly of the antient Inhabitants of the Country, and partly of *Romans*, tranſplanted thither. Neither of theſe thought it proper to maintain a Siege; and therefore ſurrendered to the [106] *Volſci*, from whom the City had been diſmembred. So that they were left to enjoy their antient Cuſtoms, and nothing required of them but Clothes, and Corn enough for a Month's Subſiſtence for the Troops. This firſt Expedition terrified the *Romans*. The People renewed their Suſpicions and Murmurs againſt the *Patricians*; as the *Patricians* did their Complaints againſt the People. *It was you*, ſaid the *Patricians*, *who drove away* Coriolanus. *It is you*, replied the People, *who now bring him upon us, by your ſecret Sollicitations.* Urgent Neceſſity often unites divided Minds. The *Tribunes* came at laſt to a good Underſtanding with the Senate, which aſſembled; gave the *Conſuls* a Commiſſion to raiſe Troops in *Rome*, according to Law, and to get as many Auxiliaries as they could from the Allies of the Republick: And the Decree was confirmed by the People. As for the *Latins*, who demanded Succours againſt the *Volſci*, they had Leave to raiſe an Army among themſelves, and give the Command of it to Leaders of their own Nation; tho' both theſe things had been forbidden them in the laſt Treatics of Peace they entered into with the *Romans*. Neceſſity made the Senate recede from that Point of Policy which they had hitherto had ſo much at heart. But what Ravages ſoever *Coriolanus* committed in the *Roman* Colonies, neither of the *Conſuls* marched out of *Rome* to ſtop him. They had now but little time to continue in their Poſts. Their Year ſoon expired: and the *Centuries* appointed [107] *Spurius Nautius*, and *Sextus Furius*, to be their Succeſſors; who entered upon their Office in one of the moſt critical Years of *Rome*. It is ſurprizing, that none of thoſe famous Generals, thoſe Conquerors who had triumphed, and were yet living, were choſen, to act againſt *Coriolanus*. Perhaps the Republick was now more ſenſible than ever, how much one great Man may be miſſed in a State. The Conqueſts of *Coriolanus* followed one another with inconceivable Rapidity. His firſt Attempts were upon the Places the *Romans* had formerly taken from the *Volſci*. From them he went into *Latium:* but the Inhabitants of [108] *Toleria* made ſome Reſiſtance. They defended their Walls with Bravery, till at length the Slingers cleared the Ramparts, which were ſcaled. *Coriolanus* firſt mounted the Ramparts, entered the Place, and ran to ſeize the Gates. He expoſed himſelf to the Darts which were thrown from the Towers, as much as any common Soldier. The Action was renewed in the City; *Coriolanus* fought a long time there, and made a great Slaughter of the Inhabitants. Whilſt he was ſtriking the People with Terror in the Heart of the City, the *Volſci* poured into it in great Numbers by the help of Ladders, and made themſelves Maſters of the Place. The General gave it up to be plundered by the Soldiers; and without reſerving any thing to himſelf, ſet aſide one Part of the Spoil for the Gods, and another for the Decoration of Cities. The Plenty here was ſo great, that it required ſeveral Days to carry away the Riches. *Bola* [109], another City of *Latium*, ſhewed the ſame Courage, and met with the ſame Fate. The Inhabitants would

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Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 492.

106 Antient Authors give us no account of the Origin of the *Volſci*. They only ſay, they had a particular Language of their own. But it is conjectured, that they were a Part of the antient *Opici*, or *Oſci*; and that they drove the *Siculi* out of this Country, which bordered, Weſtward, on the Country of the *Rutuli* and the *Latins*; Northward, on the *Æqui*, the *Hernici*, and the *Marſi*; Eaſtward, on *Samnium* and *Campania*; and Southward, on the *Aurunci*, and the *Tyrrhenian* Sea. The antient Territory of the *Volſci* comprehended one of the moſt conſiderable Portions of the *Campagnia di Roma*, ſince called *Paſiano*, *Velitri*, *Capo d'Antio*, and a little Canton of the *Terra di Lavoro*.

107 The *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian* give *Sp. Nautius* the two Surnames of *Rutilus* and *Viſcellinus*. The *Greek* Tables give *Sex. Furius* the Surname of *Fuſus*. This was the firſt time theſe two Magiſtrates were made *Conſuls*.

108 The antient Geographers ſay nothing more of the City of *Toleria*, than that it ſtood in the Territory of the *Latins*, in the Neighbourhood of *Labicum*, and towards the Frontiers of the *Æqui*.

109 *Bola* was upon the Confines of *Latium*, on the Side of *Præneſte* and *Labicum*. *Livy* calls it *Vola*. It was a Colony from *Alba*, and belonged to the *Latins*, according to *D. Hal.* But *Livy*, on the contrary, ſays, *Bola* was ſubject to the *Æqui*. It is eaſy to reconcile the two Hiſtorians, by ſaying, that *Livy* comprehended the *Æqui* among the Nations of *Latium*. They were indeed Inhabitants of a Part of *New Latium*, as well as the *Hernici* and the *Volſci*.

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not ſurrender by Capitulation, as *Coriolanus* expected; but defended themſelves with Courage. They opened all the Gates of their City, and made Sallies upon the Enemies, from every one of them: And *Coriolanus* not being preſent at this Action, the *Volſci* were repulſed, after the Loſs of a great many Men. But as ſoon as he heard of the Defeat of his Troops, he ran to them, rallied the Fugitives, and made them renew the Attack in the ſame Place. The Beſieged made the ſame Reſiſtance, and the ſame Sallies as before, but with different Succeſs. The *Volſci* retired gradually, and by a feigned Flight drew the Enemy into an Ambuſcade, from which *Coriolanus* attacked them, with a choſen Body of Men. Being therefore obliged to give way, and fly, the Inhabitants of *Bola* endeavoured to recover the Gates of their City, which were left open for them. But the General purſued them, and entered with them. When he had made himſelf Maſter of one Gate, he ſoon was ſo of the whole Place. It was firſt plundered, and then burnt. From hence the Conqueror haſtened to [110] *Labicum:* And to ſtrike the greater Terror into the *Latins*, who inhabited it, he ſet the Corn-fields on Fire. Nevertheleſs, the *Labicani* ſaw the Flames from the Tops of their Ramparts, without any Fear. They ſuſtained the Attacks of the *Volſci* with Courage, and repulſed them in ſeveral Aſſaults. But at laſt, they were overpowered by the Numbers and continual Attacks of the Beſiegers. Their City was taken and plundered, and the Inhabitants all made Slaves. The Torrent grew impetuous, and took its Courſe to [111] *Pedum*, another City of *Latium*, which *Coriolanus* carried by Aſſault. After this, all the Places before which the Conqueror appeared, were ſtruck with Terror at the Sight of him, and ſurrendred without fighting. All the Nations who ſurrendred to him, were treated with great Lenity; *Coriolanus* ſpared the Men, and their Eſtates. He kept his Troops under ſtrict Diſcipline, while he was in their Territories; and that he might not put any of them to Expence, made his Army encamp near the Cities, without ſuffering his Soldiers to enter them. *Treba* [112], and many other [113] Places, which opened their Gates to him, experienced his Clemency. *Liv. B. 2. c. 39.*

§. XXXIII. It is ſurprizing that the *Romans* did not appear in the Field, to divert the approaching Storm. Was it that the Republick now wanted Generals to make her formidable? Doubtleſs, *Rome* had then no Commanders to head her Troops; the preſent *Conſuls* were neither of them Soldiers. Beſides, the People had no Confidence in the *Patricians*; and the Allies of the Republick were not in a Condition to relieve her. Several of them had gone over to the Enemy; the *Æqui* had joined the *Volſci:* And in ſhort, the ſeveral Nations of *Italy* came in Crowds to learn, under a *Roman* General, how to make War againſt *Rome*.

110 *Labicum* was an antient Colony from *Alba*; it ſtood in *Latium*, 15 Miles, or 120 *Stadia* from *Rome*. If we believe ſome, particularly *Albertus Leander*, the City now called *Valmonté*, was built upon the Ruins of old *Labicum*. But it is evident that he muſt be miſtaken, ſince *Valmonté* is about 30 Miles from *Rome*; which does not at all agree with *Strabo*, who ſays, *B.* 5. that *Labicum* was but 120 *Stadia* from thence. *Cluverius* and *Kircher* pretend it ſtood where *Zagaruolo* now is. *Holſtenius* is of Opinion, that we ought not to look any where for its old Situation, but where *La Colonna* now ſtands.

111 The City of *Pedum*, formerly ſituated between *Præneſte* and *Tibur*, was not in being in *Livy*'s Time; who ranks it among the Cities of *Old Latium*. *Cluverius* gueſſes it ſtood where *Gallicano* now is. *Holſtenius* thinks its Situation ſuits better with *Zagaruolo*. *Kircher* places it in the Neighbourhood of *Oſteria d' Oſa*. *Pedum* was reckoned to be 9 Miles from *Rome*; *i. e.* 4 Miles from the *Foſſa Cluilia*, which was 5 Miles from *Rome*.

112 The City of *Trebia*, which *Livy* mentions in this Place, was in the Country of the *Æqui*, at a little Diſtance from the Springs of the *Anio*. It is doubtleſs the ſame Place which *Frontinus* and *Ptolomy* mention, under the Name of *Treba*, and which the Natives now call *Tréva*, or *Trévé*. It is plain *Livy* could not mean another City of the ſame Name, which *Pliny* places in *Umbria*, and the Inhabitants of which he calls *Trebiates*. Nor could he mean the City antiently called *Trebulla Mutuſca*, which *Arnobius*, *B.* 3. *Cont. Gentes*, calls *Trebia*. This laſt City belonged to the *Sabines*. Now it is certain, *Coriolanus* neither carried his Arms into *Umbria*, nor *Sabinia*, ſince he had no Deſign, but to go directly to *Rome*, and take all the Cities he found in his Way. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be owned, that neither *D. Hal.* nor *Plutarch* ſay any thing of the taking of *Trebia*, by *Coriolanus*. Add to this, that *Trebia* was at a pretty great Diſtance from *Labicum*. Which made *Cluverius* think, that the Copyiſts may have been guilty of a Miſtake, in taking *Trebia* for *Toleria*, the Siege of which is deſcribed by both the *Greek* Hiſtorians. It is certain, this laſt mentioned Place was in the Neighbourhood of *Labicum*, and pretty near the Rout *Coriolanus*'s Army took.

113 Among theſe Places *Livy* reckons *Satricum*, *Longula*, *Poluſca*, *Corioli*, *Corbio*, and *Vitellia*. *D Hal.* adds, that *Coriolanus* turned his Arms againſt *Corioli*, whoſe Inhabitants opened their Gates to him, and furniſhed him with as much Proviſions as he deſired. From thence, continues the *Greek* Author, he marched at the Head of his Army, directly to *Bovillæ*, a conſiderable City in *Old Latium*. He beſieged it; and the Beſieged defended it with a Bravery which ſurprized the Beſiegers. A great many *Volſci* periſhed in this Undertaking. But at laſt, after a long and vigorous Reſiſtance, it was taken by Storm. Such of the Conquered as refuſed to lay down their Arms, were put to the Sword. The reſt were made Priſoners of War. *Coriolanus* reſerved nothing to himſelf, of all the valuable Spoils, and immenſe Riches, which he found in this City. All was diſtributed among the Soldiers. So ſignal a Victory filled the neighbouring Towns with ſuch Terror, that they all immediately made their Submiſſions to the Conqueror.

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Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 496.

So that *Coriolanus*'s Army was very numerous, when he ſate down before *Lavinium*. This City was a kind of Mother to the *Roman* Nation, and thought it ſelf obliged to continue faithful to it. The *Lavinians* fought ſeveral Battles under their Walls, before the City was inveſted; and the Conqueror was obliged to ſtarve it. His whole Army watched all the Avenues to it, to prevent either Proviſions or Succours from being carried into it. This was the firſt Siege which took up *Coriolanus* any conſiderable Length of Time; and whilſt he was obſtinately bent upon taking *Lavinium* in Form, the *Romans* had ſome Thoughts of appeaſing this brave Citizen, whoſe Baniſhment was bringing on the Ruin of the Republick. They thought *Lavinium* was the laſt Place the Conqueror would ſtop at before he came to the Capital; and the People, who were formerly ſo furious againſt *Marcius*, were now continually crying out, to have the Decree of his Baniſhment repealed. And, which is ſcarce credible, the Senate, who formerly protected the Exile, now refuſed to comply with the Deſires of the People. It was perhaps an Obſtinacy in the *Conſcript Fathers*, never to repeal any Law, which the People had paſſed, and the Senate confirmed. Or perhaps they thereby intended, either to enflame the Deſires of the People, and oblige them to force their *Tribunes* to repeal their own Decree; or at leaſt, to clear themſelves from the Suſpicion they lay under of maintaining a Correſpondence with *Coriolanus*. However, the *Roman* General no ſooner underſtood the Oppoſition the Senate made to his Return, but he divided his Troops. He left one Part of them before *Lavinium*, to carry on the Siege; and marched with the other towards *Rome*. So that the *Volſci* came and encamped at forty *Stadia* Diſtance from the City, in a Place called [114] *Foſſa Cluilia*. This greatly increaſed the Fright of the People in *Rome*. Some ran upon the Ramparts without Orders; others, without Leaders, marched to defend the Gates; others went up upon the *Capitol*, to guard it; and every Man armed his Slaves to defend his own Houſe. *Coriolanus* arrived pretty late in the Evening, in the Place where he encamped; and his Army ſpent the Night there in Tranquillity, without giving the City any Alarm. Nay, the beſt part of the next Day paſſed over, and ſtill the General of the *Volſci* did not ſtir. This made it believed in *Rome*, that *Coriolanus* only waited for an Opportunity to reconcile himſelf to his Country. The Senate therefore thought it neceſſary to ſend a Deputation to him, conſiſting of the moſt illuſtrious Senators, who had formerly been his beſt Friends. Their Names are ſufficient to ſhew what Rank they bore in the Republick. They were, *M. Minucius*, *Poſtumius Cominius*, *Sp. Lartius*, *P. Pinarius*, and *Q. Sulpitius*: And the Reader may remember, they had all been *Conſuls*.

§. XXXIV. When *Coriolanus* underſtood that a Deputation was coming to him from *Rome*, he took a Pleaſure in humbling theſe proud Republicans. He gave them Audience ſitting, and ſurrounded with the moſt conſiderable Nobility of the *Volſci*. *Minutius*, who had been his chief Advocate, was their Speaker; and his Speech was to this Effect: *We have offended you*, Coriolanus, *and you have revenged your ſelf; we are not ſurprized at it. We are not ignorant, how keen the Reſentments of an injured brave Man are: but don't you carry them too far? The Siege with which you threaten* Rome, *is a common Miſchief to all the Inhabitants. Have all then deſerved your Anger? The Senate always protected you. Were not the* Patricians *your Defenders or Interceſſors, from the Time the* Tribunes *firſt moved to have us condemn you to die, to the very Day of your Baniſhment? Nay, as to the People themſelves, by whoſe Suffrages you were baniſhed, were they all guilty of paſſing the Decree? Nine* Tribes *declared themſelves in your Favour. But what Injury have ſo many Women and Children done you, whom you are going to confound together in one common Deſtruction? How have the Innocent deſerved to be involved in the ſame Fate with the Guilty? And what Anſwer could you make to your own Anceſtors, if they were to ask you, what they have done, to deſerve to ſee their Tombs opened, and their Bones ſcattered abroad by your Troops? What Anſwer will you make the Gods, who protected you in your Infancy, when they call you to an Account for the Profanation of their Altars, and the Demolition of their Temples? Revenge after great Injuries is very ſweet; we grant it. But nevertheleſs, ought not Men, after all, to ſet ſome Bounds to their Fury? Are not the Devaſtation of our Fields, the burning our Granaries, the ſacking our Colonies, and the reducing our Allies to Deſpair; are not all theſe Scenes of Horror ſufficient*

114 We have already ſpoken of this *Foſſa Cluilia*, *B. 2. p.* 77. It was, according to *Livy*, *B.* 1. towards the *Appian Way*, five Miles from *Rome*. This Diſtance agrees with the forty *Stadia* of *D. Hal.* ſuppoſing every Mile to contain eight *Stadia*.

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to ſatisfy your Revenge for the Injuries you have ſuffered? Fortune indeed ſmiles upon you, and ſhe ſeconds that Valour with which you was born, and which you firſt exerciſed among us. But ſtill theſe Things are the Gifts of Heaven: And who knows how long the Gods will continue them to you? It is therefore your Buſineſs to uſe the Advantages of Nature and Fortune with Moderation. A Pride which knows no Bounds, often meets with mortifying Revolutions. You may now make Peace with us, without any Diſhonour to your ſelf. The Senate will make a Decree for your Return, and the People paſs a Law for it. We come hither to engage the publick Faith for it, and to be our ſelves the Guarantees of it. Return, Coriolanus, *and ſee your Relations again. Your Country it ſelf calls you back, even more for your ſake than her own. You know the Condition* Rome *is in, and are not ignorant of her Strength. She wants neither Soldiers, nor Allies, nor Generals. Our Broils have been the only Reaſon that you have not been made ſenſible of it: But your Obſtinacy will put an End to them, and then Experience will ſhew you that the Republick is invincible, even in the worſt of Times. Don't judge of the Conqueſt of* Rome, *by thoſe of* Pedum *and* Bola. *Remember, rather, that your* Æqui *and* Volſci *have not changed their Natures, ſince you have had the Command of them. Their paſt Loſſes have taught them to tremble at the Sight of* Romans. *Whereas the Courage of the latter will increaſe, in proportion to the Neceſſity to which you ſhall reduce them. And what will become of you,* Coriolanus, *if the Succeſs ſhould not anſwer your Expectations? When you are hated by your own Countrymen, deſpiſed by thoſe among whom you ſojourn, conſidered and accuſed by them as a raſh Man, who made them undertake more than he could enable them to accompliſh, what will you not have Reaſon to fear from their Reſentments? Where will you fly for Refuge? At preſent* Rome *opens her Boſom to receive you; throw your ſelf therefore into her Arms. Come and enjoy the tender Love of a Mother, who laments the Loſs of you; the Careſſes of a faithful Wife, and the Embraces of your Children—— Avoid the odious Appellations of a bad Son, a cruel Husband, and an unnatural Father. Avoid the Remorſe which attends tragical and barbarous Actions. In ſhort, don't deliver your ſelf up a Prey to the Furies, thoſe Miniſters of Vengeance upon wicked Men, who ſuffer them to enjoy no Reſt or Peace after the Commiſſion of great Crimes.*

Thus ſpake *Minutius*. And *Coriolanus* gave him an haughty Anſwer, in theſe Words. *I have more Parts to act than one. I am* Coriolanus; *I am an injured* Roman; *I am the General of the* Volſci. Coriolanus, *Illuſtrious Deputies, has not forgotten the Obligations you laid upon him. He remembers your Friendſhip with Pleaſure. You have continued it to him, even ſince his Baniſhment. You have been the moſt avowed Protectors of my Mother, my Wife, and my Children. So that my Acknowledgments to you, can never be too great. Make your Demands, and you ſhall inſtantly ſee how far my Gratitude will carry me. But, as an injured* Roman, *is a bare Re-eſtabliſhment in* Rome *a ſufficient Satisfaction for what I have ſuffered? With what Pleaſure can I return to a City where Injuſtice reigns, and Vice enjoys the Honours which are due to Virtue? Conſider the Men who govern there, and the Man whom you have driven thence? The taking of* Corioli, *and the Battle I won, before I was ſo much as a* Centurion, *are ſuch Monuments of my Glory, as eclipſe that of your greateſt Generals. And yet, what Benefit did I reap from them? Tho' I was refuſed the* Conſulſhip, *and denied publick Honours, was any Defect in Birth, or Libertiniſm of Life laid to my Charge? You never yet puniſhed Intemperance and Debauchery with Baniſhment: But you have driven me from* Rome, *tho' known to be a Man both temperate and frugal! What then was my Crime? It was my not conſenting to have the publick Authority entirely in the Hands of factious* Tribunes, *and a ſenſeleſs Populace. It was my inclining to reſtore it to the Nobility. This was the Tranſgreſſion for which the Senate it ſelf delivered me up to the Fury of the People. Yes, it is they, it is the Senators I accuſe of being the Authors of my Misfortunes. The Injuſtice of the People indeed condemned me, but it was the Weakneſs of the Senate which put me within the Reach of their Power: So that Corruption and Iniquity are become univerſal in the Republick. And yet you would have me return to it. How ſhall I be ſafe there? What a ſhameful Life ſhall I be forced to drag on in* Rome? *Muſt I, to raiſe my ſelf from the Duſt, be forced to flatter the inſolent* Curiæ, *and beg their Favour? Or ſhall I be able to live independently of them, as I formerly did, and ſpeak my Opinion with Freedom? Who will promiſe me, that I ſhall not meet with a* Sicinnius *or* Decius, *whoſe crafty Intrigues and Intereſt will again arm the Populace to rob me of my Life? How can I be aſſured, that the Devaſtations made on your Lands, the Conqueſt of your Cities,*

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 502. Plut. ibid.

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ties, and the Slavery of your Allies, will not be laid as freſh Crimes to his Charge, who has already been adjudged worthy of Death for bare Words? To deſire me to return to Rome, *is to deſire to bring back a Victim to the Altar, which will always be in danger of being ſacrificed, on the leaſt Suſpicion. I grant, this will never be done with your Conſent; but the Danger is certain. You accuſe me of Impiety. Have I been guilty of any towards* Rome? *I ſay, even towards* Rome, *that cruel Step-Mother, whom no Services could oblige, and who has thrown me out of her Boſom. The Country of the* Volſci *is now my Mother. She has forgotten the Miſchiefs I did her; ſhe received me, when a Wanderer, a Fugitive, and poor: She has been profuſe in beſtowing her Honours, her Magiſtracy, and the Command of her Armies upon me. Is it impious to abandon profeſſed Enemies, and is it not ſo to betray the moſt affectionate Friends, when they place all their Confidence in me? No; I am not like you,* Romans. *I know how to acknowledge Obligations, and adhere to thoſe who have done me Honour. Let* Rome *her ſelf experience the Rage of thoſe revengeful Furies, with which you threaten me! She is an unnatural Mother, who has caſt off a Son, who was uſeful to her, and zealous for her Glory. As to me, the Gods ſufficiently ſhew they approve of my Reſentments. Succeſs attends me, wherever I go: And Victory, which follows me, proclaims to all* Italy, *that Heaven has declared it ſelf in my Favour. Thou, even thou, guilty* Rome, *ſhalt ſoon feel whoſe Cauſe the Gods eſpouſe! Thus much I purpoſe as an injured* Roman.

BUT the Reſolutions of the General of the Volſci *are theſe. Whatever Remains of Affection he may have for* Rome, *how much ſoever his Compaſſion may be raiſed, at the Proſpect of the terrible Condition to which ſhe is going to be reduced, yet it is not in his Power to preſerve her. The Nation I ſerve impoſe Laws upon me which I cannot diſobey. It is to her you muſt apply your ſelves, in a ſuppliant Manner, for Peace. Nevertheleſs, I will preſume, that in Regard to the Gods who protected me in my Infancy, and the particular Friendſhip I have for you, Illuſtrious Deputies, ſhe will readily ſhew you Favour on the following Conditions.* 1ſt. *Reſtore the* Volſci *all the Country you detain, and all the Cities you have taken from them; and withdraw all your Colonies with which you have inveſted them.* 2dly. *Make ſuch a Peace with them, as ſhall leave them in perfect Liberty; and let mutual Oaths unite you to the* Volſci, *as they do to the* Latins. 3dly. *Make the Senate ſenſible of the Injuſtice of invading other Mens Properties, and ſhew them what Puniſhment is due to thoſe who are guilty of it. Let them know, once for all, that if they will uſurp the Cities of their Neighbours, they muſt expect to ſee in their Turn, their own People, not excepting their Women and Children, juſtly reduced to Slavery. And add to this, that they do Wrong to accuſe* Coriolanus *of the Misfortunes with which* Rome *is threatened; they ought rather to aſcribe them to their own Ambition, and their unjuſt Uſurpations. This is all the Anſwer you are to expect from the General of your Enemies, who allows you thirty Days to conſider of it. In the mean time, I will, for your ſake,* Minucius, *draw off my Army, which cannot continue here without great Detriment to* Rome; *but will certainly return at the Time appointed to receive your Anſwer.*

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 509.

§. XXXV. It was *Coriolanus*'s Fate to be the Object of Jealouſy, wherever he came. The Glory of the *Roman* was too bright; it even dazzled the Eyes of the *Volſci* themſelves. Who would imagine, that the ſame *Attius Tullius*, who received him into his Houſe, and by a voluntary Ceſſion placed him at the Head of the Army which made *Rome* tremble, ſhould be entirely changed all on a ſudden, and become the moſt implacable of his Enemies! *Coriolanus* had given this unjuſt Rival no Offence, but by the great Glory of his Exploits. It is true, many of the Soldiers left the unactive Army *Tullius* commanded, to go and gather Laurels in the Field *Coriolanus* had opened: And it is true, his Collegue's Reputation eclipſed his, and drew all the Attention of the People to the brave Exile. But, after all, the Virtue of the *Roman* was all the Cauſe he gave for the Uneaſineſs of the envious *Tullius*. Nevertheleſs, he from this time reſolved on the Deſtruction of *Coriolanus*. Firſt, he whiſpered about ſecret Calumnies, and reported, that the *Roman* was a Traitor, and kept a ſecret Correſpondence with *Rome*. Theſe Suſpicions he confirmed by the thirty Days Reſpite *Coriolanus* had granted his Country. He charged it upon him as a Crime, that he had let ſlip the Opportunity of beſieging the City, and given the *Romans* time to recover their Strength, and prepare for a Siege: And it was eaſy for a Native to form a Party againſt a Foreigner, who had neither old Friends, nor zealous Protectors in the Country, into which he had been tranſplanted.

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It ſeldom happens, that Men of true Merit are of a ſuſpicious Temper. *Coriolanus* knew nothing either of *Tullus*'s Jealouſy, or of the Plots he was laying againſt him. He employed the thirty Days Truce, he had granted the *Romans*, in putting the Allies of *Rome* out of a Condition to aſſiſt her. He was not aware, that new Conqueſts would enflame the Wound *Tullus* had received; but marched into *Latium*. The firſt Place he beſieged was *Longula*; which was taken, and its Inhabitants reduced to Slavery. From thence he haſtened to *Satricum*, and made himſelf Maſter of it. All the Spoil he found in it, he ſent to *Ecetræ*. *Setia* [115] next felt the Weight of his Arms: and the Conqueſt of it was followed by that of *Poluſca* [116], *Albietum* [117], and *Mugilla* [118]. *Coriolanus* finiſhed all theſe Expeditions with the taking *Corioli* [119], which he reſtored to its old Maſters. The ſignalizing the thirty Days of the Truce with ſo many Victories, ought doubtleſs to have removed the Suſpicions *Tullus* had inſtilled into the Minds of the *Volſci*, concerning the Fidelity of their General: And no ſooner were they expired, but he returned and encamped before *Rome* with all his Forces.

§. XXXVI. Whilſt the Conqueror was buſy in the Country of the *Latins*, the *Romans* ſpent their thirty Days in Deliberations. The Temper of theſe Republicans cannot be better known, than by the Reſult of the Councils of the Senate. Their *Roman* Pride did not at all abate, notwithſtanding the preſent Extremity. They reſolved, never to receive Law from their Enemy, nor ſo much as ever to treat of Peace with him, till he had laid down his Arms, retired into the Country of the *Volſci*, ſent an Embaſſy to *Rome*, and the *Roman*-People had conſented to accept of his Terms. This we ſhall ſee will be the Conduct of the Republick in the moſt tempeſtuous Times. She will rather chuſe to expoſe herſelf to utter Ruin, than ſtoop. The Senate now choſe ten new Deputies to carry their Anſwer to *Coriolanus*, exhort him to lay down his Arms, and to procure an Embaſſy to be ſent from the *Volſci* to *Rome*, to treat of a Peace. Upon theſe Conditions, they gave him room to hope, that they might reſolve upon entering into an Alliance with the Nation, whoſe Troops he commanded. But *Coriolanus* diſdained to anſwer the long Harangue of the Deputies. He only told them, in two Words, that they gave a bad Turn to a bad Affair, and that he would give the Republick but three Days to change her Reſolution. The Deputies would have replied, but the General would not hear them; he ordered them to leave the Camp, and threatened to treat them as Spies, if they did not quit it immediately. The Senate was much offended, and more affrighted, at the Report of the Deputies: but yet, did not think proper to march an Army into the Field. The *Romans* could neither confide in their *Conſuls*, nor their Troops. Their Valour ſeemed entirely ſunk, and their Wiſdom changed into Stupidity. Their Fears made them underſtand all *Auguries* in a bad Senſe, and interpret the *Sybilline* Books to their Diſadvantage. All that could be done in this univerſal Dejection, was to appoint every one his Poſt, either on the Ramparts, the Towers, or the *Capitol*: And as their laſt Remedy, they had recourſe to Religion; which, it is highly credible, they thought *Coriolanus* could not but be affected with. All the Miniſters of the Gods in *Rome* were ordered to march out of the City, with great Pomp, and in good Order. This Deputation was, without doubt, very venerable, whether we conſider the ſacred Functions they were employed in, or the Nobility and Dignity of the Perſons, who then exerciſed the Offices of *Pontifices*, *Prieſts*, *Sacrificers*, *Salii*, and *Augurs*. We may alſo conclude, that the *Veſtals* made a Part of the Deputation. This ſacred Company was dreſſed in the magnificent Habits they wore on Days of Ceremony, and every one carried in his Hand the Symbols of his Office. They harangued the General, and without abating any thing of the Pretenſions of the Senate, exhorted him to lay down his Arms, return into the Country of the *Volſci*, and ſend an Embaſſy from thence to demand a Peace. But the Propoſal was no better received from the *Pontifices*, than it had been from the firſt Deputies. They were ſent back to the City, with Orders to declare to the Senate, that the Attack would immediately be

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 509.

115 *Setia* was become a *Roman* Colony, ſince the *Romans* had taken it from the *Volſci*. Hiſtorians place it in the Country about the *Pontin Lake*, near the River *Amaſene*, between *Privernum* and *Norba*. If we believe Geographers, it was the preſent *Sezza*.

116 Authors ſay nothing of *Poluſca*, more than that it was a City of the *Volſci*, which had become ſubject to the *Romans*.

117 This City was probably not far off from thoſe beforementioned. We can give no certain Account of its Situation.

118 *Papirius*'s Surname of *Mugillanus*, inclines us to believe, there was a City called *Mugilla*. But antient Authors have not determined the Situation of it.

119 We have already obſerved, that *Corioli* was ſubdued by *Coriolanus*. And we muſt therefore add, either that this City ſhook off the Yoke, immediately after the General of the *Volſci* had made himſelf Maſter of it; or elſe, that we ought to embrace the Opinion of *Sylburgius*, *Gelenius*, and *Cluverius*, who think we ought to read *Cora* inſtead of *Corioli*. We have ſpoken of the City of *Cora*, *B. 2. page* 94.

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begun, if they did not ſubmit to the Conditions *Coriolanus* had propoſed. The *Romans* therefore reſolved to hazard all the Dangers of a Siege: The Conſternation among the Citizens was univerſal. The Women ran in Crowds to vent their Deſpair at the Feet of the Altars. All the Temples were filled with them. But the Ladies of moſt Diſtinction went up to the *Capitol*, threw themſelves proſtrate before the Statue of *Jupiter*, who was there worſhipped, and implored his Protection with great Lamentations. Among the reſt, the illuſtrious *Valeria* ſignalized her Piety there. She was Siſter to the great *Poplicola*, and had ſurvived her dear Brother. Her Character was anſwerable to her Birth, and ſhe ſupported the Reputation of her Family, by a conſtant Regularity. It was ſhe, who ſeized with a ſudden Fit of Enthuſiaſm in the Temple of *Jupiter*, inſpired [120] the Ladies aſſembled with a Reſolution, which ſaved *Rome*. *Let us not ſuffer ourſelves*, ſaid ſhe to them, *to ſink under our preſent Afflictions. What Men could not do, Women may perhaps accompliſh. We may perhaps ſoften the Heart of a ſevere Conqueror. Arms are their Province, Perſuaſion is ours. Let us go, in this negligent Dreſs, to the Houſe of* Veturia [121], *that Mother ſo tenderly beloved by* Coriolanus. *Let us agree to follow her in a Body to her Son's Camp, and entreat her to join her Tears with ours, for the Deliverance of her Country.* This Diſcourſe of *Valeria* ſeemed to be inſpired by the Gods. All the Ladies followed her, and flattered themſelves, that *Coriolanus* could not be ſo inſenſible, as to hold out againſt the Tears of his Mother, his Wife, and his Children, when attended with all the Ladies of *Rome*.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 511.

§. XXXVII. Whether this laſt Expedient was tried by Order of the Senate, or not, is uncertain. But they ſeem at laſt to have connived at it. Be that as it will, the *Roman* Ladies came all together to *Veturia*'s Houſe. They found the Mother-in-law, and Daughter-in-law, ſitting together, and buſy in Work proper for the Sex. When *Veturia* ſaw them crowd in upon her: *What has brought you*, ſaid ſhe to them, *to an Houſe overwhelmed with Sorrow? You*, replied Valeria, *are the only Refuge we have left in our Misfortunes. We have not been the Cauſes of your Grief. We come to entreat you to preſerve our Eſtates, our Honour, and our Liberty, from the* Volſci. *Come away then, with* Volumnia, *and bring with you theſe tender Children, who may ſoften their Father. Your Preſence will doubtleſs perſuade him, to prefer the Preſervation of his deſtitute Family to the Purſuit of his Reſentments, and the Honours he may expect from the* Volſci. *His Return to you, is the leaſt Favour you can hope from a Son, who has always been grateful and obedient. You will by this means purchaſe as much Glory, as the* Sabine *Women did, who reconciled their Fathers to their Husbands. Nothing can be more glorious*, Veturia, *than for you to attempt at the ſame time, to recover your Son, deliver your Country, and ſave the Lives of your Fellow-Citizens. Make no delay, ſince the Danger is great, and requires a ſpeedy Remedy.* At theſe Words, *Veturia* burſt out into Tears; recollected her ſelf a Moment, and replied thus: *Alas! my Intereſt in* Coriolanus *is but a poor Refuge. What Impreſſions can Women make upon a Warrior ſpirited by Revenge? I am not wanting in Affection to my Country: but what am I now in my Son's Eyes, more than other* Roman *Women, who ſhares the Averſion he has for* Rome? *This he ſufficiently ſhewed at his Departure into Baniſhment.* Coriolanus, *ſaid he to us, is now loſt to you for ever. I have no longer either Mother, or Wife, or Children. I renounce all, even my domeſtick Gods. Can we then hope to ſoften ſo hard an Heart? What ſhall we perſuade him to do? What? To love a Country which has treated him ſo injuriouſly? To betray a Nation which has received him into its Boſom? Shall we deſire him to ſhew Compaſſion to a People, who had none for him? Let me alone*, Valeria; *let me ſpend my unhappy Days, deſtitute and neglected; and don't force me to undergo the Mortification of a Refuſal, which will neither do Honour to* Coriolanus, *nor his Mother.*

These Words of *Veturia* were followed by the Lamentations both of *Valeria*, and the Ladies who accompanied her; but after ſhedding many Tears, they renewed their Application to *Coriolanus*'s Mother. As they were, for the moſt part, her Relations and Friends, they employed Careſſes and Entreaties; and ſeveral of them even fell down at her Feet. Till at length ſhe complied, and ſuffered the Women and Men who were inclined to attend her, to conduct her to her Son's Camp. She took *Volumnia*, *Coriolanus*'s Wife, and her two [122] Grandſons, along with her: and early in the Morning, *Ve-*

120 If we believe *Livy*, it is not certain that the *Roman* Ladies did of themſelves reſolve to go to *Coriolanus*, and endeavour to perſuade him. *Id publicum conſilium, an muliebris timor fuerit, parvum invenio. D. Hal.* leaves no room to doubt, but *Valeria* was the ſole Author of this Expedient.

121 *Plutarch* gives *Coriolanus*'s Mother the Name of *Volumnia*, and his Wife that of *Virgilia*. But in this he is contradicted by moſt antient Authors.

122 According to *D. Hal.* after *Veturia* had complied with the earneſt Requeſts of the *Roman* Ladies, they went to give the *Conſuls* an Account of the De-

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turia and her Train ſet out in their Chariots, and took the Road of *Tuſculum*, where the *Volſci* were then encamped. As ſoon as the Company was ſet out from *Rome*, the Scouts of the *Volſcian* Army brought *Coriolanus* word, that a great Number of *Roman* Ladies were upon the Road, doubtleſs to make new Supplications to him. The General, who did not imagine it was his Mother and Wife, reſolved to hold out reſolutely againſt theſe new Deputies. In the mean time, the Chariots drew near; and a *Volſcian* Officer, who knew *Veturia* and *Volumnia*, gave *Coriolanus* notice who they were. Upon this the General, already half ſubdued, walked out of his Tent, and met his Mother. He ordered the *Lictors* of his Guard to lower their *Axes*, and lay down their *Faſces*, before her. This was a Ceremony paid to the great Magiſtrates by inferior, whenever they met. *Coriolanus* thereby ſignified, that his Mother's Power was ſuperior to his. Inflexible as he was, he could not ſee the melancholy Appearance *Veturia* made, the Tears ſhe ſhed, and the Mourning Habit ſhe had on, without relenting. He therefore came to her, to embrace her; but the haughty Matron, inſtead of being the Suppliant ſhe appeared to be, aſſumed the imperious Mother, and addreſſed her ſelf to him in theſe Words. *Before I receive your Embraces*, Coriolanus, *let me know, whether I am to receive a grateful or an ungrateful Son into my Arms? Am I now your Mother, or your Captive? Ah, Son, have I lived ſo long, only to ſee you firſt baniſhed, and then become my Enemy? Could'ſt thou indeed be cruel enough to ravage the Country which gave thee Birth? Was not thy Rage abated at the ſight of thy native Land? Could'ſt thou ſee* Rome, *without ſaying to thy ſelf, There are my* Domeſtick Gods; *There dwells a Mother who loves me, a Wife who is dear to me, and Children whoſe Father I am? Wretched* Veturia! *Did I then bring a Son into the World, only to ſee him ruin my Country?* Rome! *I became a Mother only to deſtroy thee! Thou would'ſt have enjoyed thy Liberty to this Day, had I been barren! But thou ſhalt ſoon have thy Revenge on me for being thus criminally fruitful! No; I will not ſurvive my Son's Diſhonour, and thy Miſery!* Coriolanus, *thou ſhalt either ſet* Rome *at Liberty, or walk over thy Mother's Body, to go and beſiege it.* Thus ſpake *Veturia*, and the proud *Roman* was ſtruck dumb at her Preſence. She put a favourable Conſtruction upon his Silence, and went on thus. *You fancy*, Coriolanus, *it is a glorious thing to have given ſo much way to your Reſentments. But conſider that it is a more ſhameful one, to grant your Country and your Mother nothing. This is a double Rebellion; it is monſtrous Ingratitude. You have revenged your ſelf upon* Rome; *but what have you done for me? The only Favour I ask, is to deliver our City from the preſent Danger; and ſhall even that be deny'd me?* This ſaid, ſhe fell down at her Son's Feet; and *Volumnia*, and her Children, threw themſelves proſtrate on the Ground. At this Sight, *Coriolanus* could hold out no longer; but amidſt a ſtruggle with different Paſſions, cried out: *You diſarm me, Mother. May the Gods grant, that my reſpectful Compliance may not turn to my Deſtruction! You gain a Victory over your Son, which is indeed advantageous to your Country, but will prove fatal to him.* When he had ſaid this, he retired into his Tent with his Mother, Wife, and Children. Here, being in private with his Family, he con-

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 523.

ſign they had formed, for the Preſervation of the Republick. The two Magiſtrates could not but applaud ſo generous an Undertaking. Nevertheleſs, they aſſembled the Senate, and laid it before them. But the Senators were divided in Opinion. Some ſaid, That to permit the *Roman* Ladies to go into the Enemy's Camp with their Children, was evidently running the hazard of utterly deſtroying *Rome* at once: That this would be giving the *Volſci* a new means of ſubduing the City without ſtriking a Stroke: That to deliver up their Wives and Children, in this manner, into the Power of the Enemy, was to deliver up themſelves, and the moſt valuable Securities of their Love to their Country, to the Vengeance of *Coriolanus:* and that it was to be feared, that in order to force *Rome* to ſubmit, he would retain them, without any regard either to the Laws of Nations, or to their Supplications. Whence they concluded, it was not fit to ſend any *Roman* Ladies to him, but ſuch as were united to him by the Ties of Nature and Blood, and were for this reaſon the moſt proper to prevail on him to deſiſt from purſuing the Deſtruction of his Country. Others were of opinion, that theſe ought not to be ſuffered to go out of the City; but that, on the contrary, they ought to be ſecured, as ſo many Hoſtages, who were, in ſome ſort, anſwerable for *Coriolanus*'s Conduct, and might, upon occaſion, diſarm the Conqueror of his Wrath. And laſtly, ſeveral were of opinion, that the *Roman* Women ſhould go with *Coriolanus*'s Relations, to add Weight and Dignity to the Deputation. As to the Inconveniences apprehended, they added, that the Protection of the Gods, and *Marcius*'s Probity, were ſufficient Guarantees of the Safety of the Embaſſy. And this laſt Opinion, ſays *D. Hal.* prevailed. After this, the *Conſul* repaired to the *Forum*, where they communicated to the Aſſembly of the People the Deliberations of the Senate. At the ſame time, they ordered all the Citizens to meet at the Gates of the City, by Break of Day the next Morning, in order to do Honour to the *Roman* Ladies, who went on this Embaſſy. When the Day was come, the *Roman* Ladies and their Children, met very early, by Torch-Light, at *Veturia*'s Houſe; and from thence they attended her towards the Gates of *Rome*. The *Conſuls* had there prepared Chariots, and Mules, and ſuch other Carriages as were neceſſary, and convenient for them in their Journey. They aſſigned all the *Roman* Ladies their proper Places: And they were attended part of the Way by a numerous Train of Senators and Citizens, who made the Air ring with their Acclamations and Wiſhes, with which they honoured theſe illuſtrious Heroines, as they went along.

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ſulted with the two Perſons who were moſt dear to him, how he ſhould behave himſelf, both with reſpect to the *Volſci* and the *Romans*. The reſt of the Day was ſpent in Deliberations; and the Articles agreed on were theſe. I. That the *Romans* ſhould not take any Step towards recovering their Loſſes, till the Peace between them and the *Volſci* was entirely concluded. This was to prevent ſowering the Minds of the *Volſci*, and heightening their Suſpicions. II. That *Coriolanus* ſhould decamp the next Day, and commit no Hoſtilities in the *Roman* Territory, as he paſſed through it, in his Return to the Country of the *Volſci*. III. That after he had aſſembled their Chiefs, he ſhould prevail on them to make a ſolid Peace with *Rome* upon reaſonable Terms. IV. That if the *Volſci* would not comply, he ſhould lay down the Command of their Troops. After a Conference ſo beneficial to her Country, *Veturia* and her Companions returned in the Evening to *Rome*, where they were received with the Acclamations of the whole City. The Senate deſired them to ask what Reward they pleaſed for ſo important a Service. *We ask nothing*, replied Veturia, *but leave to build a Temple* [123] To the Fortune of Women: *We ourſelves will be at the whole Expence of it. The Republick ſhall only furniſh the Victims, which ſhall be conſtantly offered up to the Goddeſs*. The Senate was charmed with *Veturia*'s Diſintereſtedneſs: but would not ſuffer her to pay for the erecting the Temple, or the Statue which was to be worſhipped in it. This was done at the publick Expence. It is true, the Ladies afterwards made a common Purſe to erect a ſecond Statue of the ſame Goddeſs, in the ſame Place: And it was reported in *Rome*, that it ſpoke twice [124], and ſaid, It is you, Roman Ladies, who have consecrated me. But prophane Writers themſelves treat this miraculous Adventure as fabulous. Moreover this Temple of *Fortune* was appropriated to the Ladies. They went to perform their Vows at it privately, by themſelves. *Valeria* was the firſt Prieſteſs in it, and *Proculus* the *Conſul* dedicated it, two Years after. This Temple was very much frequented by the *Roman* Women; but it was decreed, that no Crown ſhould be put on the Goddeſs's [125] Head, and that Women who had had two Husbands ſhould not be employed in any Offices about her. Theſe were given only to young married Women.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus*.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 526.

§. XXXVIII. Whilst *Rome* was rejoicing at its Deliverance, *Coriolanus* led his Army back into the Country of the *Volſci*. As ſoon as he entered it, he divided all the Spoils of ſo glorious a Campaign among his Soldiers, and reſerved nothing for himſelf. The greateſt Part of them were mightily pleaſed to go and live in Peace in their own Villages. But ſome murmured at *Coriolanus*'s Reſpect for his Mother and his Country. *Attius Tullus* was the firſt in raiſing the Jealouſy and general Envy of his Army againſt *Coriolanus*'s Troops, who were grown rich with Plunder; and *Attius*'s Party was ſtrongeſt, for he was in his native City: *Coriolanus* and he having retired to *Antium* as ſoon as the *Roman* had disbanded his Troops. Here then, *Attius Tullus*, aſſiſted by his Countrymen, ſummoned *Coriolanus* to appear before the *Antiates*, accuſed him of having raiſed the Siege of *Rome*, and would have had him firſt lay down his Office as General, and then give an Account of his Adminiſtration. *Tullus* had a Right to aſſemble the People of his City, ſince he was yet in Office. But *Coriolanus* inſiſted, that he was not obliged either to lay down his Generalſhip, or give any Account. He pretended, that at worſt, none could oblige him to abdicate his Office, till he had firſt juſtified his Conduct in an Aſſembly of the whole Nation.

123 This Temple, according to *Val. Maximus*, was built four Miles from *Rome*, in the very Place where *Veturia* had ſoftened the Heart of *Coriolanus*. *Fortunæ muliebris ſimulachrum, quod eſt viâ Latinâ, ad quartum milliarium, eo tempore conſecratum, quo Coriolanum ab excidio urbis maternæ preces depulerunt*, B. 1. ch. 8. The Senate likewiſe ordered, that the Memory of this Deputation ſhould be perpetuated, by a publick Inſcription, engraven on Copper.

124 *D. Hal.* in Proof of this Fable, ſays, he had read it in the Books of the *Pontifices*. It was indeed their Buſineſs to record the moſt remarkable Events in hiſtorical Annals. This Cuſtom had its Riſe immediately after the Foundation of *Rome*, according to *Tully*'s Account, who ſpeaks of it in theſe Words. *Erat .... Hiſtoria nihil aliud niſi Annalium confectio, cujus rei memoriæque publicæ retinendæ cauſâ, ab initio rerum Romanarum, uſque ad Publium Mutium Pontificem Maximum, res omnes ſingulorum annorum mandabat litteris Pontifex Maximus, referebatque in album, & proponebat tabulam domi, poteſtas ut eſſet populo cognoſcendi, hique etiam nunc Annales Maximi nominantur*. As to this fabulous Story, which *D. Hal.* relates as true; *Plutarch* ſhews the Abſurdity of it, and ranks it among Fables. The ſame Writers, and *D. Hal.* in particular, add, that *Valeria* offered the firſt Sacrifice to *Fortuna Muliebris*, in the Name of the People, on an Altar erected in the Place on which it was reſolved to build a Temple to this Goddeſs. This Ceremony was performed, according to *D. Hal.* the next Year, in the Month of *December*, on the Day of the New Moon, which the *Greeks* call *Neomenia*, and the *Romans*, *Calendæ*; becauſe this was the Day on which *Coriolanus* had laid down his Arms. The Year after, the Temple was finiſhed, and dedicated, on the ſeventh Day of *July*.

125 *Servius*, on the fourth Book of the *Æneid*, confirms this Cuſtom. *Tertullian* ſpeaks of it thus. *Fortunæ muliebri coronam non imponebat niſi Uni-vira.*

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But as *Tullus* knew his Collegue was eloquent, and that the Reputation of his Exploits would make ſtrong Impreſſions on the Minds of the People, to whoſe Service he had dedicated all his brave Actions, he did not care he ſhould make his Defence before them. He likewiſe foreſaw, that the general Diet of the *Volſci* would readily conſent to a Peace with *Rome*, and raiſe the Glory of his Rival, by giving him the Honour of fixing the Terms of it. He therefore was reſolved to have the Affair determined in the private Aſſemblies of the *Antiates*. The whole Time of them was ſpent in mutual Bickerings, between the two Generals, and in the Harangues they made to the People. But neither one or the other pretended to uſe Violence. They had a mutual Reſpect for each other's Dignity and Power; for *Coriolanus* had a Party in *Antium*, as well as *Tullus*. Till at length *Attius* got Intereſt enough to cauſe his Collegue to be ſummoned to come and anſwer a Charge of Treaſon. The brave *Roman* appeared on the Day appointed, and depended too much on the Goodneſs of his Cauſe, and the Superiority of his Merit. *Attius* became *Coriolanus*'s Accuſer, and in a long Harangue inveighed much againſt the Foreigner; exhorted him to lay down his Generalſhip voluntarily; and ſtirred up the People to declare him deprived of it, if he did not reſign it of his own Accord. Then *Coriolanus* aſcended *The Tribune*, in his Turn. He would fain have been heard; but the Clamours of *Attius*'s Friends prevented it. Confuſed Voices were heard of ſome who cried out in the midſt of the Aſſembly, *Stab him! Kill him!* and the ſeditious Multitude ſurrounded him in an Inſtant. In ſhort, he was overwhelmed with Stones and Blows, and [125] died before his Juſtification was heard. Indeed, the Gratitude of the *Volſci* for their Hero, immediately revived; but too late for their own Good. They all regretted the Loſs of a General, who had made them ſuperior to the *Romans*. Among the reſt, the Soldiers of his Army lamented bitterly the Death of ſo brave, and ſo diſintereſted a Commander. They flocked to *Antium* from all Parts of the Dominions of the *Volſci*. In their Concern, they were all earneſt to ſhew ſome Proofs of their Gratitude to, and Eſteem for him, after his Death. They changed his Funeral into a Triumph. After all Things were got ready in the *Forum*, they dreſſed up his Corpſe in a General's Habit. In celebrating his Obſequies, they carried along with him the Repreſentations of the Cities he had taken, and the Spoils he had brought home. Young Soldiers, of the greateſt Nobility, bore on their Shoulders the Bier upon which his Body was laid. In this manner he was carried to the moſt conſiderable of the Suburbs of *Antium*, where his Funeral-Pile was prepared. All the People aſſiſted at the Solemnity, in Tears. The Body was burnt, Victims were offered up, Wine, Oil, and Perfumes, thrown into the Fire; and, in ſhort, every thing was done for him, which was uſual at the Funerals of the greateſt Kings. The Friends of the Deceaſed continued round the Pile, till the Fire was extinguiſhed. Then his Bones were gathered together, and encloſed in the ſame Place, within a magnificent Tomb, adorned with all the Symbols of his Dignity. The *Romans* had their Reaſons of State, for not decreeing him the ſame Funeral-Honours which had been done him at *Antium*. For after all, *Coriolanus* had born Arms againſt his own Country, and was now dead, before he had been reconciled to her, by a regular Treaty. But the *Roman* Ladies, upon preſenting their Petition to the Senate, obtained Leave to bewail him, as they did for their Fathers and their Husbands. They went into Mourning for ten Months, which was the longeſt Time the Laws permitted it on any Occaſion.

Plut. Life of *Coriolanus*.

Such was the End of the famous *Marcius*, ſurnamed *Coriolanus*. With reſpect to his military Virtues, *Rome* never bred a greater Soldier. It is hard to ſay, whether his Succeſs, or his Conduct and Bravery, were the greater; but it may be affirmed, that he was always ſucceſsful, becauſe always brave and prudent. His private Virtues, were thoſe of an auſtere Philoſopher, who never gave any Looſe to his Deſires. He was ſober to ſuch a Degree as to have an Averſion to the leaſt Exceſs. He was ſo chaſte, as not to caſt a Look even on his own Wife, when ſhe came, with the reſt of the *Roman* Ladies deputed, to him. He was ſo obedient to his Mother, as to ſacrifice his Revenge and his Life to her: And ſo diſintereſted, as to deprive himſelf of his Rights as General, and even of his own Subſiſtence, for the ſake of his Soldiers. As to civil

[125] *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* agree, as to the Manner of his Death. They both ſay this Hero was killed at *Antium*, by a Faction of the *Volſci*, whom the perfidious *Attius Tullus* had ſtirred up againſt him. But *Cicero* ſays *Coriolanus* killed himſelf. *Fabius*, an antient Author whom *Livy* quotes, pretends that he died of extreme old Age, and uſed to ſay, towards the End of his Days, that no Affliction affected an old Man more, than the Misfortune of being baniſhed his Country. But in this Diverſity of Opinions, *Plutarch* and *D. Hal.* deſerve the Preference.

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Virtues, he carried them to Exceſs. He was rigidly juſt; and his Love of his Country would not ſuffer him to bear the leaſt Violation of its Laws. *Coriolanus* was inexorably ſevere, ſteady even to Obſtinacy, in purſuing his Deſigns, ſincere even to Roughneſs; and in ſhort, was ſo far from making Dependants, or affecting Popularity, that he run into the contrary Extreme, which paſſed for Pride. But notwithſtanding this Mixture of Virtues and Defects, his Country has ever honoured him as one of her Heroes. Hiſtory has done him the Juſtice to ſay, that he could alone have greatly enlarged the Dominions of the Republick. Unhappy Factions hindered *Rome* from reaping any Benefit from his Virtues. But ſhe was at laſt ſenſible of the Loſs ſhe had ſuffered by baniſhing him; and her own Misfortunes taught her how many Calamities ſhe might have avoided, and how many Conqueſts gained, if ſhe had known how to make a good Uſe of the Preſent Heaven had made her in him.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 528.

The News of *Coriolanus*'s Death was no ſooner brought to *Rome*, but the *Conſuls* ventured to bring their Troops into the Field. They were both Men without Experience or Courage. They encamped ſeparately, on Eminences, with Deſign to ſtand the Attack of the *Volſci*, who had now loſt their General: And the Cowards made no Advantage of the favourable Opportunity their Enemies offered them. The *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, who were entered into a Confederacy againſt *Rome*, fell out with one another; and their Ambition was the Cauſe of their Rupture. Each Nation pretended to appoint the General of the Confederate Army. From verbal Conteſts, they came to Blows, and the *Æqui* and the *Volſci* fought a bloody Battle. They fell upon one another in a confuſed Manner, and the Night alone put an End to the Slaughter, which was great on both Sides. Nothing was eaſier, than for the *Conſuls* to come and fall upon theſe fatigued and weakened Men, as the two Armies were decamping, in order to retire each into its own Country. The *Roman* Camp was but thirty *Stadia* Diſtance from the Enemy. But the Terror with which *Coriolanus* had filled the *Romans*, ſeems to have [126] ſurvived him. The timorous *Conſuls* durſt not attack the Enemy in their Flight: They choſe rather to return to *Rome*, than fight. *Nautius* and *Furius* led back their Troops to the City, where they were received with the Hiſſes of all the People. Happy was it for *Rome*, that theſe timorous Generals were at the End of their Year; ſhe put on another Face, as ſoon as ſhe had choſen new *Conſuls*.

126 Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch* affirms, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were overcome by the *Romans*, who took Advantage of their Diviſions. He adds, that the perfidious *Tullus* periſhed in the Fight, with the choiceſt of his Troops. After which the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were glad to accept ſuch ſhameful Conditions as the Conqueror thought fit to impoſe upon them. It is probable this is the ſame Victory which made the ſucceeding *Conſulate* memorable.

THE
Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK VIII.

§. 1. ROME had been humbled by *Coriolanus*, but ſhe drew at leaſt one ſolid Advantage from her Humiliation. For ſome Years paſt the *Roman* People, being intimidated by the lofty Airs of the haughty *Coriolanus*, had not placed any of thoſe proud Warriors at the Head of them, who are uſually leſs pliable and ſubmiſſive than Men of Courage. But at length, after they had experienced the Inconveniencies a State ſuffers by being governed by Men of little Merit, *Rome* changed her Politicks, and choſe two Soldiers to govern her, who had ſignalized their Bravery and Capacity in Battle. The firſt was *Aquilius Tuſcus*, the ſecond *Sicinius Sabinus*. Martial Vigour ſeemed to revive, under their Adminiſtration. The *Volſci* were old Enemies to the *Romans*, and did not at all abate of their Inveteracy upon the Death of *Coriolanus*. They had at leaſt learned from him how to make War after the *Roman* Manner; that is, according to the Rules of Art. *Attius Tullus* was now the ſole and unrivall'd Commander in chief of their Forces: And the new *Conſuls* had Thoughts of marching their Troops firſt againſt the *Volſci*. But there had juſt ſtarted up a new Enemy againſt the Republick. The *Hernici*, who were contiguous to the *Latins*, and ſituated between the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, had long been Allies to *Rome*. It was always the Policy of the *Roman* Senate, not to ſuffer any Hoſtility to be committed on her Neighbours, without revenging it. In the firſt Place therefore, they ſent a Deputation to the *Hernici*, to reprimand them as Allies, and reproach them with the Violation of their Treaty with *Rome*. But they, proud of their Alliance with the *Volſci*, and preſuming yet more upon the low State to which the *Romans* were reduced, anſwered the Deputies, That the *Hernici* did not think themſelves in Alliance with the *Roman* People; That the Treaty they had formerly made with *Tarquin* was perſonal; That it died with him, and was of Force no longer than while the Regal Power ſubſiſted; That beſides, the Hoſtilities they had been reproached with, had not been committed by publick Authority, but were the avaricious Proceedings of private Perſons, who acted without Commiſſion; That it would be difficult to find out who theſe Perſons were; and, That, if *Rome* was for a War, the *Hernici* were ready. Theſe Anſwers forced the *Romans* to divide their Troops into three Bodies. That which was to act againſt the *Hernici*, fell by Lot to *Aquilius*. *Sicinius* commanded that which was appointed to march againſt the *Volſci*. And *Sp. Lartius* was left with the third, in the *Roman* Territory, to prevent its being plundered. Laſtly, *Sempronius Atratinus* was nominated to defend the City, in caſe of an Attack: And this wiſe Diſpoſition was attended with great Succeſs.

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AQUILIUS Tuscus, and SICINIUS SABINUS, Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 531.

AQUILIUS marched out of the City with his Army, and had not far to go, in ſearch of the *Hernici*. They were advanced to *Præneſte*, encamped in a Plain which ſurrounded that City, and there waited for the *Romans*. The *Conſul* came, and poſted himſelf near them, ſcarce 200 *Stadia* from *Rome*; ſo narrow was the Territory of the *Romans* at that time. He had ſcarce three Days to entrench himſelf, and fortify his Camp, before the Enemy appeared in the Plain, in Order of Battel. The *Romans* immediately drew up againſt them; and the *Conſul* gave the Signal. The Attack was begun, as uſual, by Slingers and Darters, who were light-armed, and choſen out of the inferior *Claſſes*. This firſt Onſet was without much Advantage on either Side, the Dead and Slain of both Armies were pretty near equal in Number. After this, the Cavalry of the *Hernici* came to an Engagement with that of the *Romans*; and at length the Battel became general. Both Armies ſtood their Ground a great while; but at laſt the *Romans* began to give way. They had for ſome time paſt continued unactive in their City, and had a little unlearned the Art of Fighting. But *Aquilius* ſoon

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AQUILIUS TUSCUS, and SICINIUS SABINUS, Conſuls.

remedied the Diſorder which he had apprehended. He had provided againſt it, by a *Corps-de-Reſerve*, which he placed in the room of thoſe whom he ſaw fatigued. He inſtantly commanded the latter to retire to the hindermoſt Ranks; and this Motion made the *Hernici* believe the *Romans* fled. They mutually exhorted one another to fall upon the diſordered *Legions*, which were ready to diſperſe. But they found themſelves oppoſed by freſh and intrepid Troops, who received them with as much Vigour as they were attacked. This made the Battel more furious than before; for the General of the *Hernici* had likewiſe relieved his haraſſed Troops with freſh Men, whom he had reſerved for that Purpoſe. At laſt, towards the Cloſe of the Day, the *Conſul* encouraged his Horſe to follow him, and with a Squadron of his Guards fell upon the Enemy's Right Wing. They ſuſtained the Attack for ſome time: but being at length repulſed and broken, after much Loſs, they diſperſed. In the Left Wing, the *Hernici* bore hard upon the *Romans*, and diſtreſſed them. *Aquilius* therefore flew to their Relief; exhorted them to behave themſelves well; called upon the braveſt of them by Name; and ſuddenly ſnatching the Enſigns out of the Hands of thoſe who bore them, threw them into the midſt of the Enemy's Squadrons. It is well known, the *Romans* had a religious Regard for their Standards, and inflicted military Puniſhments on thoſe who loſt them. The Soldiers therefore made extraordinary Efforts to recover them; and at laſt penetrated into the very Centre of the Wing they attacked, and routed it. As for the main Body of the *Hernici*, it could no longer make any Reſiſtance, after the two Wings were defeated. The whole Army now thought of nothing but regaining their Camp, and were long purſued by the *Romans*, who made ſome Attempts to take it by Aſſault; but the *Conſul* was afraid of having his Victory diſgraced by a Repulſe before Entrenchments, which were not eaſily forced. He ſounded a Retreat, and would not ſuffer his Men to purſue any farther the Advantages of the Day. Noiſes were heard in the Enemy's Camp all the Night long. The Soldiers, who thought themſelves unable to engage again, mutinied againſt their Officers, and marched off in Companies, to return home. The Wounded, and they whom Sickneſs or Fatigue diſabled from following the moſt Nimble, in vain deſired them to wait for them, and be their Guard. Fear prevailed over all Conſiderations, either to Countrymen or Friends. Upon hearing theſe Noiſes, the *Romans* thought Reinforcements were come to the *Hernici*, and that they proceeded from their Joy at receiving them. They therefore continued upon the Watch all Night, and to ſhew they were upon their Guard, made a Noiſe with their Arms, all round the Camp: which Precaution encreaſed the Terror of the Fugitives. They thought the *Romans* at their Heels; diſperſed themſelves abroad in the dark, and took different Roads towards their own Villages. The Return of the Light ſhewed the *Romans* their Enemies were fled. Then the *Conſul* entered their deſerted Camp; and there found as many Sick and Wounded, as were almoſt equal in Number to thoſe who were well, and had eſcaped. A great Part of the latter were taken Priſoners, and carried into Captivity, under a Guard of *Roman* Cavalry. The Camp of the *Hernici* became a Prey to the Conquerors, and their Fields were ravaged by the *Conſul* without Oppoſition, they having no more Troops in a Condition to ſtop him. This Victory rouzed the Indolence of the *Romans*, and the Glory they gained by it, animated them to aſſume their former Aſcendant over the neighbouring Nations.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 534.

§. II. AND indeed the *Volſci*, who were ſo formidable under the Command of *Coriolanus*, could not withſtand the Valour of the *Conſul Sicinius*. The Victory he gained over them was more conſiderable than that of his Collegue over the *Hernici*. But it muſt be acknowledged, that as *Sicinius* was to engage with a warlike Nation, elated with their paſt Victories, he had had the choiceſt of the *Roman* Troops. Beſides, the *Volſci* had changed their Manner of fighting, under the Conduct of *Coriolanus*, and their wild unreſtrained Valour was brought more under Diſcipline. They had *Attius Tullus* at the Head of them, who, notwithſtanding his Jealouſy of *Coriolanus*, had been his Admirer; and who, after having ſtudied him, thought himſelf able to ſupply the Want of him. He began, after the *Roman* General's Example, with moleſting the Allies of *Rome*. He imagined the Republick would ſend them no more Succours now, than formerly; and leave them to defend themſelves. But in this he found himſelf miſtaken. He was no ſooner entered into the Country of the *Latins*, but the *Conſul Sicinius* came and encamped within Reach of his Army. Upon this, an Action immediately enſued. The Field of Battle was ſo rough, uneven, and full of Ditches, that the Cavalry could not act on either Side: But the *Roman* Cavalry,

who were ſenſible of it, could not content themſelves with being uſeleſs in an Action, in which they promiſed themſelves Glory. They went in a Body to the *Conſul*, to deſire leave to fight on Foot: and *Sicinius* thought he might make Advantage of their good Diſpoſition. After he had formed the Squadrons into Battalions, he placed them near him, that he might ſend them to any Parts where the *Romans* ſhould be worſted: And to their Courage may the Victory be aſcribed. The Infantry of the *Volſci* was then not inferior to that of the *Romans*. They were equal in Number, made uſe of the ſame Arms, were uſed to the ſame Exerciſe, and as well underſtood, when to advance, and when to retire, when to attack, and when to ſtand on the defenſive. In ſhort, the Foot on both Sides obſerved the ſame Method in Fighting.

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THE *Volſci* for a long time courageouſly ſuſtained the firſt Onſet of the *Romans*. The Inequality of the Ground ſometimes gave the Advantage to one, and ſometimes to the other: And whilſt the Victory thus continued in Suſpence, the diſmounted Horſe divided themſelves into two Companies. One attacked the Enemy's Right Wing in Flank; whilſt the other, after marching a great way round, came by the help of an Hill, to ſurprize it in the Rear. The latter firſt poured down their Darts upon the Enemy, and then attacked them cloſely with long Swords, and endeavoured to ſtab them in their Shoulders, Hips, and Legs. By this means, they threw down headlong many of the *Volſci*, who had climbed up upon Eminences, to fight from thence. On the other Side, the diſmounted Horſe, which had taken the Enemy in Flank, preſſed upon them with Bravery. So that the Right Wing of the *Volſci* was ſurrounded on all Sides. It is true, they fought with all poſſible Art and Reſolution; but were forced to give way to ſo vigorous an Attack. And when the Right Wing was once defeated, the main Body, and the Left Wing could hold out no longer. They widened their Ranks, retreated fighting, and endeavoured to recover their Camp. The *Romans* purſued them, and were there as ſoon as they. The Ardor of the *Roman Knights* prompted them even to attack the Entrenchments. Here therefore the Battel became more furious. The *Conſul* ordered his Infantry to advance, to relieve the *Knights*, who were engaged in a dangerous Action; and they began with filling up the Ditch of the Camp. Then *Sicinius* himſelf advanced quite up to the principal Gate of it, followed by the braveſt of his Horſe. He firſt diſperſed thoſe who defended it, broke down the Barricades, mounted the Rampart, and rallied his Infantry upon it. Then *Attius Tullus* ſignalized his Courage againſt the *Romans*; and made extraordinary Efforts to repulſe them: But after many incredible Exploits, he ſunk under his Fatigues and Wounds. He deſerved greater Commendations as a brave Soldier, than as a great Commander; but was inferior to his Rival *Coriolanus*, both as to Courage and Conduct. The Death of the General was followed by the taking of the Camp. All that made any Reſiſtance were put to the Sword, and they who laid down their Arms were loaded with Irons. Few returned to the Country of the *Volſci*, to carry the News of their entire Defeat.

THIS remarkable Advantage revived Joy and Gladneſs in *Rome*. All the Temples were opened, and the Altars loaded with Victims, by way of Thankſgiving. Both Senate and People were very earneſt, that *Sicinius* ſhould triumph: and a new Decoration was added to the Pomp of the Conqueror in the Proceſſion. The Chariot in which he entered the City, was drawn by Horſes in Harneſſes adorned with Gold. His Collegue had only an *Ovation* granted him. And indeed it muſt be allowed, that the Victory over the *Volſci* was more important, and every way more complete than that of *Aquilius*. Even the General of the Enemy had loſt his Life, in the Sight of *Sicinius*. So that, it is not to be imagined, but his Glory muſt eclipſe his Collegue's. The latter would have obtained a Triumph, if it had not been neceſſary to make a Diſtinction between the two Conquerors. Thus ended the memorable Year of two *Conſuls*, who repaired all the Diſadvantages *Rome* had received from *Coriolanus*.

§. III. THE happy Succeſſes of the laſt Year, led the *Romans* to take delight in beſtowing their Magiſtracy only on brave Warriors, and Men of Merit. So that the *Centuries* pitched upon *Sp. Caſſius* [1], who had been twice *Conſul* already, and had enjoyed the Honours of a Triumph; and gave him *Proculus* [2] *Virginius* for his Collegue. The *Volſci* and *Hernici*, though conquered by the laſt *Conſuls*, yet were not out of a Condition of contending with the *Romans*. Beſides, the *Æqui* had again declared them-

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[1] The *Greek* Tables, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, give *Spurius Caſſius* the Surname of *Viſcellinus*.

[2] The *Conſular Annals* call *Proculus Virginius* by the Surname of *Rutilus*. *Diodorus Siculus* adds to it, that of *Tricoſtus*.

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Sp. Cassius, and Proculus Virginius, Conſuls.

ſelves againſt the Republick, and were to make a Diverſion with their Troops. It fell to *Virginius*'s Lot to march againſt the *Æqui*; and to *Caſſius*'s, to make War with the *Volſci*, and their Confederates the *Hernici*. *Virginius*'s Expedition againſt the *Æqui* was ſoon ended. He found nothing in their Country, but bare Fields and deſerted Cottages. Upon the firſt Rumor of the advancing of the *Roman* Army, they had carried all their Effects into their Cities. The *Conſul* therefore, who was not in a Condition to undertake Sieges, marched back to *Rome*. All the Glory of the Campaign was reſerved for *Sp. Caſſius*. He was an ambitious Man, and carried his Views farther than his Predeceſſors. He thought a third *Conſulate*, and a Triumph, would be ſuch Steps, as might raiſe him to an arbitrary Power in the Republick: Which being his main Point in view, he wholly turned his Thoughts to procure a new Honour, which might pave the Way for his Advancement. He at firſt judged, by the Conduct of the *Volſci*, and *Hernici*, that the Campaign would paſs with only plundering the Lands of the Enemy. Theſe two Nations had imitated the *Æqui*, *i. e.* had fortified themſelves in their Cities, and appeared no more in the Plain: And whilſt the *Conſul* was preparing to burn the Country, and put it out of a Condition of being cultivated for a great while, the *Volſci* took a very prudential Step. They determined to come to a Reconciliation with the *Romans*. Beſides, they did not think their Cities, Barriers ſtrong enough to preſerve them from Death or Slavery. They therefore were beforehand with the *Hernici*, and ſent a Deputation to the *Conſul*, to divert the Storm which threatened them. Their Offers were accepted; they paid the Sum required of them, furniſhed the *Roman* Army with all Neceſſaries, and ſwore never to diſpute the Right of Superiority with the Republick any more. But the *Hernici*, who did not think of having recourſe to the *Romans*, till they found themſelves deſerted, were not received upon ſo eaſy Terms. The *Conſul* would not treat with them, till ſuch time as they ſhould acknowledge themſelves overcome, and make their Submiſſions at *Rome*. Their Anſwer was, that they would accept all the reaſonable Conditions which ſhould be required: and in the mean time they furniſhed the *Romans* with a Month's Proviſion, and paid them all the Expence of the Campaign.

The Truce made with the *Hernici* was no ſooner expired, but their Deputies came to the *Conſul*'s Camp, to conclude their Alliance with *Rome*. *Caſſius* received them graciouſly; but had ſo much Deference for the Senate, that he would not ſettle the Conditions of the Alliance, till they had firſt obtained a Decree from the *Conſcript Fathers*, for their Admiſſion into the Friendſhip of the *Romans*. And now the Senators, in their turn, acted a polite Part with the *Conſul*. They paſſed the Decree, empowering *Caſſius* to draw up the Conditions of the Treaty himſelf: And this firſt Mark of Diſtinction, which the ambitious *Conſul* received, made him hope for a ſecond. He ventured to demand the Honours of a Triumph. It is certain they were not due to him; and ſtrictly ſpeaking, the Senate were very indulgent in granting them. He had neither taken any Towns, nor gained one Battel. But they thought themſelves at liberty to ſhew him Favour, in conſideration of the Submiſſion of thoſe two Nations to him. Beſides, his Triumph was a very plain one. There were no Repreſentations of Cities carried in Proceſſion on Biers, nor any of thoſe long Trains of Captives, which were what chiefly graced a Triumph. However, this Honour, which *Caſſius* had rather gained by Favour than Merit, diſcovered ſuch a Fund of Pride in him, as made his Deſigns ſuſpected from that time. Many were immediately jealous of him; and we ſhall ſoon ſee him ſinking under the Envy of his Rivals, and his own ambitious Projects.

§. IV. *SP. CASSIUS* had no ſooner been honoured with a ſecond Triumph, but he ſet about drawing up the Conditions of the Treaty of Peace with the *Hernici*. He indeed did no more, properly ſpeaking, than copy thoſe which had been formerly granted the *Latins*, when they were received into Alliance with *Rome*. But this Condeſcenſion was ſuſpected by the moſt ſenſible and moſt penetrating Republicans. They could not bear that a foreign Nation, but juſt reconciled to *Rome*, ſhould be raiſed all on a ſudden to equal Honours and Privileges with the *Latin* Nation, who had been long attached to the *Romans*. So that it was enacted, that two thirds of the Lands belonging to the *Hernici* ſhould be taken from them. The Difficulty was, how theſe conquered Lands ſhould be diſtributed. The two *Conſuls* differed in Opinion about it. *Caſſius* had his private Views: Hoping to be able ſome time or other to uſurp a tyrannical Power in *Rome*, he thought to have attached the Allies of the Republick to himſelf, in order to find a Support, or a Refuge among them. He therefore did his utmoſt to get the Law paſſed which he had drawn up, and which was the firſt of thoſe Laws, which the

Livy, B. 2. ch. 41.

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Sp. Cassius, and Procu-lus Virgini-us, Conſuls.

Romans afterwards called *Leges Agrariæ*. It is obſerved, that this Sort of Laws was ſcarce ever paſſed, in any Age, without Murmurs and Revolts. *Caſſius* contended, that the Lands taken from the *Hernici* ſhould be divided, in equal Portions, between the People of *Rome* and the *Latins*; and deſired, that a certain Quantity of other Lands, which, according to him, had a great while belonged to the Publick, and had been uſurped by ſome rich *Patricians*, might be divided among the poor Inhabitants of *Rome* and *Latium*. *Caſſius* had indeed aſſembled the People the Day after his Triumph, and harangued them. After he had thanked them for the new Marks of Eſteem he had juſt received from them, he promiſed them, that the Favours he had in Reſerve for them, ſhould exceed any the moſt popular Magiſtrates had ever ſhewn them. This Harangue was therefore enough of it ſelf to offend the *Patricians*; and they were really enraged at him, when they heard him, the next Day, propoſe a Law to the Senate, about dividing both the antient Lands of the Publick, and thoſe which were newly taken from the *Hernici*, equally between the *Latins* and *Romans*. Beſides, the private Intereſt ſome of the Senators had, in not giving up Lands they were in Poſſeſſion of, they conſidered this artful Liberality of *Caſſius* as a thing prejudicial to the Republick in general. They foreſaw, the *Conſul*'s Deſign in it was thereby to gain ſuch an Aſcendant over the *Roman* People and their Allies, as might render him the Maſter and Tyrant of *Rome*. They therefore made uſe of all their Power to ſtop the *Conſul* in his Career, and prevent the paſſing of his Law. *Virginius* oppoſed it with Vigour, and gained all the Senators to his Side. He inveighed bitterly againſt the ſecret Deſigns of his Collegue, and repreſented all his Proceedings in the moſt odious Light. *Appius Claudius*, that auſtere Republican, aſſiſted *Virginius* with his Advice, his Eloquence, and his Intereſt. So that *Rome* was divided into two Factions; one of which favoured the Law *Caſſius* propoſed, the other *Virginius*, who oppoſed it. The firſt *Conſul* was always attended with a numerous Mob of *Romans* and *Latins*, who guarded him; the ſecond, with the ſubſtantial Citizens and young *Patricians*. And it was happy that the *Tribunes of the People* choſe the better Side. They, either out of Jealouſy to ſee a *Conſul* Author of a Law which favoured the People, or out of Zeal for the publick Good, were for *Virginius*. Or perhaps, they were afraid of aggrandizing a Man, who would have it in his Power to ſubdue them, when he became Maſter of the Republick. But be that as it will, they oppoſed *Caſſius*'s Law, in all the Aſſemblies. Nay, they had Addreſs enough to bring over a good Part of the People to their Side of the Queſtion. *It is a Shame*, ſaid they, *to ſuffer Lands, which you have acquired by the Sweat of your Brows, and by your Blood, to be profuſely diſtributed among Allies, who had no Share in your Conqueſts. Why are the* Hernici *to have one third of their Lands reſtored to them, ſince, as conquered, they ought to be entirely deprived of them? There is in this*, Romans, *a Deſign upon your Liberty; your Slavery will be the conſequence of this fatal Diviſion of Lands, which the artful* Conſul *would make between you and Foreigners*. The common People are ever wavering and inconſiſtent. After *Caſſius* had made his Harangue, they were inclined to approve of the Law; and blamed both *Tribunes* and *Patricians*, as betraying their Intereſts. But in a little time after, they changed their Minds, upon what the *Tribunes* ſaid, and conſidered the Diſtribution of a Country which was to be divided among ſo many Claimants, as a Trifle. One Day then, as *Caſſius* was endeavouring to perſuade the aſſembled *Romans*, that it was, after all, better for them to enjoy each a ſmall Piece of Land, than to ſuffer ſo large a Country to belong to the Publick; and as *Virginius* was labouring to divert them from accepting ſo mean a Preſent, one of the *Tribunes*, named *Rabuleius*, aſcended *The Tribune*, and ſpoke. He was a Man of Wit, underſtood both the Intereſts of the People, and of the Republick; and promiſed to put an End to the Conteſts between the two *Conſuls* in an Inſtant. Upon this, the People were very ſilent and attentive; and he addreſſed himſelf both to *Caſſius* and *Virginius*, in theſe Words: *Is not your Diſpute, at the Bottom, really this, Whether the* Romans *ought to take Poſſeſſion of the conquered Lands themſelves, or ſhare them with the* Hernici *and the* Latins? *Both* Conſuls *agree it is. As for you*, Virginius, adds he, *do you pretend that no Preſents at all ought to be made to the* Romans, *or do you only contend, that the* Latins *and* Hernici *ought not to be admitted to any Shares in the Diſtribution of theſe Lands? Anſwer me ſincerely, what is your real Opinion? I don't pretend*, anſwered *Virginius, to any thing more than to exclude the* Latins *and the* Hernici, *from an Advantage which of Right belongs only to the* Romans. *That's enough*, replied the *Tribune:* And turning about immediately to the Aſſembly, he ſaid,

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 537.

Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 539.

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

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Sp. Cassius, and Proculus Virginius, Consuls.

said, *Our two* Consuls *agree, as to the main Point; which is,* Romans, *that you take Possession of one Part of the Lands in Dispute. Lose no Time then in seizing what is unanimously granted you. And as for the rest, let it continue in Suspence, till Matters are brought to some further Determination.*

An Advice of such Advantage to them was received with the Acclamations of the People. They demanded that that Clause of the Law which was favourable to Foreigners should be dropped. But *Cassius* [3], who persisted in giving a Sanction to his whole Scheme, and saw what Opposition the *Tribunes* made to his Designs, dismissed the Assembly, and brought nothing to a Conclusion. As then the People were all inclined to favour *Virginius*, his Collegue did not appear in publick, and pretended to be indisposed. But he was contriving how to force them to accept a Law, which he had not Interest enough to get passed by fair Means. To this End, he brought as many *Latins* to *Rome* as he could. But *Virginius*, who perceived his Design, published a Decree, commanding all such as were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. *Cassius*, on the other hand, made a contrary Edict, and declared it lawful for any *Roman* Citizen to continue in the City, till after the Law had been accepted. It is well known the *Latins* [4] had then the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. In the present State of Affairs therefore, the Republick was threatened with a popular Sedition, and it was to be feared it would end in Blows. So that the Senate assembled to prevent these publick Calamities. *Appius Claudius* declared his Opinion first; and his natural Severity led him to oppose *Cassius*'s Law, in both its Parts. He declared himself for not distributing any of the conquered Lands among the *Romans*, and much less among Foreigners. His Discourse was interspersed with bitter Invectives against *Virginius*, who had run into too great an Indulgence of the People of *Rome*, and the *Tribunes*. He contended for continuing the Right of all the Lands lately conquered, to the Publick; for having a Part of them sold to private Persons; for putting the Produce of it into the publick Treasury, for defraying the Expences of the Army; and for farming out the Remainder for five Years, for the Benefit of the State. As to the old Lands usurped by the Nobility, he proposed, That they should be sold, as well as the rest; and, That the Purchasers should have Power to bring Actions against the Possessors, and oblige them to produce their Titles. And lastly, he moved, That some Men of Probity might be chosen by the Senate, to go and measure these Lands; to settle the Boundaries of them; and to judge of the Disputes which might arise, concerning their Limits and Appurtenances. *The People*, added he, *are indeed more nearly concerned in Interest, to see the new Lands added to the publick Demesnes, than to possess them, in small Parcels, as their own Property. The richer the Treasury is, the less Occasion there will be for Taxes. Our Citizens will, in this case, enjoy Peace and Tranquillity in their native City, without either running the Hazards of an uncertain Crop, or being obliged to defend these Lands against the Incursions of Enemies.* This Advice of *Appius* was thought reasonable. He was a Man very ready at Expedients; but the Sowreness of his Temper, and the Austerity of his Virtue, always led him to mix something very harsh with them, which it was necessary to qualify. *Sempronius Atratinus* spoke next, made a good Use of the Light *Appius Claudius* had given him, and reformed his Scheme. He agreed, that in the Distribution of Lands the Interests of the publick Treasury were not to be entirely sacrificed to those of private Men: And voted for retaining a Part of those Lands to the Publick. He added, that it was also necessary to make Presents, in the first place, to the poor People in *Rome*; and in the next, to such of the Allies as were in Want, both *Latins* and *Hernici*. His Method of

3 *Livy* adds, that *Cassius* proposed at the same time, that the Money arising from the Sale of the Corn lately brought from *Sicily*, should be divided among the common People. By this, he pretended to make the *Roman* People amends for the Lands, which his *Agrarian* Law granted to Foreigners. By thus courting the Favour of both Allies and Citizens, he thought to have got himself the Suffrages of both, and depended, that all would unite in promoting his ambitious Designs.

4 The *Latins* then enjoyed the Rights of *Roman* Citizens, by virtue of the Treaty of Alliance *Sp. Cassius* had concluded between them and the *Romans*. *Cassius* himself glories, (in the Speech *D. Hal.* makes him pronounce to the People) in having re-united the two Nations, and established the *Latins* in the Possession of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. Since that time, adds *Cassius*, *Rome* is become the common Country of both Nations, who were before jealous of one another. Nevertheless, it is certain, the Privileges granted the *Latins*, were very much limited. They were not enrolled in the *Tribes*. If they sometimes voted, it was only in extraordinary Cases, and with the Consent of the chief Magistrates, who summoned them to the Assemblies. They were not incorporated into the *Legions*. And lastly, they could not stand for publick Posts. So that, the Right of Citizenship which was granted them, was little more than a bare Title of Honour; which nevertheless they might make use of to Advantage on some Occasions. Besides, they had their own Laws, and their own peculiar Immunities, which we shall give a particulat Account of, when we come to speak of the Rights of *Latinity*.

making the Diſtribution was this: He obſerved, that there were two Sorts of Lands to be divided; ſome which were formerly conquered by the *Romans* alone, without the Aſſiſtance of the Allies; and ſome which had been lately conquered from the *Hernici*, by the Aſſiſtance of the *Latins*. As to the former, he thought they ought only to be divided between the publick Treaſury and the indigent *Romans*. The latter, he was of Opinion, ought to be ſhared between the Publick, the *Romans*, the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. This he thought would be to every Body's Satisfaction; to that of the *Romans*, inaſmuch as they would have the greateſt Share; of the *Latins*, inaſmuch as they would be admitted to partake of the Lands they had helped to conquer; and of the *Hernici*, inaſmuch as they would hereby find that they had not ſtripped themſelves of all their Poſſeſſions, upon becoming ſubject to the *Romans*. He added, that he was of *Appius*'s Opinion, as to the Creation of a College of ten Senators, under the Name of *Decemviri*, whoſe Office it ſhould be, to divide theſe Lands, to regulate the Diſtribution of them, and to determine the Differences which would infallibly ariſe about their Limits.

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SEMPRONIUS's Opinion was received with univerſal Applauſe, and drawn up into a Decree of the Senate, which had the Force of a Law. It enacted, That ten of the *Fathers*, who had been *Conſuls*, ſhould be appointed to divide the Lands between the Treaſury, the *Romans*, and their Allies; That for the future, all the Lands the *Romans* conquered with the Aſſiſtance of their Allies, ſhould be divided between the publick Treaſury, the Citizens of *Rome*, and thoſe Allies; and laſtly, That the Choice of the firſt *Decemviri* ſhould be left to the *Conſuls* of the enſuing Year. This wiſe Law re-eſtabliſhed Peace in *Rome*. The ambitious *Caſſius* did not draw the Advantage he expected, from thoſe engaging Liberalities he would fain have had the ſole Merit of granting, both to the *Romans* and their Confederates. And at length, the Diſputes between him and his Collegue ended with their *Conſulſhip*.

Year of *ROME* CCLXVIII. Q. FABIUS, and SERVIUS CORNELIUS, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 8. *p.* 544.

§. V. THE People, being aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, choſe *Q. Fabius*, and *S. Cornelius*, to be the next *Conſuls*. The *Quæſtors* which the Republick appointed at the ſame time, were two young *Patricians* of great Diſtinction. One of them, *Cæſo Fabius*, was Brother to one of the *Conſuls*. The other, whoſe Name was [5] *L. Valerius*, was the Son of *M. Valerius*, Brother to the famous *Poplicola*. The Nobleneſs of their Extraction, their great Riches, the Multitude of their Clients, the new Office they were inveſted with, and their perſonal Merit, made them venture to begin a Proſecution againſt *Sp. Caſſius*, as ſoon as he was out of his *Conſulſhip*. The *Quæſtorſhip* gave them a Right [6] of aſſembling the People, and conſulting with them about the Affairs of the Finances. They therefore ſummoned the old *Conſul* to appear before their Tribunal, and anſwer for his endeavouring to rob the publick Treaſury of its Effects, in order to diſtribute them in Bounties to Foreigners. They accuſed him of being an ambitious Man, who aim'd at uſurping a tyrannical Power in *Rome*, by means of liberal Donations, at the Expence of the Publick. The Accuſation was heavy; and the Conviction of the Criminal muſt involve many Men in Office in the ſame Ruin with *Sp. Caſſius*. On the Day appointed, the People came in very great Crowds, to give their Suffrages in the Trial of an old *Conſul*, who was cited to appear in Perſon. When the Aſſembly was formed, the *Quæſtors* aſcended *The Tribune*, and laid the chief Articles of their Charge againſt *Caſſius* before the People. The firſt was, That he would willingly have robbed the publick Treaſury of the Right it had to a Share of the conquered Lands. The ſecond, That he would have diſtributed them equally among Foreigners and *Romans*. The third, That he had drawn up a Law for that Purpoſe, without the Conſent of the Senate, and in direct Oppoſition to the Remonſtrances of the

5 We cannot help contradicting *D. Hal.* when he makes the new *Quæſtor*, *Lucius Valerius*, own Brother to the great *Poplicola*. The latter died in a very advanced Age. *M. Valerius*, his third Brother, was 70 Years old, when advanced to the *Dictatorſhip*, as *D. Hal.* himſelf obſerves. It muſt then ſurely be far from very probable, that *Lucius*, who was yet very young, according to the ſame Author, was Brother to both. It is difficult to give Credit to the Hiſtorian, if we ever ſo little conſider the great Diſproportion there was between the Age of a young *Roman*, who now firſt appeared in the Magiſtracy of the Republick, and that of an old Magiſtrate, ſuch as *Manius Valerius* was, who would have been in this Year, near fourſcore Years of Age. We muſt therefore ſay, that the Father of *Poplicola* married again when very old, and that *L. Valerius* was born of this ſecond Marriage. Or elſe we cannot but be of Opinion that one of *Poplicola*'s Brothers was the Father of *Lucius*. We have choſen the latter Opinion, and made *M. Valerius*, who was killed at the Battle of *Regillus*, his Father. So that inſtead of ἀδελφὶς, as the *Greek* Text now has it, we ought probably to read ἀδελφίπαις, which ſignifies *a Nephew*, or *Brother's Son*.

6 The *Quæſtors* had the Care of the Finances, and the keeping of the publick Treaſure, of which they were to give an Account to the People, after their Office was expired. They had therefore a Right to take Care of recovering alienated Sums, and proceeding againſt thoſe who applied the Money of the Republick to their own private Uſe.

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Q. Fabius, and Servius Cornelius, Conſuls.

Tribunes of the People. And the fourth Article was, That he would have forced the People to paſs this Law; and had for this Purpoſe put the *Latins* and *Hernici* in Motion, cauſed them to take up Arms, and diſturbed the publick Tranquillity. The *Quæſtors* proved all theſe Particulars, by the Teſtimony of the People aſſembled, the publick Notoriety of the Facts, and the Depoſitions of the *Latins* and *Hernici* themſelves.

Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3. Zonar. and *Diod. Sic. B. 12.*

An unexpected Incident, during the Proſecution of the Accuſed, ſhewed him to be yet more criminal. *Mutius Scævola* the *Tribune*, is ſaid to have impeached nine of his Collegues, of having entered into a Plot with *Sp. Caſſius*, then *Conſul*, to the Detriment of the Republick. And it is added, that he found Means to obtain ſuch a Decree againſt them all, as nine *Tribunes* would have had great Difficulty to obtain againſt one. He convicted them of having joined with *Caſſius* in endeavouring to hinder a Change of Magiſtrates, after their Time was [7] expired, by raiſing Factions. Had then *Mucius* the *Tribune* Intereſt enough to get his nine Collegues condemned to the Flames, by the Suffrages of the People? Or is it not more probable, that *Caſſius*, who was as guilty as they, would have drawn all the Reſentments of the Commons upon him? It is a Point conteſted by Hiſtorians, whether he died by a publick Sentence, or by the juſt Severity of his Father. Some Writers ſay his own Father actually condemned and put him to Death. It is well known, that the Love which the *Romans* had for their Country at this time, was equal to their Authority over their Children; both were without Bounds. *Caſſius* being therefore ſuſpected of a criminal Deſign upon the publick Liberty, found both a Judge and an Avenger in his own Family. *Caſſius* the Father, as ſoon as he knew what his Son had done, is ſaid to have condemned him to Death. According to ſome, he brought him to the Senate himſelf, obtained his Condemnation, and beat him to Death in his own Houſe. According to others, the Father was both his Judge and Executioner. To which they add, that the Family of the *Caſſii* refuſed to mix the acquired Eſtate of the Deceaſed with their paternal one; cauſed his Houſe to be razed; conſecrated his Money to *Ceres*, and with it erected a Statue of that Goddeſs, with this Inſcription, *The Gift of the* Caſſian *Family.* This is the moſt general Tradition, tho' *D. Hal.* judges [8] it to be the leaſt probable. His Account of the Death of the ambitious *Conſul*, is as follows.

Livy, ibid. *Dion. Hal. B. 8. p. 546. Val. Max. B. 5. & 6.*

§. VI. As ſoon as the Crimes with which *Caſſius* was charged by the *Quæſtors*, had been made out; as ſoon as Evidence was given of his ſecret Plots, in order to uſurp a tyrannical Power; as ſoon as it appeared that he had taken Money of the *Hernici* and the *Latins*, to make an unuſual Law in their Favour, and get it paſſed by the help of their Arms, the People of *Rome* made no Scruple of condemning him. They had not ſo much Regard for the three *Conſulſhips* and two Triumphs with which he had been honoured, as for the Preſervation of the publick Liberty. In vain did his Relations, Friends, and Clients, intreat the People for him. In vain did he ſhew his three Sons to the *Curiæ*, to ſoften them. The Citizens of *Rome* were inexorable. But they

7 This Fact, which *Livy* and *D. Hal.* ſay nothing of, is related by *Val. Max. B. 6. c. 3.* upon the Credit of ſome *Annals*, which falſely ſuppoſe, that the College of the *Tribunes* then conſiſted of ten Perſons. For it is certain, the Senate did not conſent to have the Number of the *Tribunes* doubled, till about 29 Years after this preſent Year 268, *i. e.* till the Year of *Rome* 297. So that the Falſhood of the Account, in one of its principal Circumſtances, gives us room to ſuſpect the Whole, tho' *Zonaras* has adopted it upon the Credit of *V. Maximus*. *Diod. Siculus* indeed, ſpeaks of a Law, which condemned the *Tribunes* to be burned, who had not taken Care to provide themſelves Succeſſors after their Office expired. But he ſays this Law was not made till after the Office of the *Decemviri* was aboliſhed, when the *Plebeians* ſeparated themſelves from the *Patricians* a ſecond time. So true is it, that moſt of the Annals of that Time differ from one another, both in the Date and Circumſtances of Facts. So that an Author, who is in the midſt of theſe Variations, runs the Hazard of ſtumbling at every Step, and rambling in unknown Paths, if Criticiſm does not come in to his Aſſiſtance, and direct him in the Choice of his Materials.

8 *D. Hal.* gives theſe Reaſons for rejecting this Tradition. Firſt, ſays he, *Caſſius*'s Houſe was demoliſhed, and the Place where it ſtood continues empty to this Day. This Place is yet to be ſeen, adds he, on the Out-ſide of the Temple conſecrated to the Goddeſs *Terra*, which the *Romans* afterwards built upon a Part of this Ground, which is in the Street that leads to the *Carinæ*. In the ſecond place, the Criminal's Eſtate was confiſcated, and ſold for the Benefit of the Publick, and the Money ariſing from it, expended in adorning ſeveral Temples, and chiefly in erecting Statues of Braſs to *Ceres*, the Inſcriptions of which prove, that they were bought at the Criminal's Expence. Now, adds *D. Hal.* if *Caſſius*'s Father had been his own Son's Accuſer and Judge, is it probable his Houſe would have been pulled down, and his Eſtate put up to publick Sale? The *Romans* had no Property of their own, while their Fathers were alive. How then can it be imagined, that the People of *Rome* would have confiſcated *Caſſius*'s Eſtate, for his Son's Crime, if he himſelf had been his Accuſer? *Livy* agrees with *D. Hal.* in this Caſe. *Propius fidem eſt, a Quæſtoribus Cæſone Fabio & Lucio Valerio, diem dictam perduellionis, damnatumque populi judicio.* Nevertheleſs, it is eaſy to anſwer *D. Hal.*'s Difficulty, with *Livy*'s own Words, who mentions the controverted Opinion. He ſays, that *Caſſius*, after he had beaten his Son with Rods, killed him with his own Hands, and conſecrated all the Wealth he had acquired, to *Ceres*.

did not think it proper to condemn him to Baniſhment. They knew his Correſpondence with the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. He would have found a Retreat among them, and, like another *Coriolanus*, would have turned their Arms againſt *Rome*. The People therefore paſſed Sentence of Death upon him. Nay, they even carried their Reſentments againſt the Criminal too far. They would have involved his three innocent Sons in the ſame Puniſhment with their guilty Father, that there might not be one Shoot left of ſo dangerous a Stock. It was to that time cuſtomary [9] in *Rome*, to extend the Puniſhment of great Offenders to their Poſterity: But the Senate thought ſo ill-judged a Cuſtom ought to be aboliſhed. They made a Decree, that the Puniſhment of Crimes ſhould be perſonal, and that the Children of Parricides, Tyrants, and Traitors to their Country, ſhould, if innocent of the Crime, be no longer ſubject to the Puniſhment of their Fathers. So that the Sons of the guilty *Conſul* were not included in the Condemnation the People paſſed upon him. As for *Caſſius* himſelf, his Sentence was put in Execution. He was, at the Deſire of the *Quæſtors*, led up to the *Capitol*, and thrown down headlong from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock, into the *Forum Romanum*. Thus died an ambitious Man, whoſe inſatiable Thirſt after Honours ruined him; who was too much elated with thoſe he already had, and ſunk under the Weight of his own good Fortune.

Year of *ROME* CCLXVIII. Q. FABIUS, and SERVIUS CORNELIUS, Conſuls.

§. VII. BUT the Sentence the *Roman* People paſſed upon *Caſſius*, ſoon turned to their own Diſadvantage. By the Pride of the *Patricians*, and the Contempt they ſhewed for the Commons, the Citizens of *Rome* found they had deprived themſelves of their moſt zealous Defender. The meaneſt of the Populace eſpecially regretted their having given their Suffrages, to rob themſelves of a Man, who had a real Affection for them. The Cauſe of theſe Murmurs, was the Delay of the *Conſuls*, in nominating *Decemviri*, for the Diſtribution of the Lands which had been promiſed them. They indeed continually put off their making any Report about it to the Senate, from one Day to another. From Complaints therefore the People came to ſeditious Aſſemblies. The *Tribunes of the People* often preſented Petitions for completing the Law, which directed the Diſtribution of the Lands; and in the Aſſemblies of the People they ſowered the Minds of the moſt Factious with their Harangues. Every thing ſeemed to tend to a Revolt, when the *Conſuls* had recourſe to the old Expedient of amuſing the People with a War. They ſet up Standards on the *Capitol*, as the Signals of an Expedition, which was only to be undertaken by the Citizens of *Rome*. The Pretence for theſe tumultuary Levies, was the Miſchief ſome Robbers had done in the *Roman* Territory; But the *Conſuls* did not concern themſelves about aſſembling an Army in a lawful manner, according to the uſual Forms. They were afraid the *Tribunes* would oppoſe any Decree the Senate ſhould paſs, for that Purpoſe; and choſe to raiſe an Army of Voluntiers: But none, except the moſt inferior *Claſſes*, would ſerve under *Conſuls*, ſo little inclined to favour their Pretenſions; and what was worſe, the *Conſuls* could not force any to take Arms. The *Tribunes* would have proteſted againſt any Puniſhments, decreed againſt thoſe who would not ſerve. The *Conſuls* therefore made uſe of a new Artifice to bring them to Obedience. They ſpread a Report, That they were going to create a *Dictator*, whoſe Sovereign Power would put an end to the Authority of the *Tribunes* in *Rome*; and That *Appius Claudius* ſhould be this formidable *Dictator*. The very Name of a Man ſo ſevere, and ſo much dreaded by the Multitude, made ſurprizing Impreſſions upon the People. They entered themſelves in the Troops without delay, and the *Conſuls* divided the two Armies they raiſed between them. *Cornelius* firſt took the Field; entered the Country of the *Veientes*, carried thence all the Inhabitants had left there, and made ſome Slaves without any Oppoſition from the Enemy. In ſhort, the *Veientes* ſent him Ranſoms for the Redemption of their Captives, and by the help of Money, obtained a Truce for a Year. *Fabius*, on the other hand, firſt fell upon the *Æqui*, and then entered the Territory of the *Volſci*. Theſe left their Country open to be a Prey to the Enemy for ſome Days; but when the *Roman* Forces had penetrated into the Territory of the *Antiates*, the *Volſci* marched out againſt them, to put a ſtop to the Inundation. And the *Antiates* would certainly have given the Republick a violent Blow, had their Attack been as ſudden, as their March was unexpected. They would have found the *Romans* diſperſed in ſeveral

Dion. Hal. B. 8. *p.* 546.

9 According to *D. Hal. B.* 8. and *Ariſtotle*, *Rhetor. B.* 1, & 2. the *Greeks* extended the Puniſhment of Criminals to their Poſterity. Nor were they more indulgent as to their Enemies, whoſe Children they ſacrificed to their Revenge. *Ariſtotle* has given us this Verſe, on this Subject:

Νήπιοι ἐς πατέρα κτείνας, παῖδας καταλείπει,

Places,

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Places, and their Army ſcattered about the Country in ſmall Parties, to pillage it. But they let ſlip this favourable Opportunity, and gave the *Romans* time to draw their Troops together. The *Volſci* therefore, who came negligently on, to fight an Handful of Men, which remained with the *Conſul*, were ſurprized to find a great Army ready to receive them; and the Fright put them into Confuſion. They diſperſed, and returned to *Antium*, where the greateſt Part of them took Refuge. There only remained one little Company of brave Men in the Field, who encamped upon a ſteep Hill, and paſſed the Night there. At Break of Day, *Fabius* inveſted them, and ſo cloſely ſhut up all Paſſages, whereby they might eſcape, or receive Succours, that they were forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion. It may eaſily be imagined, the *Roman* Army got a good Booty, in Spoils and Slaves: But the *Conſul* did not love the People well enough, to give the leaſt Part of it to his Soldiers. He ſold all the Spoils of the *Volſci*, and the Slaves which had been taken from them, ſolely for the Uſe of the publick Treaſury: and brought the Money to *Rome*, and put it into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*. However, he did not lead back his Army into the City, till his Year was near expiring. It may be obſerved of the two *Fabii*, the *Conſul*, and *Quæſtor*, that in their Adminiſtrations, they gave the *Patricians* a great Aſcendant over the People. The *Conſul* artfully eluded the Execution of the Law, about the Diſtribution of the Lands among the Commons. The *Quæſtor* had been *Caſſius*'s Accuſer, and got this Man, who was ſervilely devoted to the Intereſts of the People, condemned to Death. The two Brothers were zealous Partizans of the Senate and the Nobility: and their whole View was to raiſe them, by deſtroying the Authority of the Commons. Nevertheleſs, *Cæſo* [10] *Fabius*, this *Quæſtor*, who was ſo odious to the People, ſtood for the *Conſulſhip* after his Brother, and obtained it. He got a Majority of Voices in the *Comitia* aſſembled *by Centuries*, which gave him *Æmilius Mamercinus* for his Collegue. That the *Centuries* ſhould chuſe *Fabius*, notwithſtanding the Hatred the People had to him, is not to be wondered at: His Election [11] was made by the firſt *Claſſes*, before the inferior *Claſſes*, which conſiſted of *Fabius*'s Enemies, gave their Suffrages.

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10 According to *Pliny*, *B.* 7. and *Feſtus*, and *Val. Maximus*, *de Prænomine*, the *Romans* gave the *Prænomen* of *Cæſo*, to a Child who could not be brought into the World, without cutting open his Mother. This *Prænomen* is ſignified by the Letter *K*, to diſtinguiſh it from that of *Caius*, which is written with a *C*.

11 It is manifeſt from the manner of Proceeding in *Fabius*'s Election, that the People of *Rome* yet gave their Suffrages, according to the Order of the *Claſſes* and *Centuries*, agreeably to the Laws *Servius Tullius* had eſtabliſhed. In conſequence whereof, the moſt conſiderable Citizens had then the chief Power in the Election of the chief Magiſtrates. Afterwards, the *Plebeians* ſhared this Power with the Nobles in *Rome*, from the time that the *Comitia by Centuries* changed their Form. But it is hard to ſay exactly, when that was done. Antient Authors ſay nothing of it, and modern ones only give us their Conjectures, which determine nothing. What is certain, is, that by ſome ſudden Revolution, the *Comitia* of the People were aſſembled *by Tribes*, even when they were to vote *by Centuries* in the Creation of *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, and *Cenſors*, and important Deliberations relating to Peace and War. That is to ſay, that in the general *Comitia* of all the *Roman* Citizens, the People were firſt divided into *Tribes*, and then each *Tribe* ſubdivided into *Centuries*. Our Authorities for this Cuſtom, are, *Livy*, *B.* 1. and *Tully*, in his 2d *Philippick*. The *Latin* Hiſtorian declares, that the Order eſtabliſhed by *Tullius* in the *Comitia by Centuries*, was not obſerved in his time. *Nec mirari oportet, hunc ordinem qui nunc eſt, poſt expletas quinque & triginta tribus, duplicato earum numero, Centuriis juniorum ſeniorumque, ad ſummam ab Servio Tullio inſtitutam non convenire.* *Tully* expreſly declares, the People firſt aſſembled by *Tribes*, and then were divided into *Centuries*. *Per ſingulas Tribus, Centuriæ quæ primæ Claſſis erant, ſuffragium ibant.* 'Tis probable this new Way of Proceeding was introduced at the Requeſt of the Commons. They were concerned to ſee the *Patrician* Faction almoſt always prevail in the general Aſſemblies. It is well known, that the Conſequence of *S. Tullius*'s Regulation was, that Affairs were generally determined according to the Inclination of the firſt *Claſs*, which had more *Centuries* in it, than all the inferior ones together. Whence it came to paſs, that in the *Comitia*, where the Suffrages were reckoned by *Centuries*, the Nobles had always the ſtrongeſt Party. As they voted firſt, the Queſtion was determined, without calling the inferior *Claſſes* to vote. If the firſt *Claſs* were divided in their Suffrages, the Magiſtrates called the ſecond, third, and fourth. The fifth and ſixth, whoſe voting would have ſignified nothing, were ſeldom called upon to vote on either Side. Probably therefore, the *Plebeians*, being jealous of this Preference, and of the Advantages annexed to the ſuperior *Claſſes*, got the *Claſſes* at laſt to be reduced to an Equality. So that it was ordered, that the People ſhould firſt be diſtributed into *Tribes*, and then the *Prerogative Right* be determined by Lot. This *Right* belonged to the *Tribe* whoſe Name the Magiſtrate took firſt out of the Urn. This *Tribe* voted before all the reſt, and was therefore called *Tribus Prerogativa*. The ſame Method was obſerved as to the *Centuries* of which the *Tribe* conſiſted. Hence the Name of *Centuria Prærogativa* to the *Century* to whom the Lot fell to vote firſt. Being called by the Officer, it entered firſt into the Voting-place to give its Suffrage either *viva voce*, or by writing on little Tables, according to the different Cuſtoms, at different Times, as we have already obſerved, *p.* 148. *Not.* 32. Beſides, the Suffrages of the *Prerogative Tribe* prejudiced the reſt ſo much in the Candidate's Favour, that it was generally confirmed by the other *Tribes*, who were called by the Officer in their natural Order; *Jure-vocatæ Tribus*. They were ſo called, to diſtinguiſh them from the *Prerogative Tribe*. *Una Centuria Prærogativa tantum habet autoritatis*, ſays *Tully*, in his *Oration for* Plancus, *ut nemo unquam prior eam tulerit, quin renunciatus ſit.* People were ſo well aſſured, that the Suffrage of the firſt *Tribe* would be confirmed, that the Magiſtrate declared the Candidate who had it, elected, even before he had gathered the Votes of the other *Tribes*. They ſcarce ever failed following the firſt. After which

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§. VIII. It was happy for the new *Conſuls*, that Foreign Wars did not give the Populace time to raiſe Diſturbances at home. The *Volſci* depended upon the Seditions in the City: and indeed, judging of them only by the Averſion the People had to the Governors of the Republick, they might well expect to ſee the *Romans* ſufficiently employed with their domeſtick Quarrels. But their Preparations for making War with the Republick, reunited the ſeveral Parts of it, and put an end to Diſſentions. The *Conſuls* raiſed two Armies without difficulty; one of which was to march into the Enemy's Country, and the other to guard the Country of the Allies, againſt the Incurſions of the *Volſci*. It is here to be obſerved, that both the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, were now become *Romans*; and it is juſt Matter of Surprize, that *Rome*, ſince its changing the Monarchical into a Republican Government, had yet added only ſo ſmall a Tract of Land to its Dominions, after ſo many Battels fought, and Victories won. But indeed the *Volſci*, who were Neighbours to the *Latins* and *Hernici*, were a fierce People, and as difficult to be ſubdued, as the *Romans* were deſirous of ſubduing them. They firſt took the Field, and a part of their Troops over-run the Country which belonged to the Allies of *Rome*. Their Armies were numerous, and conſiſted of the braveſt Youth of their Country. They were piqued at the Check they had received the laſt Year, and at the ſhameful Retreat of the *Antiates*, whom the *Conſul Fabius* had ſeen fly before him. They expected to retaliate upon the *Romans*, the Misfortunes they had ſuffered by them, and repair the Glory of their Nation. There ſeems then to have been an Emulation for military Glory between the two Republicks. The *Roman Conſuls* drew Lots, to determine their reſpective Commands; and the Army which was to march into the Country of the *Volſci*, fell to the *Conſul Æmilius*; that which was appointed to protect the Allies, to *Fabius*.

ÆMILIUS, at his Arrival, finding the Enemy encamped in the Mountains, poſted himſelf likewiſe upon an Eminence, and watched the Motions of the *Volſci*. He ſaw them leave the Mountains by degrees, and come down and ſpread themſelves in the Plain: which he thought was only a Bravadoe, and therefore was not in haſte to give Battel. But when he judged it proper to engage, he encouraged his Troops, drew them up in Battalia, and ſounded a Charge. The Battalions on both Sides kept in cloſe Order, and advanced with equal Pace. The *Volſci* had learned the Art of War under *Coriolanus* ſo well, that their Army might have been taken for a *Roman* one. The two Armies firſt fought at a little diſtance with their Darts, after making great Shouts, the uſual Signal for beginning a Battel. When all their Darts were ſpent, they drew near each other, Sword in hand, to come to a cloſer Fight: And tho' the Attack was vigorous on both Sides, neither at firſt gave way. But at length the *Volſci* retreated a little, ſtill keeping their Ranks, and making Head againſt the *Romans*. This was a Stratagem of theirs to gain an Eminence behind them; but the *Romans* continued purſuing them in good Order, and puſhed them almoſt to their Camp. When the *Volſci* ſaw themſelves within reach of it, they broke their Ranks on purpoſe, and ran in great haſte to their Entrenchments. Then the *Romans* likewiſe broke theirs, to follow them: and the laſt *Century* eſpecially, that is, the vileſt Part of all the *Roman* Soldiery, fell to ſtripping the Dead, for the ſake of the Plunder. Upon this, the *Volſci* rallied very near the Camp, as they had agreed to do, and fell upon the *Romans*, who were in Diſorder; at the ſame time making a Sally out of all the Gates of their Camp, with a *Corps-de-reſerve*, which they had concealed there. Then the Fortune of the Battel was changed. The Fugitives became Aggreſſors; and the *Romans*, who had been almoſt Conquerors, were purſued and worſted. The Enemy made a great Slaughter of them, eſpecially of the laſt *Century*, who were wholly intent upon plundering. Only the Horſe covered ſome Battalions, and conducted them back to the Camp. Nor had even they, or the reſt of the *Roman* Army eſcaped, had not a ſudden Tempeſt aroſe. A black Cloud covered both Armies, ſo that they could not diſtinguiſh one another. Beſides, the Rain and Hail fell in ſuch abundance, as diſcouraged the *Volſci* from purſuing the *Romans*. The latter recovered their Camp in ſmall Numbers, and continued in it only the Night after their Defeat. They decamped the next Morning at Break of Day, and poſted themſelves upon an Hill near

the *Conſul* who preſided in the *Comitia*, declared the Candidate elected, in theſe Words, QUOD BONUM, FAUSTUM, FORTUNATUMQUE SIT MIHI, MAGISTRATUIQUE MEO, POPULO PLEBI QUE ROMANÆ, ÆMILIUM CONSULEM, *&c.* RENUNTIO; that is, *I declare* Æmilius, for inſtance, *elected* Conſul *or* Prætor, &c. *and may his Election turn to my Advantage, in the Adminiſtration of my Office, and to the Happineſs of the* Roman *People and Republick.*

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Longula, in *Latium*. *Æmilius* halted there, to dreſs the Wounded; and did his utmoſt to comfort and encourage his diſheartened Troops.

Had the *Volſci* contented themſelves with their firſt Victory, they would have gained a Superiority over the *Romans*, which the latter would have found it difficult to recover. But they run the hazard of a ſecond Battel, in which they had not equal Succeſs. Having learned from the *Roman* Deſerters, that *Æmilius*'s Army was reduced to a very ſmall Number of Fighting-Men, and that the Dead, the Deſerters, and the Wounded, had exceedingly weakened it; they ran on without any Caution, and ſome without their Arms, either to give the *Conſul* the finiſhing Stroke, or to be Spectators of his Defeat. They arrived at the Hill, on which the *Romans* were encamped, and inveſted it on all Sides. They made their Approaches to it, without Difficulty, and without Loſs. The *Romans* wanted Darts. The Battel was fought at the Foot of the Entrenchments, with which the *Romans* had covered themſelves. The *Volſci* had already filled up the Ditch; They were already upon the *Fauſſe-Brays*, which ſurrounded the Rampart; They were hard at work in breaking through it, in order to penetrate into the Camp, when the *Roman Knights*, then fighting on Foot, and the *Triarii*, who were always reſerved for deſperate Occaſions, ſuſtained the firſt Fury of the *Volſci* with invincible Courage. The *Romans* made the beſt uſe of their Advantage, and by fighting from the Tops of their Ramparts, diſperſed the Enemy, and forced them back into the Plain. There the *Volſci* encamped, and dared the *Romans* to come to an Engagement in the open Field: But *Æmilius* was too wiſe to run the hazard of a general Battel. Then the *Volſci* drew all the Militia in their Country to their Camp, with deſign to make a ſecond Attempt upon the *Roman* Camp; and in the mean time, blocked it up, and promiſed themſelves nothing leſs than to force the *Conſul* to ſurrender, by Famine. But *Æmilius* received Succours in due time. His Collegue *Fabius* did not indeed come himſelf to the inveſted Camp. The *Auguries*, and Entrails of Victims prognoſticated nothing but Diſaſters, if he went to deliver *Æmilius*. So that he contented himſelf with ſending a Detachment of his beſt Troops, which came before the Reinforcements of the *Volſci*, and revived the Courage of the *Romans*. They now thought themſelves not inferior in Strength, to the innumerable Multitude which ſurrounded them. They ſuffered the Enemy to climb up the Rock, which overlooked their Camp, and to get up to the *Fauſſe-braye*, where they had before been, to no purpoſe. Then the *Romans* inſtantly made great Openings in their Ramparts, ſallied out through them upon the Beſiegers, attacked them with the Darts they had received, and as the *Volſci* were ſtreightened in their Poſts, made a terrible Slaughter of them, partly with Stones, which were thrown upon them from above, and partly with the Sword. It was with difficulty, that they were able to retire to their Camp, leaving the *Romans* Maſters of the Field. And the latter being now in great Want of Proviſions, ſpread themſelves all over the Enemy's Country, and pillaged it. Whereby they revenged themſelves for the firſt Check they had received from the *Volſci*.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 42.

§. IX. During the Abſence of the *Conſuls*, the Diſcontents of the People about the Diſtribution of the Lands, began a little to revive. But the Senate pacified them for the preſent Year. Beſides, the *Conſcript Fathers*, in order to amuſe the City, ordered the Conſecration of the Temple of *Caſtor* [12] and *Pollux*. The famous *Poſthumius* at the time of the Battel of *Regillus*, had made a Vow to build it. It was finiſhed in the *Conſulſhip* of *Æmilius* and *Fabius*; and it was neceſſary it ſhould be dedicated. This Honour was uſually conferred on the *Conſuls*. But Occaſion was taken from their Abſence, to beſtow it upon *Poſthumius* the Son of the *Dictator*, who had made the Vow. In the mean while, the time for changing the *Conſuls* drew near: But *Æmilius* durſt not return to *Rome* to hold the Aſſembly. It was ſo unuſual for the *Romans* to be beaten by their Enemies, that the *Conſul* was full of Confuſion at his having been overcome. Only *Fabius* left his Camp, and came to preſide in the *Comitia*. The People would have had ſome of the old *Conſuls* choſen, who had ſhewn an Affection for them: Whilſt the Senate propoſed to elect ſuch Perſons as were not very agreeable to the Commons; and their Party prevailed. The *Centuries* choſe *M. Fabius*, Brother of the *Conſuls* of the two preceding Years, and that *L. Valerius*, who had gotten *Sp. Caſſius* condemned, in his *Quæſtorſhip*.

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As the old *Conſuls* had left their Troops in the Camp, their Succeſſors had nothing

12 This Temple of *Caſtor* and *Pollux* was built in the *Forum Romanum*, at the Foot of the Hill *Palatinus*, as *Donatus* conjectures. It was dedicated on the *Ides of July*, i. e. the 13th Day of that Month.

to do but to review and recruit them. But they found an Oppoſition made even to this, on the Part of the People and their *Tribunes*. The Populace made loud Complaints of the little Regard the Senate and *Conſuls* had ſhewn for the Law, which enacted the Diſtribution of the Lands in their Favour. *This Law is not indeed repealed,* ſaid they, *but the Execution of it is eluded by affected Delays.* The People filled *Rome* with theſe Murmurs, and brought their Complaints to the *Tribunes*, whom they accuſed of betraying the Intereſts which it was their Buſineſs to defend. So that it was to little purpoſe, that the Senate publiſhed an Edict, and the *Conſuls* appointed a Day for making new Levies: *Mænius* the *Tribune* oppoſed both the Edict of the Senate, and the Order of the *Conſuls*. In the mean time, a new Enemy appeared; and *Rome* not only had a War to maintain with the *Volſci*, in the Eaſt, but had likewiſe the *Veientes* to engage with in the Weſt; who were a Part of the formidable Body of the *Hetrurians*. But the two Armies, which were to act in theſe different Parts, could not be got ready ſoon enough. Their March was retarded by the Obſtinacy of *Mænius* the *Tribune*. He perſiſted in not ſuffering any Levies to be made, till *Decemviri* were firſt created, for the Diſtribution of the Lands. And theſe frequent Diſputes between the *Tribunes of the People* and the *Conſuls*, made the latter invent numberleſs Expedients to free themſelves from the Oppoſitions of the former. At preſent, *Valerius* and *Fabius* agreed together, to remove their *Conſular* Tribunal out of the City, and there ſummons the People to come and inliſt themſelves. This was a ſure Way, not to be troubled with the importunate Proteſts of the *Tribunes*. It is well known, their Juriſdiction did not extend beyond the Gates of *Rome*, and that they were even forbidden to go out of the City, unleſs on the *Feriæ Latinæ*, to aſſiſt at the Sacrifice, which was annually offered up to *Jupiter*, on the Hill of *Alba*, by both *Romans* and *Latins* jointly. The People were therefore called out of *Rome*, to be enrolled in the Soldiery. Here, being no longer ſupported by the Authority of the *Tribunes*, they became more tractable. If any Perſon refuſed to appear, and give in his Name, the Lands he had in the Country were pillaged; and if he was only a Renter, all his Inſtruments of Husbandry were taken away from him. After theſe good Orders were ſettled, there ſoon appeared two Armies ready to march, the one againſt the *Veientes*, the other againſt the *Volſci*. It fell to *Fabius*'s Lot to command the former, and to *Valerius*'s to be at the Head of the latter.

Year of *ROME* CCLXX.
M. FABIUS, and L. VALERIUS, Conſuls.

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

BEFORE they parted, the two *Conſuls* agreed to obſerve one uniform Conduct, throughout the whole Campaign: Which was, to keep themſelves ſhut up in their Camps, and not attack the Enemy; but to defend themſelves, in caſe they were attacked. It is probable, they had but little Dependance on their Troops, which conſiſted of Men ill affected to the *Conſuls*, and for the moſt part inliſted againſt their Wills. *Fabius* obſerved the Agreement punctually. He did not attack the *Veientes*; nor was he attacked by them. *Valerius* firſt penetrated into the Country of the *Volſci*, near *Antium*: and then encamped in ſight of the Enemy. The *Volſci* likewiſe fortified themſelves in their Camp, and kept within their Entrenchments. But this Inaction did not ſuit the Temper of the *Volſci*, or the *Romans*. They were both active Nations, warlike, Enemies to Repoſe, and thirſty after Glory. So that, as oft as any Party was ſent out from either Camp, to forrage, or guard a Convoy; the *Romans* ſent out Detachments to attack the *Volſci*, and the *Volſci* to attack the *Romans*. And both Generals obſerved, that they loſt more Men in theſe little Skirmiſhes, than in a general Action. The *Volſci* were the firſt who quitted their Tents, and drew up their Troops in Order of Battel. They had one Advantage over the *Romans*, which was, that they were near enough home, to receive freſh Soldiers to ſupply their Loſſes. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Army could not well brook the Defiance which was given them: So that the *Conſul*, in his turn, marched out his *Legions*, and drew them up in Battalia. Never perhaps was Action more bloody, or Succeſs more equal. The Horſe, the Foot, the Darters, the Slingers, on both Sides, all engaged at once. *Volſci* and *Romans* both ſtood their Ground. In the mean time, the Plain was ſtrewed with dead Bodies, and the Dying who were mixed with the Dead, filled the Air with their Groans. The Slaughter was ſo great, that neither Army was ſenſible, either of the Fatigue, or exceſſive Heat of the Day, till their Swords were blunted or broken, and their Bucklers ſo loaded with Darts, that they could carry them no longer. Then both Armies, exhauſted with Fatigue, left off fighting, as it were, by common Conſent, and retired to their reſpective Camps; neither Side having reaſon to boaſt of any Advantage.

THIS

Year of *ROME* CCLXX. M. Fabius, and L. Valerius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 8. *p.* 556.

This Battel, which was far from being deciſive, was not followed by any other; the two Camps quietly watched each other. Upon the News of the Battel fought by *Valerius*, it was ſaid at *Rome*, That it was the Fault of the Soldiers, that a complete Victory was not gained; and That they ſpared the Enemy, out of Hatred to their General, and for fear they ſhould procure him the Honours of a Triumph. But in all the Letters the Soldiers ſent to their Friends, they accuſed their Leader of Incapacity in military Affairs. In this manner, the Troops revenged themſelves on *Valerius*, that Enemy to *Caſſius*, and who had ſo ſtrenuouſly oppoſed the Diſtribution of the Lands.

Livy and *Dion. Hal. ibid.*

The little Succeſs of the *Roman* Arms, was alſo imputed to the Vengeance of Heaven. Nothing was talked of at *Rome*, but frightful Prodigies, ill *Auguries*, Spectres, and miraculous Voices, which were heard to threaten the State. But, whether the *Pontifices* ſpread theſe Reports, becauſe they were privately informed of the Amours of a *Veſtal*; or whether Mens Imaginations then took a phanatical Turn; great Enquiries were made after the Cauſe of theſe wonderful Events. It was thought, the Gods were provoked at being ſerved by impure Hands; and the Cauſe was brought before the *Pontifices*. They declared, *Opimia* [13] the *Veſtal* had polluted her Conſecration by her Incontinence, and had prophaned the Sanctuary. After Proof had been made of the Fact [14], ſhe was degraded, by having her Crowns and Sacerdotal Veil taken off; and then was led through the *Forum* to a Place without the Walls, where ſhe was buried alive. Two young *Romans*, her Companions in Guilt, were whipped with Rods, and put to death. In ſhort, the Ceremony ended with an expiatory Sacrifice; and *Rome* thought the Gods reconciled to her.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXI. *Interregnum.*

§. X. When the *Conſuls* Year was expired, the Difficulties about the Election of new ones encreaſed. The People were for electing two old *Conſuls*, (as they had been the Year before) who were well affected to their Intereſt. On the other hand, the Senate caballed to confer the *Conſulate* on two young Senators, who were very hot for the *Patrician* Party, and Enemies to the *Tribunes*. The Perſon whom the *Patricians* were moſt inclined to promote, was young *Ap. Claudius*, Son of the famous *Claudius* who had ſo often and ſo ſignally ſhewn his Averſion to the People. The Son had the ſame Inclinations with his Father, and even exceeded him in Moroſeneſs. Beſides, he had many Friends, and a great Number of Clients, who ſupported his Faction. Which was the very thing that made the People oppoſe him. They were afraid of the Government of an inflexible Man, who had great Intereſt. As oft therefore as the old *Conſuls* ordered the *Centuries* to aſſemble, in order to proceed to an Election, the *Tribunes* oppoſed it. This they had a Right to do: So that every one returned home without voting. On the other hand, the *Conſuls* oppoſed the ſeveral *Comitia* the *Tribunes* ſummoned. This likewiſe they had a Right to do: So that the People diſperſed without doing any thing. But theſe Diſputes ſcarce ever ended without Blows, and there were always many Men wounded on theſe Occaſions. At laſt, the Senators conſulted what Means would be proper to put an End to Quarrels, which would ſoon grow up into Sedition. But the *Conſcript Fathers* were divided in Opinion. The moſt rigid were for creating a *Dictator*, only for the Time of the *Comitia*, who would, by the ſupreme Power annexed to his Office, drive away the Factious from the Aſſemblies, reform the Abuſes of the Magiſtracy, and eſtabliſh wiſe *Conſuls* by his own Authority. However, they choſe to act a wiſer Part; which was to reduce the Republick to an *Interregnum*, for ſome time, and commit the Adminiſtration of it to ſome venerable old Men, who ſhould govern by turns, and take care to provide new *Conſuls*. *Sem. Atratinus* was the firſt who took upon him the care of publick Affairs, according to this Scheme, for a few Days; and from that time all other Authority ceaſed in *Rome*. To him ſucceeded *Sp. Lartius*; and all was peaceable during their tranſient Adminiſtrations. *Lartius*, in his, ordered the *Centuries* to aſſemble in the *Campus Martius*, where they came to an Election without Diſorder, and to the liking of both the *Patrician* and *Plebeian* Parties. One *C. Julius* was choſen, who was well affected to the People, and one *Q. Fabius*, who had already been *Conſul* once before. Tho' the latter inclined towards the Nobility, he was no violent Man; and beſides, his Collegue ſeemed to be a proper Perſon to counterballance his Authority. The People triumphed at being delivered from young *Ap. Claudius*, from whom no Moderation at all was to be expected, and gave publick

Atratinus.

Sp. Lartius.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXI. C. Julius, and Q. Fabius, Conſuls.

[13] *Livy* gives her the Name of *Oppia*.
[14] *D. Hal.* ſays the Accomplices in her Guilt were put to the Rack, and diſcovered the *Veſtal*'s Shame.

Proofs of their Joy. As the Sedition had been begun out of Fear of having him *Conſul*, it ceaſed as ſoon as he was excluded from that Office.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXI. C. Julius, and Q. Fabius, Conſuls.

The *Æqui* and *Veientes* took Advantage of the Diſturbances in the Republick, and committed Devaſtations in the Territories of the *Romans*, and thoſe of their Allies. The former entered into the Country of the *Hernici*, carried off their Cattle, and committed other Hoſtilities. *Rome* delayed revenging it, till a more favourable Opportunity offered; and the *Æqui* were emboldened by the Abſence of their Enemies. They appeared in a Body, and thought themſelves ſtrong enough to inveſt *Artona* [15], or *Hortona*, a City of the *Latins*. The Siege was long; however, they took it by Storm: And it does not appear that it was taken again from the *Æqui*, till the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip*. As for the *Veientes*, they by their Behaviour brought a riſing Quarrel to an open War. The *Romans* had ſent an Embaſſy to them to demand Satisfaction for the Plunders they had committed upon them. To which the *Veientes* had anſwered, that this ought not ſo much to be aſcribed to their *Lucumony* only, as to the whole Body of the *Hetrurians*. Nay, the *Roman* Ambaſſadors themſelves had fallen into an Ambuſcade of theſe Robbers, who had detained them. This Anſwer, and this Breach of the Law of Nations, convinced the *Romans* that a War with the *Veientes*, tho' formidable, was neceſſary. The Senate therefore diſpatched the two *Conſuls*, with a convenient Number of Forces: But not without Oppoſition, on the Part of the *Tribunes of the People*. They oppoſed the Decree of the Senate, and alledged, as a Pretence for it, the Breach of the *Conſuls* Promiſe, who had now delayed the Diviſion of the Lands for five Years: To which they added, the Danger there was of drawing all the *Hetrurian Lucumonies* upon them. But *Sp. Lartius* appeaſed them. The *Roman* Army divided into two Bodies, began their March under the Command of the *Conſuls*, and the Approach of the *Romans* made the Enemy retire into their Forts. So that the *Conſuls*, being left Maſters of the Country, plundered it, without having gained any conſiderable Victory.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXII. Cæso Fabius, and Spurius Furius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 559.*

§. XI. When the Time came for a new Election of *Conſuls*, *Rome* was ſenſible what a Wound the Party-Zeal of the People and *Patricians* had given to the antient Form, and original Liberty, of Elections. As the Commons obſtinately inſiſted upon chooſing *Patricians* of their own Party (for ſome of them were well-affected to the People;) and as the Senate would have none made Heads of the Republick, but ſuch as were of the *Patrician* Faction, one of each was choſen. The Senate, on their Parts, named *Cæſo Fabius*, who had been *Conſul* before, and who, when *Quæſtor*, had cauſed *Caſſius* to be condemned. The People, on theirs, choſe *Sp. Furius* [16], a zealous Partizan of the *Plebeians*. The *Tribunes*, who managed the Intereſts of the Commons, by this means artfully maintained Diviſion among the *Patricians*. As the *Conſuls* were then choſen out of their Body, thoſe who aſpired at this Office, ſided ſome with the People, to get their Nomination, and ſome with the Nobility, to obtain theirs. The two *Conſuls* were no ſooner entered upon their Office, but they were forced to ſet out for the War. On one hand, the *Æqui*, whoſe Progreſs had been neglected, had poſſeſſed themſelves of *Hortona*, which they had taken by Aſſault. On the other, the *Hetrurians* had held a general Aſſembly of their whole Nation, and without uniting in a Body againſt the *Romans*, in Favour of the *Veientes*, had given Leave to as many *Lucumonies* as would, to furniſh them with Men and Neceſſaries: So that the Forces of the *Veientes* were conſiderably increaſed. The Danger of the Allies, and even of *Rome* it ſelf, which was threatened by the *Hetrurians* with a Siege, called for a ſpeedy Defence. Nevertheleſs, when two Armies came to be raiſed, *Icilius* [17] the *Tribune* revived the old Quarrels about the Diviſion of Lands. He hoped

Liv. B. 2. c. 43. Dion. Hal. ib.

15 Antient Authors place *Hortona*, or, according to *Livy*, *Artona*, in the Neighbourhood of *Lavia* and *Præneſte*, beyond the Hill and City of *Algidus*, which was then dependent on the *Latins*. In ſeveral Editions of *D. Hal.* we read ὁρὰς. The *Vatican* MS. has ἥρνα, inſtead of ὁρτῶνα, which ought to be the reading. *Holſtenius* conjectures, that *Hortona*, or *Artona*, was not far from *Monte Fortino*. *Pliny* and *Strabo* mention another City of *Ortona*, in the Territory of the *Frentani*, which is now a Part of the *Hither Abruzzo*, and *Capitanata*, on the Coaſts of the *Adriatick* Sea. *Pliny*, *B.* 3. ſpeaks of a City *Hortana* in *Hetruria*. This is thought to be the preſent *Orti*, or *Orta*, which ſtands in the Place where the *Tyber* and *Nar* join. To avoid Miſtakes from a Reſemblance of Names, we muſt diſtinguiſh *Ortona*, from the City of *Artena*, which formerly ſtood upon the Confines of the Territories of the *Hernici*, the *Æqui*, and the *Volſci*. It is difficult to fix its antient Situation exactly. Some have confounded this City with another of the ſame Name, ſituated between *Veii*, and *Cære*: But the latter was, according to *Livy*, *B.* 4. entirely deſtroyed in the Time of the *Kings*, and never was rebuilt.

16 *Sp. Furius* is ſurnamed *Fuſus*, in the *Conſular Annals*. *Diodorus* gives him the Surname of *Medullinus*, which was common in the *Furian* Family.

17 *Livy* calls this *Tribune of the People*, *Sp. Licinius*. *D. Hal.* calls him *Icilius*. We prefer the Reading of the *Greek* Hiſtorian to that of the *Latin*. Firſt, becauſe the *Icilii* were then ſworn Enemies to the Nobility.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXII. Cæso Fabius, and Spurius Furius, Conſuls.

the great Extremity the Republick was in, would force the Senate to keep the Pr miſes they had made the People, and name thoſe *Decemviri* who had been ſo lo expected. It was the Buſineſs of the Senate to determine a Point of ſuch Importanc which was ſo hotly purſued by the *Tribunes*; and the Opinion of the moſt antient S nators was therefore asked. *Ap. Claudius* the Father, ſpoke firſt. His Age and Exp rience helped him to an Expedient, which, for ſome time at leaſt, gave great Adva tage to the *Patrician* Faction. He adviſed the *Conſuls* to ſow Diviſion among th *Tribunes of the People*, and always to get one at leaſt of this formidable Colleg over to their Side. Their Authority was equal, and of no weight, unleſs they we unanimous: So that the Oppoſition of any one of them was ſufficient to render i effectual the Proceedings of all the reſt of the College. This was thought wiſe A vice; and from that time the *Patricians* made it their Buſineſs to draw off four of th *Tribunes* from the *Plebeian* Party: And the Deſign ſucceeded. At firſt, the four *Tr bunes* who were gained over to the Senate, endeavoured to work upon *Icilius* the Collegue, the only *Tribune* who inſiſted on the Execution of the *Caſſian* Law. But length, the Affair was brought before the People aſſembled in their *Comitia*. Four the *Tribunes* were for deferring to put the Law in Practice, till the Wars which thre tened *Rome* were ended. *Icilius* alone contended warmly, that it was high time t haſten the Execution of it. And when it was repreſented to him, how dangerous might prove to *Rome*, to be left undefended againſt the threatned Attacks of the *H trurians*, for the ſake of a little private Intereſt: He cried out, *Let* Rome *periſh, r ther than the People be diſappointed of their juſt Pretenſions.* Theſe unguarded Word which eſcaped the *Tribune* in the Heat of his too fiery Zeal, gave an Handle to h Collegues. They exaggerated the Madneſs of them, and ſhewed the People the fata Conſequences of ſo furious an Obſtinacy. By this means, they gained their Poin againſt *Icilius*, without Difficulty, and brought upon the inconſiderate *Tribune* th Diſlike and Averſion even of the People.

The Obſtacle *Icilius* threw in the way was no ſooner removed, but the two Ar mies were eaſily raiſed; and ſupported by the publick Treaſure, and the Liberalit of private Perſons. That [18] which was to act againſt the *Æqui*, fell by Lot to *Furius* that which was to march againſt the *Hetrurians*, to *Fabius*. In the former, the *Conſu* being beloved by his Men, found nothing but Obedience and Courage. They onl wanted an Opportunity to ſignalize themſelves. But it unluckily happened, that th *Æqui* did not appear in the Field. However, *Furius* plundered their Lands; carrie off their Slaves and Cattel; divided all the Spoil which he took in this fruitful Coun try, among his Soldiers; and his Troops, who had gained more Plunder than Ho nour in the Campaign, continued to have a great Affection for him. But this was no the Caſe with *Fabius*. He had been made *Conſul* by the Senate, and the *Patrician* Party: and could never overcome the Prejudices of his Soldiers. He never found them

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 560.

bility. Secondly, becauſe we don't find that any of the *Licinian* Family had the *Prænomen* of *Spurius*; whereas it was very common in the *Icilian* Family. Whether this *Icilius*, who was now *Tribune of the People*, was the ſame Man, who had been *Tribune* ten Years before, *i. e.* in the Year of *Rome* 261, is uncertain.

18 According to the Text of *Livy*, in moſt Editions, the Troops which the Republick ſent againſt the *Æqui* fell to *Fabius*: And the Army which marched againſt the *Hetrurians*, was commanded by *Furius*. Whereas, according to *D. Hal.* the *Hetrurian* Army was commanded by *Fabius*; and *Furius* led the Troops which marched againſt the *Æqui*. But ſome Commentators think the Text of *Livy* ought to be corrected. Inſtead of the Words *ducendus Fabio in Veientes, Furio in Æquos, exercitus datur*; they read, *Fabio in Æquos, in Veientes Furio, datur*. By this Correction they pretend to avoid an Inconſiſtency in *Livy*'s Narration. He ſays that nothing memorable happened againſt the *Hetrurians*, but that it fared otherwiſe with *Fabius*, who had much Oppoſition to ſtruggle with from his Soldiers. Here you ſee that *Fabius* had no Diſpute with the *Hetrurians*. Nor is this all; after he had ſaid that *Fabius* was deſerted by his Men, at the Approach of the Enemy, he adds, in another Place, that the *Roman* Army gave up the Victory to the *Æqui*, in the Heat of the Action, after they had beaten them; and returned to the Camp, without paying any Regard to the Orders of the General. And ſome Lines after, *Livy* ſays, that the *Veientes* and *Hetrurians* received with Diſdain the Defiance of the *Romans*, who made ready to engage them, out of a Perſuaſion that they would give up the Victory to them, as they had done to the *Æqui*, in the laſt Campaign. Now theſe are the very Terms *Livy* uſes, when he ſpeaks of the Army the *Romans* had committed to the Conduct of *Fabius*. This *Conſul* therefore commanded the Army which marched againſt the *Æqui*. And conſequently, *Livy* is not conſiſtent with himſelf, when he puts *Fabius* at the Head of the Troops who were to fight with the *Hetrurians*. To avoid theſe Inconſiſtencies, Interpreters have choſen rather to make him contradict *D. Hal.* than to acknowledge that he contradicts himſelf. But beſides that we don't meet with theſe Blunders in the Account the *Greek* Hiſtorian gives us of theſe two Expeditions; his Opinion is more agreeable to the Diſpoſitions of the *Romans*, with reſpect to *Furius* and *Fabius*. *Furius* was grown popular, by his Regard for the People. *Fabius* was become odious to the Commonalty, ever ſince the tragical End of *Caſſius*, whom he had cauſed to be condemned to die. The Troops would not therefore have abandoned *Furius* in the Battle with the *Æqui*. All their Hatred and Revenge was levelled at *Fabius*.

ready to put his Orders in Execution, whether they were to ſeize a Camp, or ſecretly take Poſſeſſion of any Poſt. However, the General had Conſtancy of Mind enough to deſpiſe their Murmurs and abuſive Expreſſions. The Republick ſuffered little Damage by them: but what brought the State in danger, was the mad Part the Soldiers acted on an important Occaſion. A Battle had been fought in a Plain between two Hills, on which the *Veientes* and *Romans* had encamped. The latter fought like brave Men, as long as they thought their Lives in danger. They kept their Ranks perfectly well, and followed the Example of their General, who gave wonderful Proofs, both of Valour and Conduct. The Enemy was put into Diſorder, and nothing was wanting to gain a complete Victory, but to purſue them, and take Poſſeſſion of their Camp. The Horſe were ordered to purſue the *Veientes*, who yet preſerved ſome Order in their Retreat; and obeyed. The *Roman Knights* were deemed a Part of the Nobility, and were well-affected to the General. But the Infantry were not to be perſuaded by Exhortations or Intreaties. It was not poſſible to prevail on them to march to the Aſſiſtance of the Cavalry, who were worſted, and routed by the Enemy. In ſhort, the *Plebeian* Soldiers choſe rather to loſe their own Glory, and that of the Republick, than to gain any for an hated *Conſul*, who would have deſerved a Triumph. They returned to their Camp, without completing their Victory: and there the Seditious turned their Imprecations againſt their General. They aſcribed the ill Succeſs of the Cavalry to his Incapacity; and in their licentious Diſcourſes ran out into cruel Invectives againſt *Fabius*. In vain did ſome of the Soldiers, who had more Juſtice than the reſt, venture to ſay, he was a great Man, and a brave Commander; theſe Praiſes only increaſed the Clamours and Curſes of the Multitude. The General's only Fault, was an Exceſs of Goodneſs. He had not Reſolution enough to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of theſe Mutineers; and ſhewed, that a brave Man can with leſs Difficulty conquer an Enemy, than an ungovernable Populace. But even this was not all. The Seditious made Complaints in the Camp, of the tedious Stay of the Army in an Enemy's Country. They demanded leave to return to *Rome*, and declared, that they were not in a Condition to fight, if the Enemy offered Battel. And then even the Threatenings of the *Conſul* were ineffectual. He had loſt all Authority over theſe Mutineers. The Night following, they carried their Inſolence, and Contempt of their Leader, to a yet greater length. About Midnight, they ſtruck their Tents without any Orders, took up their Arms, and marched out of the Camp in as much haſte, as if they had fled from an Enemy; but took the Wounded along with them. Upon this, the *Conſul* had Condeſcenſion enough to ſound a March, and retired with the Troops whom he could not govern. There was a new Scene, when this Army of Deſerters came near *Rome*, where they arrived before Day. The Centinels who watched at the Gates of the City, and upon the Ramparts, long thought, that the Army of ſome Enemy was come to attempt to ſurprize the Walls: And when it was known, that the Troops which ſurrounded them were *Romans*, it was thought *Fabius*'s Army muſt at leaſt have received ſome violent Blow. But the Return of the Light undeceived *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, theſe Madmen were not ſuffered to enter the City, till it was broad Day, and then they were reproached with their inconſiderate Behaviour, and the Danger to which they had expoſed themſelves. If indeed the *Veientes* had known of their precipitate Departure, nothing could have been more eaſy than for them to have cut theſe Rebels in Pieces in their Diſorder. But the Enemy firſt plundered the deſerted Camp, where they had left their Proviſions for the reſt of the Campaign; and then made Incurſions into the *Roman* Territory, and pillaged it without Oppoſition. As for *Fabius* he brought back nothing with him to *Rome*, but the Hatred of his Soldiers, and ſome ſmall Addition of Eſteem, in the Minds of a few reaſonable Men.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXII.
CÆSO FABIUS, and SPURIUS FURIUS, Conſuls.

Liv. B.2. c.43.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 561.

Livy, ibid.

Dion. Hal. ib.

§. XII. It was now becoming a Cuſtom in the Republick, to have one of the two *Conſuls* choſen according to the Inclinations of the People, and the other according to thoſe of the Senate. The *Patricians* caſt their Eyes again upon the *Fabian* Family, and nominated *M. Fabius* [19] to the *Conſulate*, notwithſtanding that his Brother had been diſagreeable to the Army the laſt Year: And the People gave him *Cn.* [20] *Manlius*, ſurnamed *Cincinnatus*, for his Collegue. This was the ſecond time this *Fabius* was

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MARCUS FABIUS, and CN. MANLIUS. Conſuls.

[19] This was the ſecond time *M. Fabius*, ſurnamed *Ambuſtus*, was *Conſul*, according to *D. Hal.*

[20] This *Cneius Manlius*, ſurnamed *Cincinnatus*, was the Father of *A. Manlius*, whom the *Faſti Conſulares* make a *Decemvir*. The Surname of this *Conſul*, as well as that of his Collegue, have been taken from the *Greek* Tables, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*.

honoured

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Liv. B.2. c.44.

honoured with the *Conſulate*. In this Year, the War with the *Veientes* appeared more formidable than ever; their Army having been newly increaſed, by a prodigious Concourſe of Men from all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. The Princes of this great Nation were of opinion, that the critical Minute for the Deſtruction of the *Romans* was now come. *This Republick*, ſaid they, *would have been invincible, if domeſtick Diviſions had not broken the Bands, which united the ſeveral Parts of it together. Such is the Fate of the moſt powerful States. Tho' out of the reach of being deſtroyed by their weak Neighbours, they have at leaſt ſuch Seeds of Deſtruction in themſelves, as bring them to Ruin. The Seditious within them, do what no Foreigners dare to undertake. Such is the preſent Condition of this formidable Republick. The ill Effects of its growing Diſſentions have been for ſome time ſuſpended, by the Wiſdom of its Senate, and the Patience of the People. But it is now arrived gradually at the Criſis of its Decline. There are in Effect two different Cities, governed by different Magiſtrates, within the Walls of* Rome. *Each Party makes its own Laws, and the oppoſite one abrogates them at pleaſure. Tho' the* Romans *have always found ſome Difficulties in raiſing their Troops; yet their Forces have all along hitherto been obedient to their General; by which means,* Rome *has ſupported her ſelf, notwithſtanding her domeſtick Diviſions. But now, the Quarrels at* Rome *ſpread themſelves abroad, and are got even into the* Roman *Camps. Obedience is no longer paid to their Leaders; no Regard is now ſhewn to their Commands. The Soldiers refuſe to fight, tho' the Victory be certain; and decamp of their own accord, without waiting for the Orders of the* Conſuls. *How ſure Preſages are theſe of an approaching Deſtruction! It is now no longer neceſſary to overcome the* Romans *in Battel, in order to deſtroy the Republick; it is enough to declare War with them. They will deſtroy themſelves with their own Weapons; let them therefore do ſo. Let us only declare ourſelves their Enemies, and we ſhall be Conquerors of courſe.*

THE ſpreading of theſe Diſcourſes throughout all *Hetruria*, brought great Numbers to the *Veientes*. People ran to their Aſſiſtance, not ſo much out of Affection to them, as to give the finiſhing Stroke to the imperious Republick; and it is probable, that the *Æqui* joined their Forces to thoſe of *Hetruria*. Nevertheleſs, *Rome* did not grow wiſer for the Dangers which threatened her. When it became neceſſary to raiſe Forces to oppoſe the prodigious Armies of the *Hetrurians*, *Pontificius* the *Tribune* renewed the Complaints of the People, about the *Caſſian* Law, and the Creation of the *Decemviri*. Nay, the poor Citizens would have abſolutely refuſed to ſerve in the Armies, if *Claudius*'s Artifice had not been repeated. But the Senate gained over ſome *Tribunes* to them, and thereby rendered the Proteſts of *Pontificius* ineffectual, as thoſe of the *Tribune Icilius* had been the laſt Year: So that Levies were ordered to be raiſed, and were made without any Oppoſition. The only remaining Difficulty was, how to keep the malecontent Soldiers under Diſcipline, and excite them to fight; ſince the ill Example, and Impunity of the Troops the laſt Year, did in ſome ſort authorize Diſobedience. All the Hopes of *Rome* were founded in the Wiſdom and Unanimity of her *Conſuls*. They were of different Parties; but the publick Intereſt united their Hearts, both having the ſame thing in View.

Val. Max. B. 5. c. 5.

THE Armies of the two *Conſuls* were perfectly equal. Each contained two *Legions*, which had been raiſed in the City alone, and about as many Men as amounted to two more, raiſed among the Allies, and in the Territory of *Rome*. To which were added ſome auxiliary Troops ſent from different Places. By this, it may be judged, that the two *Conſular* Armies might very well amount to 20000 Men, and ſomething better. Care had likewiſe been taken to raiſe two *Legions* of young Citizens, to encamp round *Rome*, to keep off the *Hetrurian* Parties from the *Roman* Territory. But we don't include in this Number the Garriſon of the City, which conſiſted of old Soldiers, who were not able to bear the Fatigues of a Campaign. With theſe Forces, the Republick would have ſubdued all the reſt of *Italy*, if the Unanimity of her Citizens had been equal to their Valour. The *Conſuls*, each at the Head of his Army, paſſed the *Tyber*, and encamped near *Veii*. This City, which gave Name to the *Lucumony* of the *Veientes*, was but nine Miles from *Rome*: So little Progreſs had the Republick made beyond the River. *Manlius* ſeized an advantageous Poſt, and *Fabius* his Collegue encamped near him, that they might be within reach of mutually defending one another. The *Romans* had the terrible Army of the *Hetrurians* facing them, it being poſted at the bottom of the Rock, on which *Veii* ſtood. The Number of the *Veientes*, and their Allies, infinitely exceeded that of the *Romans*, and the Brightneſs of their Arms dazzled their Eyes. But this would not have affrighted the *Conſuls*, if they could have

depended on the Affection of their Troops. However, their Diſtruſts on this account were of great Service to them, by making them take ſuch Precautions as procured them one of the moſt memorable Victories *Rome* ever gained. They at firſt kept themſelves within their Camps, and continued unactive; which was very unuſual with the *Romans*. At this, the *Hetrurians* triumphed, and imputed the Caution of their Enemies to their Fears. The *Hetrurian* Cavalry were continually fluttering round the Camps of the *Romans*, and to their Reproach, bid defiance to their Troops, which were ſtrictly commanded not to ſtir out of their Entrenchments.

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§. XIII. AT this time an Accident happened, which greatly employed the Divination of the *Hetrurians*, who were ſo learned in the Art of *Auguries*. Whilſt *Manlius* continued in his Camp, Lightning fell upon it, ſtruck through his Tent, and ſhattered it to pieces. The Pan of burning Coals in his Tent was thrown down, his Arms partly damaged, and partly deſtroyed; and in ſhort his War-Horſe, and ſome of his Servants were ſtruck dead with it. The *Augurs*, who always attended the *Roman* Generals in their Expeditions, declared to the *Conſul*, that this Camp would be taken by the Enemy: And an Accident afterwards verified their Prediction. On the Credit of theſe Diviners, *Manlius* decamped the very ſame Night, and went and joined his Army to that of *Fabius*, that both might for the future make but one Body, and encamp within the ſame Entrenchments. The *Hetrurians*, on their Parts, interpreted the Preſage in their own favour, and promiſed themſelves Victory. They philoſophized much upon the Part of the Heavens from which the Lightning came, the Place where it diſappeared, and the Divinity who was the Author of the Prodigy. According to them, the taking of the Camp of the two *Conſuls* was certain; and *Manlius* had carried thither his own ill Fate with him: whereas if he had continued in his firſt Camp, the Misfortune would have reached no further. Being therefore full of this vain Confidence, the *Hetrurians* firſt ſeized the Camp *Manlius* had quitted; which was the Change the *Roman* Diviners thought was the whole Import of the Prognoſtick of the Lightning, which fell in it; and afterwards inſulted the *Romans*, who hid themſelves in their Entrenchments. Then the *Roman* Soldiers began to grow impatient at the Bravadoes of the Enemy, which made them very deſirous of fighting; and though the *Conſuls* received ſuch Pleaſure from it, as partly diſpelled their Diſtruſts; they wiſely reſtrained the Impetuoſity of their Troops, in order to increaſe it thereby. The *Hetrurians* came again, and reproaching the *Romans*: *Theſe* [21] *are a Parcel of Women,* ſaid they, *which the* Romans *have ſent hither againſt us, to rid their City of them. If the Republick has no better Defenders, ſhe ought to abate much of her Pride.* Upon which, the *Romans*, no longer Maſters of their Reſentments, came in a Crowd to the *Conſul*'s Quarters, which was called *Prætorium*, and demanded that the Signal might be given for the Battel. The Generals ſeemed to conſult with one another, whether it were proper to engage the Enemy; tho' they were at bottom agreed to increaſe the Eagerneſs of their Soldiers yet more, by further Delays: Till at length, it had like to have come even to a ſort of Sedition, which gave the *Conſuls* great Pleaſure. How ſtrangely inconſiſtent are the Multitude! Theſe ſame Soldiers, who a little time before, plotted together not to come to a Battel, now murmur, and mutiny againſt their Commanders, for deferring to lead them on. The Fearfulneſs they had been reproached with, had more effect upon them, than their own trueſt Intereſts, and their Love of their Country. Yet ſtill, the *Conſuls* were not very ready to hearken to their Supplications. On the contrary, they forbad them ſtirring out of the Camp, or committing the leaſt Act of Hoſtility againſt the *Hetrurians*, (who rambled round them, to exaſperate them) under very ſevere Penalties. Nevertheleſs, the Soldiers reſolved to fall upon the Enemy, in ſpight of the *Conſuls*; and therefore their Arms were taken from them. But a Report being ſpread in the Camp, That the *Hetrurians* were coming to beſiege it; That they made Preparations to force it; and That their Inſolence was grown to ſo great a height, as to become intolerable; the Soldiers would no longer ſend their Demands to the *Conſuls* by their *Centurions*, but came themſelves in Crowds round the Generals Tents, and ſhewed their Impatience by their Clamours. Their Deſires of Revenge were painted on every Face; and the *Conſuls* ſeized the Op-

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 563.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 45.

21 *Livy* adds, that the *Hetrurians* reproached the *Romans* with the Baſeneſs of their Origin, according to the Tradition ſpread among the Nations which were Enemies to *Rome*, that this City owed its Riſe to a confuſed Mixture of Herdſmen, and Profligates, who came thither to ſcreen themſelves from the Severity of the Law. *Ad hæc in novitatem generis, originiſque, quæ falſa, quæ vera jacere.* This Tradition was the Foundation of the two following Lines in the firſt Book of *Horace*'s *Satyrs. Sat.* 8.

Primus Majorum quiſquis fuit ille tuorum,
Aut Paſtor fuit, aut illud quod dicere nolo.

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portunity for which they had ſo long waited. After Silence had been commanded, by Sound of Trumpet, *Fabius* addreſſed himſelf to *Manlius* his Collegue, thus.

I am very ſenſible our Troops are in themſelves invincible; but who can aſſure me, that they have not formed a Deſign to ſuffer themſelves to be overcome? Their paſt Conduct makes me ſuſpicious of their future Fidelity. Romans, *your Ardor for fighting comes a little too late: I wiſh it proceeded more from the Love of Glory, than your perſonal Reſentments. We might then aſcribe your Valour rather to Duty, than an Indignation raiſed by the Enemy's Inſults. You would fight more out of a Senſe of your Obligations, than a Deſire of Revenge. Under your preſent Diſpoſitions, you may indeed have Succeſs; but you will never gain a Battel with complete Honour. Nevertheleſs, dear Fellow-Soldiers, your Intentions, tho' not entirely pure, yet proceed from real Valour. You bluſh at having been expoſed to the Inſults of the Enemy; and this is a plain Proof of* Roman *Magnanimity. I wiſh it equally poſſeſſed the Breaſts of all. But who knows, whether ſome don't demand leave to march out of the Camp to fight, and others to deſert? Who can aſſure us, that what happened laſt Year, will not be renewed under our Adminiſtration? Are your Deſires of the Diſtribution of Lands abated? Shall not our Country fall a Sacrifice to Trifles? Who can promiſe me, that I ſhall not meet with the ſame Fate my Brother* Cæſo *did? and that I ſhall on the contrary find an Obedience in the Army, which he could not obtain? Our Apprehenſions have all proceeded from the Untractableneſs of ſome Mutineers. This has made us check the Zeal, which otherwiſe prompted us ourſelves to come to a Battel. But what am I ſaying? In this inſtant, all Hearts are united. All ſhew a general Alacrity by their Wiſhes, and joint Acclamations. You are all in general earneſtly deſirous of mending paſt Faults. Come on then, let us fly to the Victory of which our own Hearts give us an Aſſurance! Only remember, that few brave Men fall in Battel. Death ſeldom mows down any there, but the cowardly, and thoſe that fly.*

THE *Conſul*, in ſaying this, ſhed many Tears, and to his Exhortations added Promiſes. He called upon thoſe, who had ſignalized themſelves in former Wars, by Name; and in ſhort, made all the Army ſenſible, what Advantage it would be to them, if they could ſubdue ſo rich and extenſive a Nation. His Diſcourſe was followed with univerſal Acclamations; and the Soldiers cried out, *Let him lead us on, and lay aſide his Suſpicions of us.* And then one *Flavoleïus* appeared on the Stage. He was a well-made Man, had a martial Air, and held a conſiderable Poſt in the Army. Tho' only the Son of an Artificer, his Merit had raiſed him [22] to be the firſt *Centurion* in one of the *Legions*. The Eſteem he was in among the Troops, gained him their Attention; and getting upon an Eminence, he thus addreſſed himſelf to the Generals. Conſuls, *I plainly ſee, you have not quite laid aſide your Diſtruſts of us; and indeed you have Reaſon to fear, we ſhall not act anſwerably to our Promiſes. But for my part, at leaſt, I declare I will behave myſelf in the Battel, like a true* Roman. *Fellow-Soldiers,* ſays he, *do you take the ſame Oath, I am now going to do.* At which Words, he drew his Sword, and lifting it up towards Heaven, cried out, *O Great* Jupiter, Mars, *and thou God, whoſoever thou art, who puniſheſt Breach of Faith, I call you to witneſs, that I will never return to* Rome, *till I have conquered.* Then the *Conſuls* [23], the Lieutenant-Generals, the inferior Officers, and all the Soldiers, took the ſame Oath with Joy; and the Air reſounded with the Name of *Flavoleïus.* When the Aſſembly broke up, the Cavalry got their Horſes ready; the Foot ſharpened their Weapons, and poliſhed their Bucklers: and were all ſoon ready to appear in the Plain. But before they ſet out, the *Conſuls* offered Sacrifices, to confirm the Vows of

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 567.

22 We have already obſerved, that there were three ſorts of Soldiers in every *Legion*, the *Triarii*, the *Haſtati*, and the *Principes*. Now as the *Triarii* were the ſtrongeſt of theſe, and the chief Dependance of the *Roman* Armies, therefore the firſt *Centurion*, who was the Commander of this fine Body of Men, held a very conſiderable Rank, and his Authority extended over all the Officers of every *Manipulus*, and every *Century*, in the *Legion*. For this Reaſon, he was called *Primo-pilus*, *Primi-pilus*, or *Primi-pili-Centurio*. The ſecond was called *Centurio Secundi Triarii*, and ſo on. The firſt *Centurion* of the *Haſtati* had the Name of *Primus Haſtatus*. The Titles of the *Centurions* who commanded the *Principes*, ran thus; *Primus Centurio Principum*, *Secundus*, &c.

23 It is very true, according to *Livy*, that all the Army took the ſame Oath; but he ſays nothing of the Generals. On the contrary, he ſeems to except them in the Diſcourſe *M. Fabius* the *Conſul* makes to the *Romans*, who began to loſe Ground. *Hoc juraſtis Milites, vos in caſtra redituros: at ego injuratus, aut Victor revertar, aut prope te hic, Quinte Fabi, dimicans cadam.* That is, *Soldiers, have you then forgot your Oaths, and the Performance of your Promiſes? Will they end in a precipitate Flight to your Camp? As for me, though I have entered into none of thoſe Engagements, yet I will either come off victorious, or have the Glory,* Quintus Fabius, *of dying near you fighting.* But is it probable, that the *Conſuls* ſhould refuſe to follow the Example of the whole Army, which bound themſelves by ſo ſolemn an Oath? eſpecially the Moment they were going to begin a deciſive Battel, in which it was their proper Buſineſs to rouze the Courage of their Soldiers?

their Army, by Religion. Then the *Romans* marched out of their Camp in Silence, and in good Order, to take Poſſeſſion of an advantageous Ground.

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ON the other hand, the *Hetrurians* were ſurprized to ſee theſe cowardly *Romans* come down from their Entrenchments, and offer them Battel. As this was a thing they did not expect, they had not brought the Soldiers of their two Camps together. Nevertheleſs, the Army with which they oppoſed the *Romans*, was conſiderably more numerous than theirs. Beſides, it was ſaid in all the Ranks of the *Veientes*, that the *Roman* Troops would betray their Generals, and deſert them in the midſt of Danger. Being therefore full of theſe Hopes, they ſounded a Charge. Their Ranks [24] were drawn up ſo cloſe, that the Soldiers had not room enough to extend their Arms, and throw their Darts with Vigour: So that, in the firſt Onſet, they did little Execution. But that was not the Caſe with the *Romans*; who, to make their Front the larger, for fear of being ſurrounded, had widened their Ranks. The *Conſul Manlius* commanded the Right Wing, *Q. Fabius* the Left, and *M. Fabius* the main Body. Both Armies advanced, made great Shouts, and came to a cloſe Engagement, Battalion againſt Battalion, and Squadron againſt Squadron. The Front of the *Hetrurian* Right Wing was much larger than that of the *Roman* Left Wing; ſo that *Fabius* had much ado to withſtand the Multitude of Enemies which faced him. Nevertheleſs, he made his Way through a great Body of *Veientes*, which he had broken into, when an *Hetrurian* of a gigantick Stature came up to him with his Lance, and plunged it into his Breaſt. *Fabius* drew it out of his Body, but loſing Blood, fell from his Horſe: and his Left Wing was inſtantly ſurrounded. Upon News of this, the *Conſul Fabius* quitted his Poſt, and flew to aſſiſt his Brother, and his *Romans*. He took his other Brother *Ceſo* with him, and ſome Troops in which he could confide. As ſoon as he came to the Place, where the *Romans* began to give way, after they had loſt their Leader, he cried out; *Fellow-Soldiers, is this the Effect of your Oaths? Will you ſhamefully fly back to the Camp? Are you more afraid of a ſmall Number of* Veientes, *than of* Mars *and* Jupiter? *Come on then*, replied Cæſo, *let us alone fall upon the Enemy, and not imagine that our Intreaties will have a greater Effect upon Cowards, than the fear of the Gods!* At which words, the two *Fabii* threw themſelves into the midſt of the Enemy; and their Example renewed the Courage of the *Romans*. They beat down every thing that oppoſed their Valour; the foremoſt of the *Hetrurians* covered the Ground, the hindmoſt fled. Then the two *Fabii* returned to the Place where their Brother *Quintus* was fallen; found him out among the Dead, and perceived that he yet breathed: but ſcarce had they taken him up, before he expired. The Deſire of Revenge gave the two *Fabii* new Strength. They returned to their own main Body, and attacked that of the Enemy, which could not ſtand againſt them. They raiſed Heaps of Dead; all Oppoſition fell before them: Valour and Skill prevailed over Numbers. In the Right Wing, commanded by *Manlius*, the Enemy continually loſt Ground, as long as that brave *Conſul* was in a Condition to fight. But a Lance unfortunately lighting upon his Knee, and penetrating into his Thigh; he was inſtantly taken up, carried out of the Battel, and brought into the Camp. His Abſence, and the falſe Report of his Death, made a great Alteration on that Side where he commanded; the *Romans* were there repulſed, and loſt all the Ground they had gained. However, the *Fabii* inſtantly fled to their Relief; and then the *Hetrurians* halted, and left off purſuing the *Romans*, who had begun to fly; but recovered their Courage at the Preſence of the *Conſul*. *I have conquered*, ſaid he to them, *in the right Wing, and in the main Body, and my Collegue is alive:* And indeed *Manlius* appeared again among his Troops, for ſome little Time. The *Romans* in the right Wing recovered their Spirits; returned to the Battle, with the Fury Shame always gives brave Men, after a Repulſe; broke thro' the Enemy's Ranks; and would have routed them, if a new Battle had not begun in another Place.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 46. and *Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 568.*

THOSE *Veientes* who had taken Poſſeſſion of the Camp *Manlius* had deſerted, did not continue idle, during the Action. Their Commanders led them to attack the other *Roman* Camp; where only ſome Veterans [25] were left to defend it. Theſe were

[24] This is our Conſtruction of theſe Words of *Livy*, *vix explicandi ordinis ſpatium fuit*. The Reaſon why the Ranks in the *Hetrurian* Army were ſo cloſed, was, becauſe they did not give themſelves time to draw up in Order of Battel; or, if you will, becauſe they had not Ground enough to extend themſelves.

[25] According to the Regulation of *Ser. Tullius*, it was the Buſineſs of the young Soldiers to take the Field in the Purſuit of the Enemy: whilſt the Veterans had nothing to do but to guard the City, and defend it from Inſults within and without. *Seniores ad urbis cuſtodiam ut præſto eſſent; juvenes, ut bella foris gererent.* But it appears from the Sequel of this Hiſtory, that this Cuſtom was afterwards changed. The old Troops,

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indeed the beſt Soldiers in the *Conſular* Troops: But what can a ſmall Number of Men do againſt a whole Army? Their only Remedy was to inform the *Conſuls* of the Danger to which their Camp was expoſed; and *Manlius* being carried thither, wounded as he was, his Preſence raiſed the Spirits of his Men. As if all the *Romans* were to have had their Share in the Glory of ſo great a Day; the Merchants, the Victuallers, the Artificers, and the very Boys in the Camp fought to defend it. *Manlius* cauſed the Entrances into it to be ſhut up, and guarded all the Approaches to it, as well as he could: But the *Hetrurians*, who were very ſtrong in Number, came at laſt to one of the Gates, and broke thro' it. Thither therefore *Manlius* flew, with ſome Brigades of Horſe; and whilſt he was fighting in this narrow Paſſage, with a Courage which made him forget his Wound, his Strength was at laſt exhauſted, and being covered with new Wounds, he fell down and died. Great Slaughter was made of the *Romans* round him; and the Death of the *Conſul*, was followed by the taking of the Camp. Some brave Veterans indeed entrenched themſelves in the Place where the Arms were kept, before the *Conſul's* Tents; but the Love of Plunder, of which the *Hetrurians* were very greedy, was what alone preſerved them from Deſtruction. Whilſt they were ſtripping the Dead, and plundering the Camp, *Fabius* left the Battle, and came upon them with a Part of his Army; the reſt continuing fighting and conquering. Upon the *Conſul's* Arrival, the *Hetrurians*, who were Maſters of the Camp, mounted the Rampart, and lined it every where, to defend it. They began a furious Battle, with Men already fatigued with a long Engagement, and who fought to a Diſadvantage: But *T. Siccius*, one of the Lieutenant Generals of the *Conſular* Army, found out an Expedient, for re-conquering the invaded Camp. This was to draw all the *Roman* Forces to a Part of the Entrenchments which he knew to be weak; and on this Side a general Attack was made. *Siccius* left the Avenues to the Camp open, that the Enemy might march out of it with the more Eaſe: And his Project ſucceeded. The *Hetrurians*, who could not long withſtand the Ardour of the *Romans*, opened all the Gates, and retired without being purſued: And the Camp was no ſooner retaken, but *Fabius* haſtened back to his Troops, who were yet fighting in the Plain; and his Preſence gave the finiſhing Stroke to the Defeat of the Enemy, the *Hetrurians* retiring into their Entrenchments in Diſorder. Such was the Succeſs of the Battle of *Veii*, which began at Noon, and did not end till Sun-ſet: not but it coſt the *Romans* a great deal of Blood; a *Conſul* and a Lieutenant-General fell in it; and, in ſhort, more *Tribunes* and *Centurions* were killed, than in any former Action. *Fabius*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, was ſo ſenſibly affected with the Loſs of his Brother *Quintus*, that he ſeemed inconſolable. That illuſtrious Man had been twice *Conſul*, and by his Probity, as well as Valour, ſhewed himſelf worthy of the illuſtrious Houſe from which he deſcended. So many Loſſes, would have in a manner made the Victory dubious, if the *Hetrurians* had not declared themſelves overcome. They quitted their Camps the Night following, and left the *Romans* Maſters of the Field of Battle, and of the Country. Then the Conqueror diſtributed among the brave Men of his Army, the Rewards they had deſerved. *Cæſo Fabius* was firſt named, and none diſputed with him the Honour his Brother did him: *Siccius* was ſecond; he had done the *Romans* important Services in the Recovery of their Camp: And laſtly, *Flavoleïus* was not forgotten. The General did him Honour for his Zeal for his Country's Service, and the Exploits by which he had ſignalized himſelf in the Battle. But the *Fabian* Family may be ſaid to have borne away the chief Glory of the Action; and their remarkable Exploits reconciled the *Roman* People to them. They were, from this time, ever thought one of thoſe *Patrician* Families, which were called *Popular*, becauſe the Friends of the People; and on the other hand, the People's Affection for them was not gained by any mean Arts of Ambition, to the Detriment of the Publick, but was only owing to their Virtue.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 569.

The victorious *Conſul* was yet in his Camp, when the Honours of a Triumph were decreed him at *Rome*. His Wiſdom was much magnified, in his carrying on ſo ex-

Troops, who had completely fulfilled the Time of their Service, often voluntarily offered to carry the War into the Enemy's Country. They were incorporated in the *Legions*, among the choiceſt of the Soldiers, under the Name of *Triarii*. In general Actions, this Body, conſiſting of Soldiers inured to War, was poſted in the third Line, where they waited for the General's Commands. They were a ſort of *Corps-de-reſerve*, and never engaged till the Advance-Guard had been forced to give way. Then they marched into the firſt Rank, and renewed the Fight, with a Fury and Conſtancy which generally determined the Victory in favour of the *Romans*. The oldeſt of theſe Soldiers were employed in guarding the Camp, whilſt the others were in the Field, or actually engaged with the Enemy.

ceeding difficult a Campaign, and gaining the Affections of his Soldiers, who were prejudiced againſt him, and all the *Patrician* Party. He was much extolled for that Activity in the Battle, which made him ſeem to be in many different Places at once; and for that Valour which had made him victorious in the two Wings, the main Body, and at re-taking of his Camp. The *Romans* expected to ſee him enter the City in a magnificent Chariot, at the Head of a pompous Proceſſion, and attended by the many Priſoners he had taken in the Battle; and were much ſurprized to ſee him enter *Rome* in Mourning, and bringing with him the Bodies of *Manlius* his Collegue, and his Brother *Quintus*. As for the Triumph, he declined all the Honours of it on this mournful Occaſion. He aſcended *The Tribune*, and there made a Panegyrick on theſe illuſtrious Men, who fell in the Battle; but ſaid nothing of his own Exploits. So much Modeſty therefore, joined with ſo much Merit, entirely won him the Hearts of all the People. He certainly did himſelf more Honour by refuſing a Triumph, than he could have gained by it. Nor was this all: As he was now the ſole Governor of the Republick, he ſeemed afraid of countenancing even the leaſt Appearance of Monarchy: And therefore abdicated his *Conſulſhip*, tho' it did not expire till two Months afterwards. Thus leaving the Government in an *Interregnum*, he retired to his own Houſe, there to dreſs the Wounds he had received in the Battle.

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MARCUS FABIUS, and CN. MANLIUS. Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 550.

§. XIV. DURING the *Interregnum*, the *Roman* People aſſembled in the *Campus Martius* to chooſe *Conſuls*. It was then extraordinary to continue the *Conſulſhip* long in the ſame Family. Nevertheleſs, the Glory of the *Fabii* was too great, their Exploits too freſh in every one's Memory, and the Affection of the *Romans* for them was too warm, to ſuffer them to be forgotten, at a Time proper for the People to ſhew their Gratitude. *Cæſo Fabius* [15] was therefore choſen *Conſul* the third time. So that now three Brothers of the ſame Name had enjoyed that Office for ſeven Years ſucceſſively. The Collegue the *Centuries* gave *Fabius*, was *T. Virginius*. The new Magiſtrates were no ſooner in their Office, but *Fabius*, actuated by his new Affection for the People, laboured to reconcile them with the Senate. The Demands of the People, about the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands, and the Refuſal of the *Patricians*, had been too long a Source of Diviſions in the Republick. The *Conſul* therefore, before the *Tribunes* had preſented any Petition upon that Head, which they did every Year, exhorted the Senators, to prevent the Complaints of the People, to make the Diſtribution themſelves, and thereby put an End to the Mutinies of the Commons for ever. But *Fabius* was not heard; ſome rallied, others murmured, at the new Zeal of a *Fabius* for the Intereſts of the Populace: and ſome even accuſed him of Pride, and ſuſpected him of Ambition. There were now no new Levies to be raiſed; the laſt Year's Troops were ſufficient; and *Rome* enjoyed Peace at home. The Armies were divided between the *Conſuls*. *Fabius* marched againſt the *Æqui*, and *Virginius* againſt the *Veientes*. Theſe two Nations had been for ſome time the declared Enemies of the Republick. The *Æqui* had lately committed Ravages in the *Latin* Plains: But *Fabius*'s Preſence diſperſed them. As for the *Veientes*, they at firſt pretended to be afraid of the *Romans*, continued ſhut up in their Cities, and ſeemed not to dare to appear in the Field. But ſoon after, they attacked the *Romans* who were diſperſed abroad in ſeveral Places for Plunder, took away their Booty from them, and made a great Slaughter of them. *Siccius*, however, came up very ſeaſonably, and to him alone it was owing that *Virginius*'s Army was not entirely defeated. He aſſembled a ſmall Body of the Remains of his Troops, which he poſted on an Eminence, only to paſs the Night there; upon which, the *Veientes* immediately formed a greater Camp, within Reach of the Enemy, brought freſh Troops, and ſurrounded the *Romans* and their *Conſul* on all Sides. But *Fabius* had timely Notice of the Extremity to which his Collegue was reduced; and decamping without Delay, marched his Troops, which were then of no Uſe againſt the *Æqui*, to the Deliverance of *Virginius*. Had he arrived a Day later, the *Conſul* and his *Romans* muſt have been forced to ſurrender at Diſcretion, or have been all cut in pieces. They were already engaged with the Enemy, when they ſaw *Fabius*'s Army advance in good Order; and tho' exhauſted with Hunger and Thirſt, the Courage of the *Romans* revived, at the Sight of their Friends. The *Hetrurians*, on the contrary, diſcouraged at the unexpected Arrival of *Fabius*, diſperſed, and returned to their Cities. But the Deliverance of *Virginius* was not the only Advantage the Republick

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CÆSO FABIUS, and T. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 2. c. 48.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 571.

[15] *Zonaras*, upon the Credit of bad Memoirs, places one *Manlius*, (who he ſays was choſen the third time,) and *T. Virg. Tricoſtus Rutilus*, in the *Conſulſhip* for this Year.

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CÆSO FABIUS, and T. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.

Liv. B. 2. c. 48. Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 572.

drew from the *Conſul*'s Expedition. The *Roman* Territory was already become a Prey to the *Hetrurians*; (for Robbing was that Way of making War which they beſt underſtood;) and *Fabius*'s coming preſerved the Corn and Cattle in the Country, at leaſt for the preſent. But they did not continue ſafe long. The *Roman* Husbandmen, and Herdſmen, were come down from the Mountain into the Plain, when (after the *Conſuls* were departed, and their Troops disbanded,) the *Veientes* again entered the *Roman* Territory, and made Incurſions even to the Foot of the Hill [26] *Janiculus*. This was inſulting *Rome* it ſelf. She therefore ſought means to put a Stop to the Rapines of a Nation, who now made War only by robbing; and the Senate aſſembled, to conſider how they ſhould oppoſe the Incurſions of the *Hetrurians*. The Armies were disbanded, and the Soldiers had ſerved the legal Time. It would then be difficult to raiſe new Forces; and Mutinies were apprehended. The only Remedy left was, to build Forts upon the Frontiers, and place Garriſons in them; but this ſeemed impracticable. The publick Treaſure was exhauſted by ſo many Wars; the Maintenance of theſe Garriſons would be expenſive; no Voluntiers offered themſelves to defend the Frontiers; nor were the People able to contribute any thing more towards theſe new Expences. So that the Senate came to no Concluſion, but adjourned the Conſideration of the Affair to the next Day.

§. XV. THEN the *Conſul Fabius* formed a Deſign worthy of his Affection for his Country. He aſſembled together his own Family, and repreſented to them the Miſchief the *Hetrurians* did in the *Roman* Territory. He informed them how difficult the Senate found it to put an End to theſe troubleſome Incurſions which were ſo diſhonourable to the Republick; and, in ſhort, propoſed it to them to charge themſelves alone, and at their own Expence, with a Commiſſion equally important and glorious. The *Fabii* conſented, and reſolved to get ſo ſeaſonable an Offer of devoting themſelves to the Service of their Country, accepted by the Senate; and the next Day all the illuſtrious *Patricians* who bore the Name of *Fabius*, came to the Door of the Senate-houſe. It was not known, what Petition this numerous Family came to preſent; and the Surprize of the Senators was extremely great, when they heard the *Conſul Fabius* ſpeak in this manner: *You are not ignorant*, Conſcript Fathers, *of the preſent Diſtreſs of the Republick. Nothing but a Garriſon of active vigilant Men, who continually reſide upon the Frontiers, can guard you againſt the Robberies of the* Veientes. *It is in vain, and it would be expenſive, to ſend out great Armies againſt them. A ſmall Number of Men, advantageouſly poſted, will be ſufficient to preſerve your Lands. Let other Wars then be carried on at the Expence of the Publick; but in this, we only deſire you to give your Conſent that the* Fabian *Family may run all the Hazards, and it ſelf bear all the Expences, of defending your Frontiers. Let the* Veientes, *for the future, be conſidered as the Enemies of the* Fabii *only. They promiſe you, that they alone will maintain the Dignity of the* Roman *Name. We undertake it as a Family-War: The Republick ſhall neither furniſh Men nor Money for this neceſſary Expedition.*

Livy, ibid.

THE *Conſul*'s Propoſal being received with Applauſe, and unanimouſly approved; *Fabius* inſtantly went out of the Senate, and brought his Relations, who waited for him, the News of their having Leave to depart for the Frontiers: And early the next Day, theſe illuſtrious *Patricians* appeared under Arms at *Cæſo Fabius*'s Door. They were 306 in [27] Number, deſcended from different Branches, but all originally derived from the ſame Stock, and all of the Name of *Fabius*. The Report was ſpread all over *Rome*, that one ſingle Family took upon it the Weight of an uſeful and burdenſome War. The People ran together in Crowds, to ſee theſe brave Men ſet out, whoſe Valour and Liberality charmed them. *Had we*, ſaid they, *but two other ſuch Families in* Rome, *we ſhould be out of the Reach of all our Enemies! The* Æqui *and the* Volſci *would make no more Incurſions on our Lands.* Theſe illuſtrious Relations all drew up in Order of Battle, dreſſed in their military Habits: And there was not one of theſe Heroes, but was worthy to command an Army. The ſame *M. Fabius*, who had won the Battle of *Veii*, and was now cured of the Wounds he had received the laſt

27 This Hill, which is now called *Montorio*, was then without the *Pomærium* of *Rome*. *Ancus Martius* had made it the chief Bulwark of the City, by ſurrounding it with Walls, for the Defence of *Rome*, againſt the Incurſions of the *Hetrurians*.

28 *Livy*, it's true, reckons but 306 Men, who engaged in this Expedition, *ſex & trecenti Milites*. But it is eaſy to reconcile his Account with that of *D. Hal.* It is evident he includes none in this 306 Soldiers, but thoſe who were deſcended from the *Fabian* Family, and bore the Name of *Fabius*. This appears from the following Words, *Omnes Patricii, omnes unius Gentis*, i. e. *they were all of the* Patrician *Race, and all deſcended from the ſame Stock.* 4000 Men, ſays *D. Hal.* of their Relations and Clients, were willing to ſhare the Dangers of the Enterprize with them. This *Livy* ſufficiently intimates, when he adds, *Sequebatur turba propria cognatorum ſodaliumque.*

Year,

Year, commanded the Troop. He carried with him about 4000 Men, partly the Vaſſals, and partly the Clients of his Family: And the Admiration of the *Romans* was as great, as their Expectations of Succeſs in the Enterprize. They followed theſe Warriors with Vows, and ſaid, *Go, and be as ſucceſsful as you are brave! May your good Fortune be anſwerable to your Virtues! The* Conſulſhip *and other publick Honours ſhall always be the Reward of your Merit.* As they paſſed by the [28] *Capitol*, the People offered up Prayers to all the Gods for them: But the Event ſhewed that their Vows were in vain. At length, the *Fabii* and their Company arrived at the Banks of a little River, then called the *Cremera*[29], but now the *Baccano*. There they built a Fort, in a ſteep Place, ſurrounded it with a double Ditch, and erected Towers at certain Diſtances. Whilſt they were making this Sort of Camp, or Caſtle, *Cæſo Fabius* the *Conſul*, who had gathered ſome Troops together to cover the Workmen, entered the Country of the *Hetrurians*, and pillaged it. He brought great Quantities of Corn, and numberleſs Cattle to the new Fort; and all the Booty he took from the Enemy, was for the new Garriſon. When the Works were finiſhed, ſo as to be paſt Danger from the Inſults of the Enemy, the *Conſul* led his Troops back to *Rome*. The Family of the *Fabii* did an incredible deal of Miſchief to the *Veientes*, and to all the *Hetrurians* in general. No Husbandmen durſt appear any more in their Plains, or bring any Cattle into their Paſtures. The very Proviſions which were carrying to *Veii*, were often ſurprized by the *Fabii*. Their manner of making War was to divide their Men into four little Bodies. One was left to guard the Camp, the other three marched into three ſeveral Parts of the Country; and nothing was ever more ſucceſsful than their firſt Expeditions. The Enemy attempted in vain to ſurprize the Fort, or draw them into Ambuſcades. They were always repulſed or beaten.

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CÆSO FABIUS, and T. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.
Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 573.

§. XVI. IN the mean time, new *Conſuls* were choſen at *Rome*, which were [30] *L. Æmilius*, and *C. Servilius*. As for *Cæſo Fabius*, he had no ſooner laid down the *Conſulſhip*, but he deſired the Senate's Permiſſion to go and join his Family on the Frontiers. Leave was accordingly given him to go to the Banks of the *Cremera*, but in Favour to him, and to gain him the more Reſpect, the Republick created a new Office, which afterwards became very common. He went to make War with the *Veientes* with the Title of [31] *Proconſul*, which was, till then, unknown in *Rome*.

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L. ÆMILIUS, and C. SERVILIUS, Conſuls.

29 *Livy* obſerves that the *Fabii* went out of the City at the *Porta Carmentalis*, and that all the Company paſſed by on the right Side of the Temple of *Janus*. *Infelici viâ, dextro Jano, portæ Carmentalis profecti.* Ever after the unfortunate Battle of the *Cremera*, this Gate was thought accurſed, and the *Romans* gave it the Name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, *the accurſed Gate*. *Porta Carmentalis quæ dicitur, quod ei proximum Carmentæ ſacellum fuit, appellatur a quibuſdam ſcelerata, quod per eam ſex & trecenti Fabii cum clientium millibus quinque egreſſi adverſus Etruſcos, ad amnem Cremeram omnes ſunt interfecti: Qua de cauſa factum eſt, ut ea porta intrare egredive omen habeatur——* *Feſtus*. *Ovid*, in his 2d *Book of Faſti*, ſpeaks of the Departure of the *Fabii*, of the Curſe annexed to the Gate *Carmentalis*, and of the Temple of *Janus*.

Carmentis portæ dextra eſt via proxima Jano,
Ire per hanc noli quiſquis es, omen habet.
Illâ Fama refert Fabios exiſſe trecentos.
Porta vacat culpa, ſed tamen omen habet.

Feſtus adds, that the Senate made it Matter of Religion, never to aſſemble in the Temple of *Janus*. So ſuperſtitious were the firſt *Romans*!

31 According to *Volaterranus*, *B. 5. Geogr. ch. 20.* the River of *Cremera*, after it had watered a Part of the Country, which reaches from *Veii* to *Rome*, diſcharged it ſelf into the *Tyber*, near a Village, which he calls *Prima Porta*, ſix Miles from *Rome*. But *Cluverius* does not think this an exact Account of it. He thinks it agrees better with another River, which he calls *La Foſſa*, which falls into the *Tyber* in the Neighbourhood of *Scrofano*, where the antient City of *Veii* formerly ſtood, according to this Geographer. He is therefore of Opinion, that the River of *Cremera* is the ſame that now runs out of the Lake *Baccano*, and falls into the *Tyber*, five Miles from *Rome*. The Natives call it the *Varca*, or the *Valca*. Upon this Suppoſition, adds *Cluverius*, what *Livy* ſays, *viz.* that there was a vaſt Plain between *Veii*, and the Fort built near the *Cremera*, is true. *Ad conſpecta procul a Cremera magno campi intervallo pecora decurrerunt.*

30 Neither *Livy*, *D. Hal.* nor *Caſſiodorus*, diſtinguiſh the two *Conſuls* for this Year by their Surnames. Nevertheleſs, it is certain from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Æmilius*, who was now *Conſul* the ſecond time, had the Surname of *Mamercus Mamercinus*. *Diodorus* confirms the ſame thing. According to the *Capitoline Marbles*, *C. Serv. Structus Ahala*, either died before his Office expired, or actually abdicated it; ſince we learn from theſe antient Monuments, that one *Eſquilinus* was choſen in his room: whether he was the ſame with *T. Herminius*, as ſome conjecture, or with *Corn. Lentulus*, whom *Diod. Siculus* makes *L. Æmilius*'s Collegue, is uncertain. But neither *Livy* nor *D. Hal.* ſay any thing of this Promotion, in order to fill *Servilius*'s Place. The *Greek Tables* leave us ſome Footſteps of the *Conſul Eſquilinus*. We there read ἀιμιλίου καὶ ἐσκυλίνου, inſtead of Ἐσκυλίνου. As to the *Prænomen* of *Mamercus*, given to *Æmilius*, *Plutarch* in his *Lives of* Numa *and* P. Æmilius, ſpeaks of one *Mamercus*, the Son of *Pythagoras*, whoſe Name, he ſays, *Numa* borrowed, to give it to one of his Children, who was the Stock of the *Æmilian* Family. But this Origin is as fabulous as the Arrival of *Pythagoras* in *Italy*, in the Time of that ſecond King of *Rome*; as we have ſhewn, *B.* II. *Feſtus* will have it, that the *Prænomen* of *Mamercus* was uſed by the *Oſci*, to ſignify the God *Mars*; and he gives us two Conjectures about the Name of *Æmilius*. Some derive it from the Son of *Pythagoras*, whoſe Surname was *Æmilos*, on account of his ſweet Temper. Others carry up the Origin of it as high as *Aſcanius*, the Son of *Æneas*, who had two Sons, one named *Æmilius*, and the other *Iülus*.

32 *Livy* does not mention the Creation of a *Proconſul*, till the Year 289. He then ſpeaks of *T. Quinctius Barbatus* as ſuch, who commanded the Army of the Republick againſt the *Æqui*, in that Quality. This Dignity,

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Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 574.

This was not at firſt one of thoſe Offices, which were conferred by the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*. Sometimes the Senate alone, at other times the People aſſembled only *by Tribes*, or [32] *by Curiæ*, honoured ſome private Perſon with this Title, which gave him no Authority, but over the Army he commanded. As for the Troops, the *Proconſul* had indeed the ſame Power over them, as if he had been *Conſul*. It was then, in Quality of *Proconſul*, that *Cæſo Fabius* ſet out to carry on the War with the *Veientes*, in the ſame manner as his Relations had ſo happily begun it. It was ſurprizing to ſee one ſingle Family cope with a large *Lucumony*, and gain the Aſcendant over it. Indeed, while the *Fabii* had none to contend with but the *Veientes*, they entirely worſted them. But the latter ſoon got all *Hetruria* to engage in their Quarrel. They repreſented in a general Diet, That their Canton was a Barrier againſt the *Romans*; That if that was ſuffered to be broken through, the Enemy would penetrate into the moſt diſtant *Lucumonies*; and laſtly, That conſiderable Succours were therefore neceſſary, to demoliſh a Fort, on the Deſtruction of which, the Safety of all the *Hetrurians* in general depended. And upon this, they were promiſed as many Troops as they deſired.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 575.

Liv. B. 2. c. 49.

The Report of the Renewal of a ſerious War with all *Hetruria*, was no ſooner brought to *Rome*, but News likewiſe came, that the *Æqui* on one Side, and the *Volſci* on the other, were ravaging the Country of the *Latins*. The *Conſuls* therefore made all haſte to raiſe three Armies, to engage theſe three troubleſome Nations, whoſe Loſſes had not diſheartened them. Each Army conſiſted of two *Legions*, that is, of above 16000 Men, including the Auxiliaries ſent by the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the other Allies, to the Republick. *Servilius*, one of the *Conſuls*, led one Army againſt the *Volſci*; another was appointed to act againſt the *Hetrurians*, under the Command of his Collegue *L. Æmilius*; and the Republick made *S. Furius* General of the third, with the Title likewiſe of *Proconſul*. Theſe three Commanders had different Succeſs. The *Proconſul Furius* only ſhewed himſelf to the *Æqui*, and they were ſeized with Terror, and immediately diſperſed. But this was not the Caſe with the *Volſci*. Their Armies were inured to War, and their Troops brave. The *Conſul Servilius* was not cautious enough in the haſty Defiance he gave them. He found he had intrepid Men to deal with, who reſiſted him with Vigour, drove him back into his Camp, and forced him to continue there, without ſtirring. As to the *Conſul Æmilius*, he behaved himſelf better againſt the *Hetrurians*. He found an Army of *Veientes* ſtrengthened with Reinforcements from the other *Lucumonies*: and would not give himſelf any more time than was neceſſary to fix his Poſt. He marched againſt the Enemy early the next Day. The Succeſs of the Battel was long equal [33] on both Sides, but the Cavalry made the Victory incline to the *Romans*. They firſt fell upon the Right Wing, fighting ſometimes on Horſeback, and ſometimes on Foot, as the Ground would permit. From thence they came to the Left Wing, and put both into Diſorder: And after the Wings were routed, the main Body gave way. All the *Hetrurian* Army fled towards their Camp; and the *Conſul* purſued them thither, and beſieged them in it all the reſt of the Day, and the Night following. The *Romans* were already Maſters of the Rampart, when the *Hetrurians*, wounded, and ſpent with Fatigue, quitted their Entrenchments, and retired partly to *Veii*, and partly to the Hills then called *The Red* [34] *Rocks*. The Plunder of the *Hetrurian* Camp, which was gi-

Dignity, if I may ſo ſpeak, being yet in its Infancy, was ſolely confined to the Command of the *Roman* Troops, in Conjunctures when the Preſence of the *Conſul* was neceſſary at *Rome*, or when the Republick, being attacked by ſeveral different Nations at once, was forced to ſend ſeveral Armies into the Field, and conſequently to increaſe the Number of her Generals. When the Expedition was ended, the *Proconſulate* expired. But that was not the Caſe, when *Rome* became Miſtreſs of *Italy*, and gave Law to almoſt all the Nations in *Europe*; ſhe then appointed Governours over the conquered Provinces, in Quality of *Proconſuls*, and *Prætors*. Theſe Offices, which were not common till long after this time, had great Privileges annexed to them, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place.

33 The *Roman* Hiſtorians are not expreſs enough to make it clear, whether the *Proconſulſhip* was diſpoſed of by the Senate, or People, at this time. Nevertheleſs, as this was then but a tranſient Dignity, and only took place on theſe extraordinary Occaſions, it is natural to believe, that the People depended on the Care and Vigilance of the Senate, and chief Magiſtrates, for the Election of a *Proconſul*; or that, in an urgent Neceſſity, the Senate and People joined in proclaiming him whom they thought moſt worthy of that Office. But when the *Proconſulate* became a common Office in the Republick, the People aſſembled *by Tribes*, ſometimes *by Curiæ*, and, more rarely, *by Centuries*, had their Share in this Election; of which we ſhall find many Inſtances in this Hiſtory.

34 According to *Livy*, the *Hetrurians* were ſeized with Fear, upon the firſt Motion of the *Romans*, in order to fight. He adds, that they wanted Ground to widen their Ranks, and draw up in order of Battle. In this Perplexity, continues the Hiſtorian, the *Roman* Cavalry took them in Flank, and gave them ſuch a Shock, that they were forced to give way, and fly, before they had come to an Engagement.

35 *Cluverius* places theſe *Red Rocks*, or *Saxa Rubra*, in the Neighbourhood of *Borghetto*, nine Miles from *Rome*. *Holſtenius* fixes them in the Place now called *Monte Tieveri*.

ven up as free Booty to the Soldiers, enriched them for a great while. The *Hetrurians* were a rich Nation, and their Luxury followed them into their Camps. This conſiderable Defeat diſcouraged the *Veientes* for the preſent from continuing the War; and they ſent an humble Embaſſy to *Æmilius* to beg a Peace. But the *Conſul* ſhewed his Reſpect to the Senate; referred the Embaſſadors to the *Conſcript Fathers*, to treat with them at *Rome*; and they, in their turn, referred it to the *Conſul*, to ſettle the Conditions of the Treaty.

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NOTHING could be more convenient for *Rome*, than the Subjection of the *Veientes*. In the Condition to which they were reduced, the *Romans* might have put this flouriſhing *Lucumony* on the Foot of the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*; a Part of their Lands might have been taken from them; and one of thoſe Treaties of Alliance ſettled with them, which made Nations ſubject to the Republick. But the *Conſul* treated the Conquered with Indulgence; and granted them a Peace, without demanding Hoſtages as Securities for their Fidelity, and without requiring any thing more of them, than Corn for the Soldiers for two Months, and Money for the Expence of the War for ſix. A Triumph ſeems to have been due to the brave *Æmilius*, after gaining a Victory, the Conſequence of which was, the Humiliation of a moſt troubleſome Canton of *Hetruria:* But the Senate and People oppoſed *Æmilius*'s Attempt to obtain it. He was accuſed of having affected an Independence, becauſe he had given the Enemy ſuch advantageous Terms, without communicating them to the Publick. Nevertheleſs, as he was a Man of Merit, he was invited to employ his Troops and Skill, in relieving his Collegue, who was embaraſſed with the War againſt the *Volſci:* and upon this Condition, the Senate promiſed to receive him into Favour. But *Æmilius* being exceedingly piqued at the Refuſal he had met with, returned to *Rome*, and complained to the People of the Proceedings of the Senate. According to him, the only Reaſon, why the *Patricians* were diſſatisfied with his having expedited the Peace with the *Veientes*, was their political Views, which always tended to the Diſadvantage of the People. *They labour*, ſays he, *to prolong the Wars abroad, only to delay the Execution of the* Caſſian *Law, and the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands.* Nay, he went further. To ſhew his Reſentment, he was ſo far from marching to aſſiſt *Servilius* againſt the *Volſci*, that he disbanded his own Army, and recalled that which *Furius* led againſt the *Æqui*. The latter, who, as *Proconſul*, was only *Æmilius*'s Vicegerent, was obliged to obey; and by this means the enraged *Conſul* conveyed his own Reſentments into the Minds of the People. From that time, the *Tribunes* took occaſion again to inveigh againſt the Senate, and renew the Pretenſions of the Commonalty to the Diviſion of the Lands.

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§. XVII. Such was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when the new *Conſuls* entered upon their Office. *C. Horatius* [36] was one, and *T. Menenius* the other; whoſe *Conſulſhip* was not happy, but abounded with Misfortunes. Tho' Peace was concluded with the *Veientes*, the Family of the *Fabii* did not quit their Poſt, but continued on the Frontiers; which was a wiſe Precaution: for the Inconſtancy of the *Veientes*, and their Inclination to break Treaties, was well known. However, the Nation of the *Hetrurians* was offended at the ſeparate Peace the *Veian Lucumony* had made with *Rome*, without the Conſent of a General Diet; and cited the *Veientes* to appear in an Aſſembly; and declared their Precipitation, in reconciling themſelves to *Rome*, criminal. So that the other eleven *Lucumonies* reduced them to the Dilemma, either of hazarding a War with them, or breaking the Treaty they had made with the *Romans*; which put them into great Perplexity. *How*, ſaid they, *can we break the new Treaty we have made, with Honour?* But an *Hetrurian* in the Aſſembly removed their Scruple, and ſtarted an Expedient, to do it without Diſhonour. *Demand of the* Romans, ſaid he, *the Demolition of their Fort, and inſiſt upon their recalling the Garriſon, which is a Reſtraint upon you. You may urge, that the Peace makes it uſeleſs. Theſe Demands the Pride of* Rome *will never ſuffer her to grant; and her Refuſal will be a fair Pretence for renewing the War.* This Advice was approved; all *Hetruria* immediately took up Arms; and the *Veientes* ſent to give the *Fabii* notice, to quit the Frontiers, and their Fort. But the Family were too wiſe, and too tender in Point of

[36] *Diodorus*, as uſual, dignifies the Names of the *Conſuls* for this Year. It is probable, the firſt was Uncle to the two *Horatii*, who were *Conſuls*, one in the Year of *Rome* 296, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*, and the other in the Year 304. What is ſure, is, that this *C. Horatius* was the Son of *M. Horatius*, who was made *Conſul* with *M. Val. Poplicola*, the firſt Year after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, and who dedicated the *Capitol*. As for *T. Menenius*, he was the Son of that *T. Menenius*, who reconciled the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* by his Fable.

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Honour, to comply with the Propoſal of the *Veientes*. They looked upon it as an Inſult: and inſtantly reſolved upon War. Neither Party now confined themſelves entirely to robbing: they often fought Battels in the open Plain. The *Veientes* were provoked to ſee themſelves frequently beaten by an handful of Men, and ſurprized at the Reſiſtance one ſingle Family made againſt a whole Nation. What therefore they could not do by Force, they attempted to accompliſh by Artifice. The *Fabii* had gained ſuch frequent Advantages over the Enemy, that they thought nothing impoſſible to their Valour: and the Enemy endeavoured to make this Valour the Means of their Deſtruction. They laid Snares for them, which brave Men were not able to avoid. They for ſome time cauſed ſeveral Herds of Cattel to appear, between while, in the Plain, with their Herdſmen governing them, and guarded by a ſmall Number of Soldiers. When the *Fabii* ſaw this, they came down from the Fort of the *Cremera*, to carry off the Cattel, and diſperſe their Guard. Another time they played the ſame Game up higher in the Country. Still the brave *Romans* readily went wherever there was any Spoil to be had, or any Opportunity of fighting. Till at length, the Time was come for laying an Ambuſcade for them, in which the moſt intrepid Courage ſhould not be able to withſtand the Multitude of the Enemy. The *Veientes* lodged a whole Army of *Hetrurians* in a Wood; and poſted Centinels on all the Eminencies, to give notice to the Men laying in Ambuſh, when they ſhould ſally out. Then they brought out all their Cattel, and all their Horſes, into a Valley, as it were to feed them: and the Guard that attended them appeared not to be great. This was enough [37] to tempt the *Fabii*; who marched out of their Fort in a great Body, and left no more Men in it than were neceſſary to defend it from a Surprize. They advanced in good Order; and upon their Approach, the Herdſmen and their Guard fled. Whilſt ſome of the *Fabii* purſued the Fugitives, to take them Priſoners, others ſeized the Cattel; and a ſmall Number of them continued drawn up in Order of Battel. Immediately the *Hetrurians* came out of their Ambuſh, ſurrounded the *Romans* on all Sides, and cut in pieces all thoſe who were in purſuit of the Booty. As for thoſe who kept their Ranks, and formed a Body, they quitted the Plain in good Order, and gained an Eminence, with full Reſolution to ſell their Lives very dear. They arrived there out of Breath, by continually fighting the Enemy, who followed them; and when they were half way up the Aſcent, they fell into greater Danger, than in the Plain. The *Hetrurians* had had the Precaution to lodge Troops in a Wood, near this Hill. Theſe fell ſuddenly on the *Fabii*, who were now ſurrounded with Enemies on all Sides: and then followed a furious Battel, in which the *Romans* performed prodigious Feats of Valour. They covered the Earth with the dead Bodies of many *Hetrurians*, diſengaged themſelves from others, and gained the Top of the Hill. There they paſſed the Night without any Proviſions, and were ſtill beſet by an Army of *Hetrurians*. The next Day, the *Fabii*, who were left to guard the Fort, were informed of the Danger of their Relations and Maſters; and inſtantly flying to their Relief, the Camp was almoſt deſerted. As ſoon then as the *Hetrurians* perceived them in the Plain, they ſent out Detachments to cut them off. Indeed theſe *Romans* from the Fort made a brave Reſiſtance, but it

Dion. Hal. B. 9. *p.* 578.

37 *D. Hal.*'s Account is as above: which he gives as the moſt authentick Relation, and moſt agreeable to the Teſtimony of a great Number of credible Authors. Nevertheleſs, others are ſaid by the ſame Hiſtorian, to relate the Circumſtances of the unfortunate Defeat of the *Fabii*, in a different manner. Their Account is this. The Time was come, when the Family of the *Fabii* were to offer up a Sacrifice, and celebrate a Family-Feaſt together. In order to diſcharge this religious Duty, the *Fabii* marched out of the Fort of the *Cremera*, guarded by a ſmall Number of their Clients. Without uſing the Precautions, of ſending out Men to *reconnoitre*, and of marching in Order of Battel, they paſſed thro' the Enemy's Country, with as much Confidence, as if they had been at Peace with them, and had had nothing to fear from the Hoſtilities of the *Hetrurians*. But they being informed of the Departure of the *Fabii*, did not fail to make their Advantage of it. The *Veientes* poſted a Part of their Troops in an Ambuſcade, in the Road the *Romans* were to take, whilſt a ſmall Body of an Army marched to meet the Guard, and prepared to attack it. And the *Fabii*, who ſuſpected nothing, fell into the Snare which had been laid for them. The Enemies, who lay in Ambuſh, came out ſuddenly, and attacked them with Vigour; ſome in Front, others in Flank; whilſt a Troop of *Veientes*, who followed cloſe after them, attacked them in the Rear. Being therefore ſurrounded on all Sides, they at laſt fell; being overpowered with the Multitude, who continually poured upon them, Showers of Stones, Darts, and Javelins. *D. Hal.* honeſtly owns, he cannot give any Credit to this Account which has not the leaſt Shadow of Probability. Is it credible, ſays he, that ſo many *Romans* in a Party ſhould abandon their Poſt, without an expreſs Order from the Senate, and ſhould dare appear at *Rome*, under Pretence of a Sacrifice; the Care of which might have been committed to ſeveral others of their Family and Name, whoſe great Age was a Diſpenſation for their not bearing Arms? And if we ſuppoſe, that all the *Fabii*, not one excepted, had ſhut themſelves up in the Fort of the *Cremera*, it would have been ſufficient for them to have diſpatched three or four of the Family to diſcharge their Obligations in the Name of all the reſt. It muſt have been very imprudent to leave a Fort defenceleſs, and at the Enemy's Mercy, which was of ſuch Conſequence, with reſpect to the Safety of the *Romans*.

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was in vain: They were ſurrounded with Enemies, and all deſtroyed, not a Man of them eſcaping. In the mean time, as ſoon as Day appeared, thoſe who were on the top of the Hill, being more oppreſſed with Hunger and Thirſt, than by the Enemy, came down with the Rapidity of a Torrent, to break their Way through the Enemy's Swords; and the Slaughter they made of the *Hetrurians*, is not to be expreſſed. The Heaps of the Dead were often a Barrier between them and the Enemy, and hindered them from reaching one another. At length, the *Hetrurians*, ſurprized at their Loſſes, ſuſpended the Heat of the Action for ſome Hours, and promiſed theſe brave Men to let them paſs, if they would throw down their Arms, and give their Words, that they would abandon the Fort. But this was deemed a ſhameful Propoſal by Men thirſty of Blood, and warmed with ſtrong Deſires of Succeſs; and they choſe rather to run the hazard of dying all together with Glory, than to ſave their Lives, by a mean Action, which would reflect Diſhonour on their Family. They renewed the Attack; upon which the *Hetrurians* immediately changed their Way of fighting; and did not come to a cloſe Fight with their Swords; but kept at a diſtance, and overwhelmed theſe illuſtrious Warriors with Darts and Stones. The latter held out ſome time againſt the unexpected Storm, and puſhed forwards, like Lions, on the Enemy, who durſt not come near them. But at length the *Hetrurians* perceived, that the Swords of the *Romans* were moſt of them broken, and their Bucklers ſplit in pieces; and then, tho' not till then, they ventured to attack them, Man to Man. What cannot Men in Deſpair do! The *Fabii* threw themſelves with Fury into the midſt of the Battalions, and ſnatched away the Arms of their Enemies, to fight them with their own Weapons. Some of them who lay upon the Ground half dead, roſe up, and came to yield their laſt Breath in the midſt of the Battel. In ſhort, their Fury made the *Romans* ſo formidable, that the *Hetrurians* were forced to have recourſe again to Javelins and Stones: and then theſe brave Relations were overwhelmed with them. But tho' they were all ſlain, they left a deep Impreſſion of *Roman* Valour on the Minds of the *Veientes*. The Heads of all theſe brave Men were cut off; the *Hetrurians* ſtuck them upon the Tops of their Lances; carrying them towards the Fort, to haſten the Reduction of it. The ſmall Remains of the *Fabii* gave themſelves up to Deſpair, at the Sight of ſo many dear Heads; and Prudence was utterly neglected by Men under ſo great a Provocation to Rage. They did not ſtay to fight from the Ramparts; but went to meet the Enemy without obſerving any Order in fighting. They aimed at nothing but to ſell their own Lives dear; Vengeance, and not Victory, was what they ſought. The Shame of ſurviving their Relations, and an Emulation of equalling their Glory, made them prodigal of their Lives. So that all the Men of this antient, numerous, and moſt illuſtrious Family, were cut off, and not one of them eſcaped. Indeed, if we may give Credit to the *Latin* Hiſtorians, we ſhould add, That only one Youth of about fourteen Years of Age[38], was ſaved, of all the 306 *Fabii*; and That he afterwards repaired his Family, and perpetuated it. But according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian this is a mere Fable, invented on purpoſe to give ſomething of a miraculous Air to this tragical Event. It is true, that after the Defeat

Livy, B. 2. ch. 50. Val. Max. Florus, Aurel. Victor. Aulus Gellius, &c.

[38] In this Senſe *Ovid* ſays, *Faſt. B. 2.*

Una dies Fabios ad bellum miſerat omnes,
Ad bellum miſſos perdidit una dies.
Ut tamen Herculeæ ſupereſſent ſemina gentis,
Credibile eſt ipſos conſuluiſſe Deos.
Nam puer impubes & adhuc non utilis armis,
Unius de Fabia gente relictus erat.

Livy, *A. Victor*, *Silius*, *Feſtus*, and *Val. Maximus*, authorize the ſame Tradition. But *D. Hal.* rejects it as a Fable, which has not the leaſt Appearance of Truth. No Man can think, ſays he, that of all the *Fabii*, who periſhed at the *Cremera*, not one was married, or left any Children. Beſides, there was an old Law in *Rome*, which forbad Celibacy, and all the Citizens were obliged to marry, after a certain Age, otherwiſe the *Cenſors* had a Power of puniſhing the Offenders, by Fine, Degradation, or otherwiſe. According to *Cicero*, *B. 2. de Legib.* it was one of the principal Duties of theſe Magiſtrates to enquire out thoſe who lived unmarried. CÆLIBES ESSE PROHIBENTO. To make them the more contemptible, they loſt a Part of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. Their Teſtimony was not admitted in Courts of Juſtice, and they were not ſuffered to make a Will. So that, the Judge, before he admitted the Oath or Depoſition of any Witneſs, always asked him, whether he was married? EX ANIMI TUI SENTENTIA ..... UXOREM HABES, i. e. *Tell me ſincerely*; *Have you a Wife*? Nor was this all. A ſingle Life was thought by the Pagans an enormous Crime, which the Gods would puniſh in Hell. Now is it credible, that the *Fabii* ſhould conſpire together to violate a Law which had been religiouſly obſerved by their Anceſtors? Nay, ſuppoſing that they were diſpenſed from it, is it not natural to believe, that they had younger Brothers, who might ſupport the Hopes of the Family, and perpetuate the Name of the *Fabii*? This is ſo groundleſs a Suppoſition, continues *D. Hal.* that it is beneath the Dignity of an Hiſtorian to mention it. But theſe Reaſons have not hindered *Perizonius* from declaring himſelf for *Livy*, and the other antient Authors, againſt *D. Hal.* But all he urges, in Defence of this Fact, does not amount to more than Conjecture. Preſumption and Probability are on the Side of the *Greek* Hiſtorian. You will find *Perizonius*'s Reflexions on this Subject in the fifth Chapter of his *Animadverſiones Hiſtoricæ*, or *Hiſtorical Remarks*.

of

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of the *Fabii* at the *Cremera*, there appeared only one *Fabius* in the Republick for a long time, whoſe Merit equalled the Reputation of his Anceſtors; and perhaps we ought thus to underſtand this figurative Expreſſion of the antient *Roman* Writers, *That there was but one* Fabius *left in their Family*. *Livy*, and thoſe who have copied him, have perhaps underſtood it too literally. But be that as it will, *Rome* ſuffered a conſiderable Loſs, and ſhewed all the Concern at it that Gratitude could expreſs. She gave the Name of *Porta Scelerata*, or, *The Accurſed Gate*, to the *Gate Carmentalis*, thro' which they paſſed, when they went out of the City. The Day of their Defeat was reckoned among the unlucky Days, and it was forbidden to begin any thing of Conſequence upon it.

§. XVIII. WHEN the *Veientes* firſt began to renew their Hoſtilities againſt the *Fabii*, News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* likewiſe were preparing for a War, which their Advantages the laſt Year, and their Experience in military Affairs, made formidable to the *Romans*. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe Troops to oppoſe both theſe Nations; and then the *Tribunes of the People* made the ſame Oppoſition to the Levies as formerly. They again demanded, in favour of the Commonalty, That the Lands ſhould be diſtributed. And the very dangerous Situation of the publick Affairs, was their only Motive to deſiſt from purſuing their Demands for a time. Two Armies were raiſed; one committed to the Conduct of the *Conſul Menenius*, to act againſt the *Hetrurians*; and the other to his Collegue *Horatius*, to act againſt the *Volſci*. Had *Menenius* made the Diſpatch which was neceſſary, he had arrived ſoon enough to have delivered the *Fabii* out of their Danger. He was but 30 *Stadia* from the Field of Battle, when they were cut in Pieces; and his Slowneſs, which ſeemed affected, created a Suſpicion that he had deſignedly given them up to Deſtruction. His Jealouſy of the *Fabian* Family was well known, and he might perhaps be afraid that all the Honour of the Campaign he was going to make, would be given to theſe brave Defenders of their Country. When he came into the Territory of the *Veientes*, he found the *Hetrurians* puffed up with their Victory. The Place where he encamped, was very unlucky to him; and the Enemy took occaſion from thence to deſpiſe him. He placed himſelf on the Declivity of an Hill, without encloſing the Top of it within his Entrenchments: And from thence therefore the *Hetrurians* attacked him. They marched ſome Horſe up the Back-ſide of the Hill, and got to the very Top of it; and by help of the Horſemen, the *Hetrurian* Foot likewiſe climbed up, and there formed a Camp above that of the *Romans*. But ſtill, *Menenius*'s Fault had been pardonable, if he would have acknowledged it: Whereas he choſe rather to continue in ſo diſadvantageous a Poſt, than to own he had made a bad Choice; and his Imprudence and Obſtinacy were both puniſhed. For ſome Days, nothing paſſed between the *Hetrurians* and *Romans* but little Skirmiſhes, in which the former always had the Advantage. They fought from above, with Men poſted below them. Beſides, as their Country was the Seat of the War, the Inhabitants often intercepted the Convoys of Corn and Water which were coming to the *Romans*. The *Conſul* had not had Precaution enough to place himſelf within Reach of a River or Spring. In ſhort, *Menenius* was reduced to a Neceſſity, either of giving Battle, or of periſhing in his Camp; and to increaſe the Misfortune, he was not in a Condition to chooſe an advantageous Piece of Ground to fight in. He was under a Neceſſity of drawing up his Troops, in a Sort of Trench or Hollow, where there was not room to extend them. Thus one falſe Step in War draws a Man neceſſarily into many others, in conſequence of it. The *Hetrurians*, who promiſed themſelves all imaginable Succeſs, from the Incapacity of the *Roman* General, were ready to accept the Offer he made them of a Battle; they drew up on the Brow of the Hill, and from thence fell upon the *Conſul*, with an Army twice as numerous as his. Beſides the Advantage of the Ground, they had this likewiſe, that their foremoſt Ranks were ſo driven on by thoſe behind them, that they could not retreat. Being therefore under a Neceſſity of fighting, and utterly unable to draw back, the *Hetrurians* drove the *Romans* before them, and tumbled them down the Hill. It is not eaſy to ſay, how great a Number of *Centurions* and brave Soldiers fell in this unequal Engagement. The *Conſul*'s Army was ſo warmly puſhed, that they were obliged to ſeek for Refuge in their Camp. But the *Hetrurians* purſued them to it, and beſieged them there. It was taken that very Night, after the *Romans* had ſhamefully deſerted it; and the *Hetrurians* choſe rather to plunder it than purſue the Enemy in their Flight. Had they followed the *Romans* cloſe, their whole Army muſt have been cut off. However, the *Hetrurians* did not loſe

the Advantages of their Victory. Their Army paſſed the *Cremera*, and ſpread it ſelf over the *Roman* Territory. They came even to the Hill *Janiculus*, and poſted themſelves upon the Top of it; from whence they could ſee all that paſſed in *Rome*, and obſerve what Motions were made in the City, by way of Preparation againſt a Siege. The ſafeſt Way was to recall the *Conſul Horatius* immediately, and with him, the Army which was appointed to act againſt the *Volſci*. As ſoon as that appeared, the Affairs of the Republick had a quite different Aſpect. The Enemy had already paſſed the *Tyber*, and in a manner blocked up *Rome*. But the brave *Horatius* delivered his diſtreſſed Country. The Succeſs of the firſt of the two Battles he fought with the Enemy, was pretty equal on both Sides, but the laſt was deciſive. The former was fought near the Gate *Collina*, the latter near the Temple 39 of *Hope*. The Valour of the brave *Conſul* revived the Courage of the *Roman* Soldiers, and ſecured the City. Thus ended a *Conſulſhip* which brought nothing but Glory to *Horatius*; nothing to *Menenius* but Contempt and the Hatred of the People, which did not die with his Office.

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§. XIX. THE Reaſon why the Depoſition of the preceding *Conſuls* was haſtened, in order to a more ſpeedy Choice of Succeſſors, is to me unknown. *A. Virginius* 40, and *P. Servilius*, had the Reputation of being great Commanders; and they were inveſted with this Office on the Summer 41 Solſtice, tho' it had formerly been the Cuſtom not to chooſe *Conſuls* till towards the Autumnal Equinox. Indeed the Danger to which the City was expoſed called for ſpeedy Relief: The *Hetrurians*, tho' fatigued with the two Battles *Horatius* had fought with them, yet had not entirely laid aſide their Deſign of beſieging *Rome*. They kept it blocked up, and did not decamp from the *Janiculus*, on which they had fortified themſelves. The Famine began now to be ſenſibly felt in the City, which had been occaſioned by the Incurſions of the *Hetrurians*. The Lands had been left unſown the laſt Year, for fear of their Ravages; all the Barns in the Country had been burnt or plundered; and Proviſions could not now be brought to *Rome* without Difficulty, either by Land or Water. Nevertheleſs, the Number of the Inhabitants was conſiderably increaſed. To the 110000 Men, all *Roman* Citizens, and fit to bear Arms, which were reckoned up in the laſt *Cenſus*, we muſt now add, the Countrymen who were fled into the City for Refuge, as well as the Women, Children, and Slaves, and that vaſt Number of Foreigners, who exerciſed the meaneſt Trades in *Rome*. It is known, that the *Roman* Citizens were forbidden to debaſe themſelves by practiſing mechanical Arts. This Multitude of People, who were uſeleſs in War, were at leaſt three times as many in Number as the Soldiery; and the meaneſt of the People were alſo moſt earneſt in demanding Bread from the Senate. They gathered together in Companies, to go and plunder the Granaries of the Rich; and their Clamours and Mutinies were encouraged by the *Tribunes*, who threw all the Hatred of the publick Want upon the *Conſcript Fathers*. Nevertheleſs, the Senators gave good Orders for the Relief of the People. They ſent out Merchants to buy Corn, in thoſe Provinces where it was moſt plenty. They made a Regulation, that the Citizens ſhould keep no more in their Granaries, than was neceſſary for the bare Subſiſtence of their Families. And laſtly, they fixed the Price of Corn at a moderate Rate, conſidering the Scarcity. But theſe wiſe Precautions were only ſerviceable for a time. The *Romans* found themſelves at laſt under a Neceſſity either of being ſtarved to Death, or of marching out of the City in Arms, and driving the Enemy, which was the Cauſe of their Miſery, farther off. The two

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39 This Temple of *Hope*, was about eight *Stadia*, that is, ſomewhat more than 900 Geometrical Paces, from *Rome*, according to *D. Hal.*

40 *A. Virginius* is ſurnamed *Tricoſtus* and *Rutilus*, in the *Faſti Conſulares*. *Servilius* has the Surname of *Structus*, which was pretty common in the *Servilian* Family. He was the Son of *P. Serv. Priſcus*, who was *Conſul*, with *M. Claudius Sabinus*, in the Year of *Rome* 258.

41 *D. Hal.* ſays, the *Conſuls* for this Year entered upon their Office in the Month of *Auguſt*, near the Summer Solſtice, περὶ τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα τροπὰς Σεξτιλίου μηνός. Why the *Greek* Hiſtorian thus carries back the Solſtice about two Months, is not to be conceived. *Glarian* finding it impoſſible to reconcile two ſuch incompatible Things, as the Summer Solſtice and the Month of *Auguſt*, has Recourſe to a Correction. Inſtead therefore of the former Reading, he ſubſtitutes this, περὶ τὰς χειμερίας τροπὰς Δεκεμβρίᾳ μηνὸς, i. e. *about the Winter Solſtice, in the Month of* December. But this is too forced an Emendation, to be agreeable to Men of Judgment, who are ſcrupulous in admitting Corrections. Beſides, ſince the MSS. agree with the printed Copies, there is no room to ſuppoſe a Miſtake in the Copyiſts. It is therefore more natural to believe that *D. Hal.* added the Words, *in the Summer Solſtice*, of his own Head. He might probably have confounded the Month of *Auguſt* with that of *June*. Each was indeed the ſixth Month, according to the different Order of the Months of the old *Roman* Year, and to that of the *Julian* Calendar. The Month of *Auguſt* was the ſixth, reckoning from *March*, with which *Romulus*'s Year began: And it was therefore called *Sextilis*. The Month of *June* is likewiſe the ſixth Month in the Calendar of *Julius Cæſar*, reckoning from *January*, which is the firſt Month of the *Julian* Year.

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Conſuls therefore led all the *Roman* Forces into the Field; paſſed the *Tyber* in Barks, at Midnight; and in the Morning encamped within Reach of the *Janiculus*, near the *Hetrurians*. Hunger will admit of no Delays. As ſoon as it was Day, they offered Battle. *Virginius* commanded the right Wing, and *Servilius* the left. As for the *Hetrurians*, they looked upon the Ruin of the Republick as certain; and thought that the gaining this ſingle Battle would haſten it more than the Famine it ſelf which exhauſted its Strength. Their Hopes therefore of overcoming a famiſhed People, made them alſo in haſte to engage; but the Advantage they had gained over *Menenius* was no ſure Pledge of their having the ſame over the new *Conſuls*. The Battle was long fought with Courage and Obſtinacy on both Sides: But the Loſs of the *Hetrurians* was much greater than that of the *Romans*. The routed Enemy had already recovered their Camp, when *Virginius* wiſely put a Stop to the Impetuoſity of his right Wing: But *Servilius*, in the left, had not the ſame Command of his own Valour. He repulſed the Enemy to the Foot of the *Janiculus*. There the *Hetrurians* rallied; and taking the Advantage of the Ground, and of ſome freſh Succours they received from their Camp, gave the *Romans* a more ſhameful Repulſe than they had receiv'd. Then *Virginius* made a Motion with the Body he commanded, ſo as to bring the *Hetrurians* between the two Armies. He fell upon them in the Rear, as they were purſuing his Collegue; and this Step revived the Courage of *Servilius*'s Troops. They changed their Flight into a vigorous Attack; and then the *Romans*, who ſurrounded the *Hetrurians*, abundantly repaid them the Blow they had receiv'd from them at the *Cremera*. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* loſt ſo many Men in the firſt Onſet, that they thought the Victory doubtful; but the Departure of the Enemy removed their Doubts. They retired by Night to *Veii*, and deſerted their Camp on the *Janiculus*. This made the *Romans* ſenſible how great an Overthrow they had given the *Hetrurians*; eſpecially when they found all the Road from *Rome* to *Veii* ſtrewed with the dead Bodies of the wounded and weak of the *Hetrurian* Army, who being ſpent with Pain and Fatigue, died before they could get into their own Country. At *Rome*, a Triumph was decreed the two *Conſuls*; but they, when they ſaw the great Number of *Romans* who periſhed in the Battle, and were brought into the City to be burnt, declined it.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 584.

The Departure of the *Hetrurians* reſtored Tranquillity and Plenty to the City; and Proviſions arrived from all the Countries in *Italy*. But the Famine and War were ſucceeded by another Scourge, which was the Conſequence of Idleneſs and Peace. The *Romans* were an unquiet People, who were always entering into domeſtick Factions, as ſoon as they were at Reſt, from the Attacks of a foreign Enemy. The Complaints about the Diſtribution of the Lands were renewed. But the Senate ſet *Tribunes* againſt *Tribunes*, and by the Diviſions they ſowed among them, diverted the Storm with which they were threatened. Nevertheleſs, the People of *Rome* muſt have ſomething to amuſe them, during their Inaction; and this the *Tribunes* ſupplied them with, in their Proſecution of one of the *Conſuls* for the laſt Year. *Menenius* had brought the Indignation of the Commons upon himſelf, by his Behaviour with regard to the *Fabii*, whom he had not relieved; and by his Obſtinacy in continuing in an ill-choſen Camp. The *Tribunes* took a Pleaſure in bringing this noble *Patrician* before the People, who was the Son of the famous *Menenius Agrippa*. Thus they confirmed the Right of the Commons to judge the moſt diſtinguiſh'd Citizens of *Rome*, by trying an old *Conſul* at their Tribunal. The Nobility thought themſelves injured by this new Proceeding againſt a venerable *Patrician*: And to avoid the Blow, with which they were all threatened, in the Perſon of *Menenius*, practiſed all the ſame Arts they had formerly done in the Affair of *Coriolanus*. But the *Tribunes* were obſtinate, and their Obſtinacy prevailed. So that *Q. Conſidius* [42], and *T. Genucius* ſummoned *Menenius* to appear before the People. The principal Crime laid to his Charge, was his having loſt the *Romans* the Fort of the *Cremera*, by his Dilatorineſs, and his perſonal Reſentments. To which was added, the imprudent Operations of an ill-managed Campaign, all the Misfortunes of which were imputed to him. His Accuſers made his Male-Adminiſtration a capital Crime, and the enraged People thirſted after his Blood. They were aſſembled, not *by* [43] *Curiæ*, but *by Tribes*, as at the Trial of *Co-*

Liv. B. 2. c. 52.

42 Inſtead of *Quintus Conſidius*, we read *Quintilius*, in the printed Copies of *D. Hal.* The *Vatican* MS. has *Quintinus*. But *Sigonius* has very well obſerved, that *Quintilius* was the proper Name of a *Patrician* Family, and conſequently could not belong to a *Tribune of the People*, whoſe Employment ſhews him to have been of a *Plebeian* Family. We have therefore, with *Livy*, given him the Name of *Conſidius*.

43 Ever ſince the Diviſion of the People into ſix *Claſſes*, in the Reign of *S. Tullius*, the Aſſemblies *by Curiæ*, which till then had the chief Authority, grew leſs and leſs frequent. The Elections of the chief Magiſtrates,

riolanus. The Commons ſeemed to have forgotten the Services which had been done them by *Menenius Agrippa*, the Father of the Accuſed. They were indebted to him for their Reconciliation with the Senate; but their paſſionate Deſires of making themſelves formidable, even to the *Conſuls*, prevailed over all Conſiderations of Gratitude. The Criminal was almoſt unanimouſly condemned. It's true, the *Tribunes* changed the Sentence [44] of Death into a Fine; and *Menenius* was ſentenced to pay 2000 *Aſſes* [45] of Braſs to the publick Treaſury. A moderate Sum, if we judge of it by the immenſe Riches the Republick afterwards acquired: But it was then a conſiderable one for Men who, tho' *Patricians*, had yet nothing to live upon but the Product of a little Farm, which they often cultivated with their own Hands. Nay, this Fine was an exceſſive one for *Menenius*, who was not rich, and reduced him to Want. Being therefore ſtrongly affected with ſo ſenſible an Injury, he became moroſe and ſullen. In vain did his Friends offer to pay his Fine; he oppoſed their Liberality. So true is it, that the *Romans* had a quicker Senſe of what touched their Honour in the Times of Indigence, than when they grew wealthy. *Menenius* pined away with Want, and died; and his Death affected even thoſe who had condemned him. This melancholy Accident greatly augmented the Animoſity between the People and the *Patricians*; and the latter no longer kept any Meaſures with the former. They diſputed every thing with them, and the Commons had no more Favours to hope for from them. The Diſtribution of the Lands eſpecially, ſeemed farther off than ever.

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§. XX. Such was the Situation of Affairs in the Republick, when *P. Valerius* [46] *Poplicola*, and *C. Nautius*, the new *Conſuls*, took upon them the Government of it. The *Tribunes* were grown fond of humbling the Nobility, by getting them condemned by the People. They, above all, took a particular Delight in ſummoning the *Conſuls* to appear before that Tribunal, as ſoon as they had laid down their Office, if there was ever ſo little room for an Accuſation. *Servilius* had been guilty of Raſhneſs, in the laſt

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Magiſtrates, and the Deciſion of important Affairs, were referred to the Tribunal of the People aſſembled *by Centuries*. Nevertheleſs, the *Comitia by Curiæ*, continued ſtill to be of ſome Uſe, till the Year 281, when *Volero* the *Tribune of the People*, cauſed a Law to be made, which referred the Election of Magiſtrates of the ſecond Order, to the *Comitia by Tribes*. Indeed it appears, in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that this latter Sort of *Comitia* had a great Share of the Government in their Hands, from the Year of *Rome* 262, when the *Tribunes of the People*, enraged at *Coriolanus*, firſt aſſumed the Right of citing *Patricians* to appear before the *Tribes*. From this time, the *Comitia by Curiæ* ſcarce aſſembled any more, unleſs for Form's ſake, and out of Reſpect to antient Cuſtoms. Nevertheleſs, the *Curiæ* had ſtill the Right of creating the *Flamines*, and the chief *Curio*, *i. e.* the Head of the 30 inferior *Curiones*, which each *Curia* had a Right to chooſe. As to other Things, they had no Power, but to confirm the Magiſtrates choſen by the *Centuries*, to ratify Adoptions and Wills, and to confer the Command of Armies, on *Dictators*, *Conſuls*, *Prætors*, *Proconſuls*, and even *Vice-prætors*, and *Vice-quæſtors*, but ſtill in Subordination to him who commanded in chief. For the *Romans* diſtinguiſhed the civil Power from the military, in the ſame Magiſtrates. The one was conferred by the *Centuries* and *Tribes*, the other by the *Curiæ*. But it is nevertheleſs true, that the Authority of the *Comitia by Curiæ* diminiſhed inſenſibly, in proportion as the *Tribunes of the People* grew more powerful. Beſides, as long as the *Curiæ* had any Authority in *Rome*, they were always aſſembled by the Magiſtrates of the firſt Order, except in the Election of the *Flamines*. Then the *Pontifices* preſided in them. The *Comitium* was the Place where they uſed to aſſemble; and as to the Forms they obſerved, antient Authors have given us this Account of them. 1. It belonged to the Magiſtrate to appoint the Day of the Aſſembly. 2. The *Lictors* took each his Share of the 30 *Curiæ*, and ſummoned them all in the Name of the *Conſul*, or his Vicegerent. 3. Before any Affair was brought upon the Carpet, the Preſident and *Augurs* conſulted the *Auguries*. 4. If the Omens were favourable, the Magiſtrate put the Queſtion. 5. He ordered the People to divide themſelves, according to the Order of the *Curiæ*. Si ita vobis videtur, Quirites, discidite in Curias, et Suffragium inite, was the Form then uſed. 6. The Order in which the *Curiæ* were to vote, was determined by Lot. Above all, great Care was taken, that the *Curia* which appeared to give its Suffrage firſt, ſhould have a fortunate and auſpicious Name. Otherwiſe the Aſſembly was put off to another Day. 7. The Decrees made by the *Curiæ* were, in the firſt Ages, referred to the Senate, who confirmed or diſannulled them, as they thought moſt proper for the publick Good. But it was otherwiſe in later Times. According to *D. Hal.* the Senate heard no more Cauſes but in the firſt Inſtance; and the *Curiæ* aſſumed a Right of determining the Affairs which belonged to their Tribunal, without Appeal. Their Deciſions had the Force of Laws: and were therefore called *Leges Curiatæ*. Antient *Latin* Authors have preſerved the Footſteps of theſe Uſages, and Prerogatives, aſcribed to the *Curiæ*, as this Hiſtory will give us frequent Occaſions of making particular Mention of them.

44 Thus the *Tribunes* made an ill Uſe of their Intereſt in the Commons to attempt the Lives of the moſt famous *Patricians*. But this Impudence was ſuppreſſed by a Law of the 12 *Tables*, which referred all capital Caſes wherein the Life of a *Roman* Citizen was in queſtion, to the Judgment of all the People aſſembled *by Centuries*.

45 We are here told by *D. Hal.* what the Weight of the *Talent* was. *A Fine*, ſays he, *of* 2000 Aſſes, *was laid upon* Menenius. *Now the* As, continued he, *was a Piece of Copper Money of a Pound weight; ſo that the whole Sum amounted to* 16 Talents *of Braſs*. Whence we muſt conclude, that the 2000 *Aſſes* weighed 2000 Pounds, which, when reduced to *Talents*, made ſixteen; and conſequently, the Weight of each *Talent* was 125 Pounds. *Heſychius* and *Suidas* give us the ſame Eſtimation.

46 *P. Valerius Poplicola*, who enjoyed the *Conſulate* this Year, was the Son of him of the ſame Name, who was ſubſtituted in the room of *Collatinus*, after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*. *C. Nautius Rutilus* was the Son of *Sp. Nautius*, who had been *Conſul* with *Sextus Furius*, in the Year of *Rome* 264. *Diodorus* and the *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian*, give *Nautius* the Surname of *Rufus*.

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Campaign, in purſuing the Enemy to their Camp on the *Janiculus:* and he had loſt a great many Men in the Repulſe the *Hetrurians* gave him. This was enough to have him brought before the People as a criminal. The chief Cauſe of the Hatred of the *Tribunes* to this brave Man, was his Attachment to the Senate, and his Averſion to the Diſtribution of the Lands among the Populace. With a View therefore to deſtroy him by an unjuſt Judgment, two of the *Tribunes, Cæditius* and *Statius,* ſummoned him to appear before the Aſſembly of the *Curiæ. Servilius* was a Man of a ſteddy Mind, and intrepid Courage. He did not ſo far debaſe himſelf, as to beg the Senators to intercede with the People on his behalf. Or he might perhaps be of opinion, that the Mediation of the *Patricians* would turn to his Ruin. But be that as it will, he put his whole Confidence in the Goodneſs of his Cauſe, and that lively Eloquence, which diſtinguiſhed him as much as his Courage. In the mean time, all the *Romans* who had any true Affection for their Country, foreſaw the Conſequences of ſo unreaſonable a Proſecution. *Which of our Generals,* ſaid they, *will undertake the Command of our Armies, if we make them reſponſible for all the uncertain Events of War? Will not the Fear of being accuſed before the People, leſſen their Courage? Which of them will dare venture to make any of thoſe bold Strokes, which often decide the Fate of Battels? Who will run the hazard of thoſe dangerous Stratagems which often ſecure the Victory? This is the Way to reduce our Officers to a cold and fearful Conduct, and make them take their Meaſures from the Approbation of the* Tribunes, *who are uſually Men little experienced in the Art of War.* Theſe were favourable Prepoſſeſſions for the Accuſed; who appeared in the *Comitia,* with the Intrepidity of a brave Man, who had often deſpiſed Death. His Accuſers did not indeed charge him with having betrayed his Country, by expoſing his Troops to the Mercy of the Enemy: they only reproached him with having been raſh enough to purſue the latter in their Flight, to an unſurmountable Hill. They deſcribed, in an affecting manner, the Heaps of dead Bodies, which had been brought to *Rome,* to be burnt. They exaggerated the Circumſtances of an Action which, they ſaid, had not been carried on by the Rules of Prudence. And laſtly, in order to ſharpen the Reſentments of the People, they inveighed againſt the Hatred of the *Patricians,* who had ſo long obſtinately refuſed to put the *Caſſian* Law in Execution, and create *Decemviri* for the Diſtribution of the Lands. But tho' theſe artful Diſcourſes made ſome Impreſſion on the Commons, *Servilius* removed them, as ſoon as he had ſpoken.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 586.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 587.

Romans, ſaid he, *you have been aſſembled, either to hear my Juſtification, or with a Determination to put me to Death. If you have reſolved on my Deſtruction, I ſubmit to your Rage, without ſaying any thing more. You will be leſs to blame to condemn me without a Hearing, than to deſtroy me after my Vindication. But if you are ſincerely willing to be rightly informed concerning the Crime laid to my Charge, ſhew it by your Silence. I ſhall look upon Tumult and Clamors as a ſure Sign of your Prejudices, and of a formed Deſign to take away my Life.*

This judicious Preamble cauſed a great Silence; and ſome in the Aſſembly were even heard to ſay, *Take Courage, and ſay whatever you think proper in your own Vindication.* Emboldened therefore by theſe Words, *Servilius* went on in this manner.

HOW great a Satisfaction is it to me, Romans, *to find you Judges, and not Enemies! I was choſen* Conſul *by your Suffrages.* Rome *was then blocked up by the* Hetrurians, *and our Arms diſperſed them. Is then the having gained a Victory, and delivered my Country, the Crime for which I am called to account? Indeed ſome brave Citizens, whoſe Happineſs I envy, loſt their Lives in fighting for you. But did the Gods make me the Arbiter of their Fate? Did your Generals ever enter into Covenants with you, always to conquer the Enemy, without the Loſs of one ſingle* Roman? *Great Victories are not to be purchaſed, but by great Dangers and Loſſes. Am I the firſt who have brought Honour and Safety to my Country, at the Expence of ſome brave Mens Lives? How often have Conquerors themſelves been conquered, and after having made great Slaughter of the Enemy, ſuffered greater Loſſes themſelves? How many of your* Conſuls *have returned to* Rome, *with the Shame of a Defeat! And what other Puniſhment ever purſued their Misfortunes, than the Shame of not having ſucceeded? To return hither without Glory, is a more ſenſible Puniſhment to a* Roman Conſul, *than Death it ſelf. But when Victory declares Merit, how unjuſt is it to make the Laws pronounce any thing but Reward? In the Command of Armies, Succeſs is all. The Enemy is fled before us; our Gates are open and free; Plenty is reſtored: theſe are my Crimes. However, have ſome regard at leaſt for my Good-Fortune, if you deſpiſe my Conduct. It is ſaid, I purſued the Enemy too warmly: I might have for-*

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born a Purſuit which was not neceſſary, and muſt be dangerous. Strange Inconſiſtency! People judge of my Conduct by a momentary Rout, and forget my complete and laſting Succeſs. Could I foreſee the unhappy Moment, when the Romans *would fly? The Camp, to which I led them, was on a ſteep Place, I grant it: But how many Ramparts have our Soldiers taken, which were more difficult of Acceſs than theſe? Did I build upon a bad Foundation, when I depended on* Roman *Valour? How many of your Generals have thrown their Standards into the midſt of the Enemy's Troops, to oblige their own to recover them? How many of them have broken down Bridges, after they have paſſed Rivers, in order to make it impracticable for their* Legions *to return back? How many of them have burnt their Tents in their Camps, to put their Armies under a Neceſſity of diſpoſſeſſing the Enemy of theirs? Shall what was their Glory, be imputed to me only as a Crime? Did I ſhun the Dangers myſelf, to which I expoſed others? If I was the firſt Man in purſuing, and the laſt in retiring, you may indeed accuſe my Deſtiny of ſparing me; but you have no reaſon, on that account, to lay the Deaths of ſo many other Men, to my Charge. After all, I am ſatisfied you do me Juſtice in your own Minds. Your Reſentments proceed only from your Intereſts. It is neceſſary, that an Enemy to the* Caſſian *Law ſhould be taken off. The Attack is made upon the whole* Patrician *Body, through me. I will therefore open my Sentiments to you, with the Freedom of a Soldier, and the Sincerity of a Magiſtrate. Pray,* Romans, *have not the Senate been able after ſo many Benefactions to you, to deſerve at leaſt a little Deference to their Opinions? They, upon mature Deliberation, think the Diſtribution of the Lands among the Commons, dangerous to the Republick. The Refuſal they make you, becauſe they judge it for the Good of their Country, you aſcribe to Enmity, to Jealouſy, and to a Neglect of your Intereſts. Your Deſires of Gain deceive you, and make you deaf to all Conſiderations of the Publick Good. And what are your Methods of Proceeding? You have not had recourſe to Perſuaſion, but to Violence, to Force. You don't intreat; you demand. But what am I ſaying? Our Misfortunes, and your Rebellions, don't proceed from you, but from your* Tribunes. *Theſe Incendiaries make you guilty of all our domeſtick Confuſions. Being in a middle Station between you and us, they neither know how to obey us, or command you. By how great a Chance has the Veſſel they ſteer, eſcaped ſinking! Your true Pilots,* Roman People, *are the* Conſcript Fathers. *But alas! you may perhaps be offended at the Liberty I take. If you are, ſacrifice my Life to your Reſentments. I ſhall at leaſt have this Comfort in my Death, that I have been very faithful to a People I love, and choſe rather to procure their Welfare by my Sincerity, than to ſave my Life by mean and unworthy Flatteries.*

THUS ſpake *Servilius*. The People, already prejudiced in his Favour, countenanced all thoſe who were willing to defend him; and then *Virginius* alſo ſpoke, and made an Apology for his old Collegue. He not only juſtified him againſt the Accuſations of the *Tribunes*, but enlarged upon *Servilius*'s Abilities in military Affairs. He aſcribed the Victory chiefly to him, and readily divided his Laurels with him. And laſtly, he ended his Diſcourſe, with deſiring, he might either ſuffer the ſame Puniſhment, or have the ſame Honours as *Servilius*. *We acted jointly*, ſaid he, *in every thing. The Victory was no more mine than his, and the Repulſe ought not to be imputed to him more than to me.* *Virginius*'s Probity was known; and what he ſaid, found Credit. Beſides, the very Countenance of the Accuſed, inclined the People to favour him. It was that of a Man, who neither will debaſe himſelf by mean Supplications, nor affects an extravagant Haughtineſs, and inſulting Airs of Confidence, before his Judges. So good a Cauſe therefore, ſo well ſupported, and ſo wiſely managed, gained over even his Enemies to him; as very evidently appeared, by the Suffrages of the People: for *Servilius* was unanimouſly acquitted, and this Victim delivered out of the Hands of the *Tribunes*.

§. XXI. THE Proſecution againſt *Servilius*, ſerved to employ the *Roman* People for ſome time; ſo that the *Conſuls Valerius* and *Nautius*, continued unactive in *Rome*, in the beginning of their *Conſulſhip*: And then a more formidable War with the *Hetrurians*, than any of the former, obliged them to take the Field. Indeed the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* jointly, had juſt declared againſt *Rome*. As for the *Hetrurians*, they had long ſet up their Standard againſt the Republick. The *Sabines* were now added to them; and this Union, they hoped, would finiſh the Work they had begun. *Rome* had then a War to maintain, with two of the moſt formidable, and moſt conſiderable Nations in her Neighbourhood. Till *Menenius*'s Defeat, the *Sabines* had declined joining with the *Hetrurians*; but the Victories of the latter over the *Romans*, determined them. They had already formed the Deſign of beſieging *Rome* with their joint Forces: and were *Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 591.*

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much ſurprized, to ſee themſelves prevented by the *Conſul Valerius*. He, having taken upon him the Command of the Army, which was to act againſt the *Hetrurians*, and their Allies, entered the Country of the *Vaientes*, before they had any notice of his Departure from *Rome*. At his Arrival, he found that the *Hetrurian* and *Sabine* Forces were not yet aſſembled. The Marches of Armies of different Nations, which are to meet at the ſame Place of *Rendez-vous*, are generally ſlow; and the *Conſul* made his Advantage of theſe Delays. The firſt Troops which were arrived from *Sabinia*, were encamped by themſelves, in a Poſt near the *Hetrurian* Camp, and there waited for the reſt of their Army. *Valerius* therefore thought it proper to open the Campaign on that Side. He made a vigorous and unexpected Attack upon the Entrenchments of the *Sabines*. *Servilius*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, was Lieutenant-General of the Army. They advanced with their Troops (which were thought by the Enemy to be yet in *Rome*) a good while before Day. Their March was quick and ſecret. So that, they ſurprized the Enemy, who were not upon their Guard, and entered the *Sabine* Camp without Reſiſtance. The greateſt Part of the *Sabines* were yet in their Beds: and the reſt but juſt got out of them. Few of them had time to take their Arms; thoſe who fought, did it without Order; a great Number of them were killed in their Sleep: And thoſe who fled towards the *Hetrurian* Camp, were overtaken, and cut in pieces, by the *Roman* Cavalry.

The prudent *Conſul* did not loſe time in plundering their Camp; but marched directly to that of the *Hetrurians*. It was now broad Day-light, by that time he came thither; and the Fright among the Enemy was general. Some *Sabines*, who had eſcaped the Slaughter, made the *Hetrurians* afraid of the like Fate; and to complete their Misfortune, their Camp was neither well choſen, nor ſufficiently fortified. They were therefore forced to march out of it, to come to a Battel. The Engagement, which was fought in ſight of their Entrenchments, was ſharp, and the Victory long diſputed. Till at length, the *Roman* Cavalry fell on the *Hetrurian* Battalions with ſuch Fury, that being quite borne down by ſo vigorous an Attack, they were forced to ſhelter themſelves within their Entrenchments. Then *Valerius* laid Siege to them, and attacked them all the reſt of the Day, without diſcontinuing the Works even in the Night. So that the *Hetrurians*, who thought themſelves no longer ſafe in their Camp, marched out of it at Break of Day, and diſperſing, fled, ſome to *Veii*, and ſome to the neighbouring Hills, or Foreſts, for Shelter. Thus this ſudden Expedition, which was undertaken with ſo much Prudence, and carried on with ſo much Bravery, put the *Conſular* Army in Poſſeſſion of both Camps. All the Booty in them was diſtributed among the Soldiers. And after the Victory was over, all the Honour of it was aſcribed to the brave *Servilius*. His Prudence in carrying on, and Valour in executing the Enterprize, was the common Topick in all Companies. It was readily acknowledged, that he had effectually wiped off the Ignominy of his Accuſation, by the military Virtues he had ſhewn himſelf Maſter of, in this Action. The *Conſul* alſo did him Juſtice in the Diſtribution of his Rewards. He was firſt called, and none of thoſe Recompences were denied him, which were given as Marks of Diſtinction to brave Men. This done, *Valerius* gave his Army but one Day's Reſt. He immediately led them before *Veii*, without giving their Ardor time to cool, and offered the Enemy Battel, a ſecond time. Their Courage was ſunk, but their City ſeemed impregnable. He therefore could only pillage their Lands without Oppoſition, and enrich himſelf with Spoils after an ample Harveſt of Glory. But this did not ſatisfy him. He marched ſuddenly from the Territory of the *Veientes*, and fell upon the Lands of the *Sabines*. Theſe not having been ravaged for a long time afforded the Conquerors a Plenty of Booty. And now, after he had filled two Provinces with the Terror of the *Roman* Name, the *Conſul* led back his Troops to *Rome*; and it is incredible, with what Honours he was received. The People went a great way to meet the Army, crowned with Flowers. They burnt Perfumes, as the Conqueror paſſed by, and treated his Soldiers [47] with Wine. The Senate had alſo decreed *Valerius* [48] a Triumph; ſo that he entered *Rome* with all the Pomp and Magnificence of that ſolemn Proceſſion.

Faſt. Capitol. and *Dion. Hal. B.* 9. *p.* 593.

47 *D. Hal.* calls the Drink which the People gave the Soldiers, *Mulſum*. It was a Wine ſweetened with Honey, which the old *Romans* greatly loved. Thoſe who triumphed, uſually gave ſome of it to the Soldiers. *Plautus*, *Bach.* 4. 9. alludes to this Cuſtom in the three following Lines:

Sed Spectatores vos nunc ne miremini,
Quod non Triumpho; per vulgatum eſt, nihil moror.
Verum tamen accipientur Mulſo *Milites.*

48 *Livy* does not mention *Valerius*'s Triumph. But the *Faſti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* have preſerved the Memory of it. The *Conſular* Annals place it on the *Calends of March*, i. e. the firſt Day of that Month.

Whilst

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WHILST *Valerius* was ſubduing the *Hetrurians*, *Nautius* with his Army continued at *Rome*. This *Conſul* had indeed received Orders to go and ſuccour the *Latins*, who were expoſed to the Rapines of the *Volſci*, and the *Æqui*; but he choſe to act a more prudent, tho' a leſs glorious Part. Whilſt the Succeſs of the Arms of his Collegue againſt the two united Nations, continued uncertain, he kept himſelf within reach of relieving him, or at leaſt of hindering the *Sabines* and *Hetrurians*, if they ſhould be victorious, from entering into the *Roman* Territory, and taking Poſſeſſion of an advantageous Poſt, in the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, as they had formerly done. So that, he left the *Latins* to defend themſelves againſt the Incurſions of their Enemies; and they, without being commanded by *Roman* Officers, only with the Aſſiſtance of the *Hernici*, gave the Enemy Battel, drove them out of their Camp, and recovered the Spoils they had taken from them. The *Romans* were very unwilling that their Allies ſhould make War on their own Bottom, without being under the Command of *Roman* Generals, and thereby know their own Strength: And as ſoon therefore as News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Hetrurians* and *Sabines* were overcome by *Valerius*; his Collegue was ordered to march into the Country of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. He reaped the Advantage of the Terror the *Latins* had ſpread all over it; but could not by any means provoke the Enemy to come to a Battel. He was therefore forced to be contented with laying the Country waſte; and his Booty was not conſiderable: for the Country was already deſerted. But the *Romans* had the cruel Pleaſure of ſetting fire to the ripe Corn of theſe reſtleſs Enemies. Thus the glorious and ſucceſsful Year of theſe two *Conſuls*, ended to the Advantage of *Rome*.

Livy, B. 2. *ch.* 53.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. *p.* 594.

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Aul. Manlius, and L. Furius, Conſuls.

§. XXII. *AUL. MANLIUS*, and *L. Furius*, who were choſen *Conſuls* in their room, were no ſooner [49] in their Office, but they drew Lots, which of them ſhould command the Army, that had conquered the *Hetrurians*, the laſt Year: and *Manlius* had the Good-Fortune to have it fall to him. He therefore led the *Roman* Troops into the Country of the *Veientes*, without delay; and then the Pride of theſe implacable Enemies to the Republick, was much humbled. They were forced to beg Succours all over *Hetruria*, and invite the *Sabines*, their new Allies, to join the *Sabine* Forces with theirs. But the Loſſes of the *Veientes* were ſo notorious, that theſe Allies durſt not venture to ſhare any more of their Misfortunes. Being therefore obliged to ſhut themſelves up in *Veii*, they were again under a Neceſſity of leaving their Territory open to the *Romans*. So that the pillaging of their Lands reduced them to Want, which ended in a Famine; and they were forced to ſend the moſt honourable of their Citizens to the *Conſul*, to beg a Peace, in the Poſture, and with all the Marks of Suppliants. *Manlius* referred their Petition to the Senate; but by way of Preliminary, ordered them to pay the Expence of the War for one Year, and furniſh him with Corn enough to ſubſiſt his Troops for two Months. It was a Maxim with the Senate, always to treat Suppliants with Indulgence; and they granted the *Veientes* a Truce for forty Years, thereby delivering *Rome* from her neareſt and moſt troubleſome Enemy. As for the *Conſul Manlius*, he was not without his Reward. He had not indeed the Honours of a Triumph conferred upon him: his Succeſs was not ſignalized, either by having taken any Towns, or won any Battels. But an [50] *Ovation*, which was all he demanded, was granted him.

Livy, B. 2. *ch.* 54. *Dion. Hal. B.* 9. *ibid.*

Faſti Capit. and *Dion. Hal. ibid.*

PEACE abroad was, at that time, always followed by inteſtine Broils at *Rome*. The old Diſputes about the Diſtribution of the Lands were revived by the Faction of the *Tribunes*. The *Conſuls* declared themſelves reſolutely for the *Patricians*, without any Fear of the Threatenings of the Commons, notwithſtanding the Condemnation of *Menenius*, and the Danger to which *Servilius* had been expoſed. But theſe Threatenings ended in Proceedings, which were very affronting to the chief Magiſtrates of the Republick. *Genucius*, a furious *Tribune to the People*, began a Proſecution againſt them, as ſoon as they were out of their Office.

§. XXIII. IN this cloudy Seaſon, *L. Æmilius* [51], and *Vopiſcus Julius* were choſen

[49] *D. Hal.* gives *Manlius Vulſo* the *Prænomen* of *Aulus*. This is he who was one of the *Decemviri*. *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, have, by Miſtake, given him the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. He is called in the *Greek Tables*, by the Name of *Manius*, probably by the Miſtake of the Copyiſts.

[50] According to the *Faſti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* *M. Manlius* received the Honours of an *Ovation*, on the *Ides of March*, i. e. on the 15th Day of that Month. But *Livy* ſays nothing of it.

[51] The *Faſti Conſulares* make *L. Æmilius Mamercinus Conſul* the third time, and *Vopiſcus Julius Iulus* the firſt time, in this Year 280. *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* have diſplaced the latter, to ſubſtitute *Opiter Virginius* in his room. Yet the *Latin* Hiſtorian acknowledges he had found the Name of *Vopiſcus Julius*, in ſome ancient Annals. The Authority of *D. Hal.* and the *Faſti Capitolini*, joined with the Teſtimony of *Diodorus Siculus*, and the *Greek Tables*, ought to be preferred to that of *Livy*. The *Prænomen* of *Vopiſcus*, which was perpetuated in the *Julian* Family, was uſually given to him, who had ſurvived his Twin-Brother. This is the Interpretation *Nonnius Marcellus*, *Iſidorus*, and *Val. Maximus* give us of this *Latin* Word.

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L. Æmilius, and Vopiscus Julius, Consuls.

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

Consuls. A great Storm arose in the Republick in their time, which continued long, always raging with equal Fury. *Tribunes* were continually disputing their Rights with *Consuls*, and *Patricians* with *Plebeians*. The two *Consuls* for the last Year, being cited to appear before the People, went about all the Quarters of the City, complaining of the Insolence of the *Tribunes*, and stirring up the old *Consuls*, and young *Patricians*, against them. *You must*, said they, *renounce all Pretension to Offices, and the Administration of publick Affairs. What is a* Consul *now, but a Victim devoted to the Rage of the People? The Ornaments of his Dignity are no better than the Garlands, with which the Head of a devoted Bull is adorned; and the Guards which attend him with their* Axes, *are like the Sacrificers who lead him to the Altar. And what is become of his Authority in the midst of all his Pomp? A* Consul *is no more than the* Tribunes *Officer, who executes their Commands. If he is not a Slave to their Will, his Steps are watched, an exact Account is taken of every favourable Look he casts upon the Senate; and it is made criminal in him, to make the least Opposition to the Licentiousness of the People. The World may judge of their extravagant Rage, by the Banishment of* Coriolanus, *and the Condemnation of* Menenius. *To purchase a Throne of Ivory, a dozen* Lictors, *and a vain Title, at this rate, is to buy them very dear.*

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 595.

These Discourses of *Furius* and *Manlius*, who were already destined to be tried by the People, irritated the Nobility to a Degree not to be expressed. Nevertheless, the *Tribunes* went on in their own Way, and took their Measures to carry on the Process against the two old *Consuls*. But before they fixed the Day for their Appearance, they applied themselves to the new *Consuls*, and required them to nominate *Decemviri*, to distribute the Lands, in Obedience to the *Cassian* Law. These, however, excused themselves from undertaking an Affair which exceeded their Power. *Such sort of* Consular *Decrees*, said they, *are not of perpetual Obligation: They have no Force, but in the Year of the* Consuls *who made or obtained them.* But these specious Pretences did not satisfy *Genucius*, the chief Agent for the People. He indeed shewed some Respect to the Authority of the two *Consuls*, who were actually in Office; but did his utmost against the *Consuls* for the last Year. He fixed the Day for their appearing before the People to be tried; and made no Secret of the Crime of which he was to accuse them. *It is*, said he, *for having refused to execute the Decree of the Senate, and the* Cassian *Law, concerning the Distribution of the Lands. It is true*, added he, *that many other* Consuls *have been guilty of the same Neglect within these twelve Years, that this Law has been made: But we fix upon the* Consuls *of the last Year, that we may the more effectually terrify the present, if they continue obstinate in rejecting the Request of the People.*

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

This Determination of *Genucius* threw the *Patricians* into a Consternation. They foresaw, that they should no longer enjoy any Honour or Safety in the *Consulship*, which till that time was granted only to the *Patrician* Nobility. They therefore had private Meetings among themselves; and resolved to rescue *Furius* and *Manlius*, from the Fury of the People, if they were condemned. Desperate Men were not wanting, who offered to make the Attempt. At length the Day came, on which the two accused *Consuls* appeared; and the Assembly of the People was as numerous as an Affair of such Consequence required. It was not doubted but the Accused would sink under the Artifices of the *Tribunes*. Every Body knew, *Genucius* had sworn never to desist from prosecuting, till he had the Pleasure of getting them condemned. Both *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, all that were in the *Comitia*, were divided between Fear and Hope; but all were surprized not to see the Accuser appear at the Hour appointed. At first, they imputed his Delays to Business; and afterwards the People suspected that *Genucius* had been gained over by the *Patricians*, and that he had betrayed the Cause he had undertaken. But whilst every one was interpreting the Absence of the *Tribune* according to his own Fancy, his Collegues came and informed the Assembly, That
52 *Genucius* had been found dead in his Bed. There were no Marks on his Body, ei-

52 *D. Hal.* differs from *Livy*, as to the Circumstances of *Genucius*'s Death. *The Day before the People were to assemble, to give Judgment*, says the *Greek* Historian, Genucius *was found dead in his Bed, without any Marks of his having been assassinated, or strangled, or poisoned, or of his having lost his Life by any other sort of Violence or Artifice. The Report of his Death*, adds our Author, *was soon spread into all the Quarters of* Rome. *The dead Body was exposed to publick View in the* Forum: *and every body looked on this sudden Catastrophe, as a providential Stroke of the Gods, who were willing to protect the City from the Fury of Seditions.* But *Livy* does in a manner give us to understand, that the *Patricians* were concerned in the Death of *Genucius*. After having said, that the News of it was brought to the People assembled in the *Comitium*, he declares, that the Nobility could not dissemble their Joy, and were even well pleased with being thought Authors, or Accomplices, of the Assassination. *Nec Patres satis moderate ferre lætitiam, adeoque neminem*

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ther of Poiſon, or Violence. Upon this, the People diſperſed, like Troops upon hearing of the Death of their General; and the *Tribunes* eſpecially were terrified at it, and were now ſenſible, that the Laws which made their Perſons inviolable, could not ſecure them from Death. So that they continued ſilent; and the two *Conſuls* who had been cited, withdrew without being condemned, for want of Accuſers. As for the *Patrician* Party, they triumphed at the Accident, with too much Levity. Even thoſe who were not guilty of the *Tribune*'s Death, boaſted that they had been the Authors of it. In ſhort, they publickly declared, that ſuch Strokes as theſe were very neceſſary, to humble the Pride of the *Tribunes*. At the ſame time there were many ſenſible Men among the *Plebeians* themſelves, who condemned the too violent Meaſures of *Genucius*; whilſt the common People broke out into Tranſports of Rage. They ſaid, *Liberty was buried with* Genucius; and they thought they had now nothing elſe to do, but either to take Arms, or make a Separation.

§. XXIV. This firſt Fury of the Commons would ſoon have been laid aſleep, if the new *Conſuls* had not given occaſion to rouze it. They thought the *Tribunes* ſo mightily terrified at the unexpected Death of their Collegue, that they ſhould meet with no more Oppoſition on that Side, to their raiſing an Army among the People. But they were oppoſed by the People themſelves. The Confidence 53 a Moment's Superiority over the *Plebeian* Party had given the *Conſuls*, made them haughty and unjuſt. As they were chooſing Soldiers for the Army, they cauſed one *Volero Publius* to be called upon to be inliſted as a common Foot-Soldier. *Volero* was not deſcended from one of the beſt Families even among the People; but he had raiſed himſelf 54 by his Merit, to be an Officer in the *Roman* Army, and therefore thought it an Affront to be placed without any Command in the *Legions*. *Volero* expected to have been promoted to the Poſt of a *Centurion*, at leaſt; and being much ſurprized to find himſelf ranked among the common Soldiers, he could not ſtifle his Reſentment. He complained to the *Conſuls* of their Injuſtice, and boldly demanded, that they would either reſtore him to his former Poſt, or declare for what Fault they had degraded him. Theſe Complaints and Remonſtrances were not at all agreeable to imperious Maſters, who wanted to humble the Commons; and they immediately ſent one of their *Lictors* with Orders to beat the impudent *Volero* with Rods, in the Sight of the People. But the Multitude was diſpleaſed with a Sentence ſo raſhly pronounced, and ſo haſtily executed. They were heard to ſay in all the Ranks, *After all, theſe formidable* Lictors *are but twenty four in* 55 *Number, and all of the Dregs of the People, and Men of no Courage. We need but attempt it, to diſperſe them.* Thus began a Revolt which was very hotly carried on. The *Lictor* laid hands upon *Volero*, and was actually tearing off his Clothes, that he might whip him upon his naked Body. It ſignified nothing for the brave *Roman* to appeal to the *Tribunes*; they were frighted at the ſudden Death of *Genucius*, and out of Dread of the *Conſuls* had diſappeared; and *Volero* therefore had Recourſe to the Company about him: *Help*, Romans, *help*, cried he, 56 *it is your Protection I implore, ſince our* Tribunes *had rather ſee a* Roman *Citizen beaten*

Liv. B. 2. c. 55.

noxæ pœnitebat, ut etiam inſontes feciſſe videri vellent, palamque ferretur, malo domandam Tribuniciam poteſtatem. It is no eaſy Matter to determine between the two Hiſtorians. But *D. Hal.* acknowledges, that the extravagant Conduct of the *Conſuls*, with regard to the People, excited the *Tribunes* to raiſe new Troubles, in order to revenge the Death of their Collegue, they being perſuaded that the *Patricians* had taken away his Life.

53 The *Conſuls*, ſays *D. Hal.* puniſhed the Diſobedience of the Mutineers, who refuſed to inliſt themſelves in the *Legions*. Some were beaten with Rods, and others fined.

54 *Volero* was probably ſome Officer in the *Roman* Army, with the Title of *Centurion*, or *Aide-de-camp*.

55 This Number of 24 *Lictors*, who guarded the two *Conſuls*, does not ſeem to agree with the Law made when the *Conſuls* were firſt eſtabliſhed. By this Law, the Number of *Lictors* for each *Conſul* was fixed to twelve, with this Reſerve, that only that *Conſul* who was in the Exerciſe of his Office ſhould have the *Faſces* and *Axes* carried before him; *id modo cautum eſt, ne ambo Conſules Faſces haberent, ne ſcilicet duplicatus terror videretur*—— *Liv. B.* 1. But the *Latin* Hiſtorian, when he here ſays, that the two *Conſuls* appeared with 24 *Lictors*, does not mean that they were all armed with *Axes*. This Privilege only belonged to them alternately: but that did not hinder the *Conſuls* from having a Right to be always attended by 12 *Lictors*, whether they were in the Exerciſe of their Office or not.

56 According to *D. Hal. Volero* claimed the Protection of the *Tribunes*, and demanded that his Cauſe ſhould be heard by the People aſſembled. But the *Conſuls*, adds he, without any Regard to the Petitioner's Remonſtrances, repeated the ſame Orders they had given the *Lictors*, which were to ſeize *Volero*, and beat him with Rods. He therefore, being touched to the Quick with this ignominious Treatment, did himſelf Juſtice. Being in full Vigour and Strength, he boxed the *Lictor*, ſtruck him on the Face, and threw him down. He likewiſe did the ſame to the ſecond, who came to aſſiſt the firſt. Upon this, the *Conſuls*, angry at the Affront, ſent all the *Lictors* after him, with Orders to ſeize him; but the People oppoſed the Execution of theſe Orders; great Outcries were heard on all Sides; they fell upon the *Lictors*, abuſed them, and put them to Flight. The *Conſuls* themſelves would not have been ſpared, if they had not made their Eſcape, to avoid the Fury of the Populace.

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with Rods, than run the hazard of dying in their Beds by the Treachery of the Conſuls. But the more he cried out, the more eager the *Lictor* was to ſtrip him; till at length *Volero* diſengaged himſelf from him, by the help of a few Spectators who aſſiſted him. And then getting into the midſt of the Aſſembly, he ſaid, *It is to you,* Roman *People, that I appeal, to do me Juſtice for the Inſult that has been offered me. Rouze! Fellow-Soldiers, Rouze! let us no longer depend on the* Tribunes, *whoſe Weakneſs wants to be ſupported by your Arms.* At theſe Words, the mutinous People prepared to fight; and no longer paid any Reſpect to the moſt venerable and moſt ſacred Magiſtrates in the Republick. The *Conſuls* in vain expoſed themſelves to appeaſe the Tumult. What can Men without Strength do againſt a mutinous Multitude? Their *Lictors* were repulſed, and beaten, and their *Faſces* broken. In ſhort, they themſelves being preſſed hard upon by the Crowd of People who ſurrounded them, fled to the Senate-houſe for Refuge, and got there very ſeaſonably. For they preſerved the *Roman* People from the Infamy of embruing their Hands in the Blood of their Governours.

Livy, ibid. *Dion. Hal.* ib.

But the Sedition did not end with a Scuffle. The *Tribunes of the People* recover'd their Spirits, and inſpired the Commons with new Fury; which was no longer levelled at the *Patricians* in general, but only at the *Conſuls*. *Æmilius* and *Junius*, in this ſudden Commotion, which put all the City in an Uproar, aſſembled the Senate as ſpeedily as they could. There theſe two *Conſuls* made bitter Complaints of the Outrages committed by the People, in Derogation of the Reſpect due to their Dignity. Some Senators were for throwing down *Volero* headlong from the *Capitol:* And all the *Conſcript Fathers* were ſenſible of the ill Conſequence of the Violences offered to the *Conſuls*. But the wiſeſt of them thought it not proper to put it to the Trial whether the Anger of the Senate, or the Raſhneſs of the People, ſhould prevail. Indeed, the Commons were reſolved to proſecute the *Conſuls*, even before the Senate it ſelf, and to make them give them Satisfaction. The Ground of their Complaints was the unworthy Treatment ſhewn to a *Roman* Citizen, who had been condemned to be whipped like a Slave. To this they added, the Contempt the *Conſuls* had ſhewn of the Authority of the *Tribunes*, contrary to Law. The pretended Criminal had appealed to their Tribunal, and no Regard had been had to his Appeal. Theſe reciprocal Complaints of the *Conſuls* againſt the People, and of the People againſt the *Conſuls*, continued till new Magiſtrates were choſen.

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§. XXV. They were both Men of Moderation, and very fit to re-eſtabliſh the publick Tranquillity. One was *L. Pinarius* 57, and the other *P. Furius*. After the Republick had choſen them in the *Campus Martius*, the People proceeded to the Election of a new *Tribune*, in the Room of *Genutius*; and they thought they could not better make up the Loſs of this brave Defender of their Intereſts, than by putting *Volero* in his Place. He gave them Reaſon to hope for every thing that could be done, from his Courage, and his Hatred to the *Patricians*. Beſides, he promiſed the People, that as contemptible as he was by Birth, he would humble the Pride of the *Conſuls*.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 597.

The Troubles were juſt ready to be renewed, when a ſudden Plague ſuſpended the Animoſities of both Parties for a time. The *Romans* never loſt more People by any Contagion with which they had been viſited. It particularly ſeized Women with Child, and carried off both the Mothers and their Children before they ſaw the Light. After all human Remedies were found vain, the Protection of the Gods was implored by *Supplications*. All the Temples were opened, and viſited with thoſe Ceremonies which the Church of *Rome* has ſince conſecrated under the Name of *Proceſſions*. But the publick Vows ſeemed only to increaſe the Deſolation; and at length the Diviners and *Pontifices*, upon being conſulted, anſwered, That impure Hands employed in the Service of the Altars, had polluted the Sanctuary and drawn down the Anger of the Gods upon *Rome*. It was then no difficult Matter to make ſuch Predictions very ſafely. In the College of *Veſtals* there was always one or other who forgot her ſelf. Enquiry was then made after the preſent Criminal:

57 *L. Pinarius* is called in the *Conſular Annals* by the Surnames of *Rufus* and *Mamercinus*. *P. Furius* is ſurnamed *Fuſus*. If we believe *Plutarch*, in his *Life of Numa*, the *Pinarian* Family, which was originally *Patrician*, deſcended from *Pinus*, one of the Sons of that ſecond King of *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, *Livy* and *D. Hal.* derive it from the *Pinarii*, who were particularly devoted to the Worſhip of *Hercules*: And *Virgil* is of the ſame Opinion.

Et domus Herculei cuſtos Pinaria ſacri. Æn. 8.

Macrobius, Saturnal. B. 1. c. 13. ſays, upon the Credit of *Varro*, that there was an Intercalation made, according to *Numa*'s Calendar, when *L. Pinarius* and *P. Furius* were *Conſuls*. He adds, that the Memory of it was preſerved on a Table of Braſs.

And

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And a Slave accuſed [58] *Urbinia*, and alledged that ſhe had ſtill continued to ſerve at the Altars, after ſhe had polluted her ſelf with Inceſt. *Urbinia* was therefore condemned, with two young *Romans*, to ſuffer the Puniſhments the Laws inflicted on inceſtuous *Veſtals*, and the Accomplices in their Crimes. At length the Plague ceaſed, and the credulous People were very ready to aſcribe their Deliverance from that Affliction to the Puniſhment of the infamous *Veſtal*.

THE Spirit of Faction always revived with the publick Tranquillity. *Volero*, now a *Tribune*, thought of nothing but revenging the Affront he had received from the *Conſuls*. So conſiderable a Dignity, ſeemed to have raiſed him above the natural Meanneſs of his Birth, and the unpoliſhed Behaviour of Men of his Education. So that he did not attack the *Patricians* in a ruſtick ill-bred Manner, but with Art, Addreſs and Politeneſs. He did not declaim againſt the *Conſuls* and the Senate, or ſtir up the Populace againſt their Maſters. He ſapped their Authority by more imperceptible Means. He imagined, he needed do no more than preſent a Petition to the People, deſiring that the Magiſtrates which were nominated by them might not be choſen any longer in *Comitia* aſſembled *by Curiæ*, but in *Comitia* aſſembled *by Tribes*. This Requeſt of *Volero* did not appear to have any thing in it offenſive to the *Patricians*, or contrary to their Intereſts. But the ſubtle *Tribune* had two Views which were very prejudicial to the *Patrician* Faction. In the firſt place, the *Curiæ* were never aſſembled for Elections, till the Senate had conſented to it by a Decree. In the ſecond place, the *Patricians* being able to command the Suffrages of their Clients, they often got ſuch *Tribunes of the People* elected in *Comitia by Curiæ*, as were agreeable [59] to themſelves. But neither of theſe Inconveniencies could happen in *Comitia* aſſembled *by Tribes*. The *Tribunes* would be at Liberty to aſſemble them without the Conſent of the Senate; and the *Tribes* in the Country would not be enſlaved to the Wills of the Nobility, as thoſe in the City were. So that the artful *Volero*'s Intent was, to get it eſtabliſhed by a ſtanding Law, that the Senate ſhould no more influence the Election of the *Tribunes*; and conſequently, that they ſhould be ſolely devoted to the Intereſts of the common People. In order to get his Law paſſed, *Volero* had made a ſtrong Party. He had got two of his Collegues in his Intereſt; ſo that of five *Tribunes*, three declared for the Law, and the two others did not diſapprove of it. But the *Conſuls* and *Patricians* foreſaw the Conſequences of an Innovation ſo fatal to their Intereſt; and they appeared in great Numbers at the Aſſembly of the People, when it was called to deliberate about *Volero*'s Petition. The Law he preſented was ſtrictly examined. The *Conſuls*, and the oldeſt Senators, had Liberty to remonſtrate againſt it; ſo that the whole Day was ſpent in wiſe and ſerious Debates between the *Conſuls* and the *Tribunes*. The Affair was poſtponed to the third Market-day, that is, to the twenty ſeventh Day from thence; Markets being held at *Rome* only once in nine Days. All this Interval the *Patricians* did their utmoſt to engage one *Tribune* at leaſt, to proteſt againſt *Volero*'s Law; but none of them could be prevailed on to make a legal Oppoſition to it. When the appointed Time was come, the Importance of the Affair made the Aſſembly great; and the *Tribes* of the Country came in Crowds. As for the *Patricians*, they again found Means, by their Remonſtrances, and the Length of their Harangues, to get the Affair put off for three Market-days more. The Artifice they made uſe of was to place ſeveral Companies of their Clients in different Parts of the *Comitium*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to interrupt with their Clamours thoſe who ſpoke for the Law, and to encourage thoſe with their Applauſes, who ſpoke againſt it. To prevent this Diſorder therefore, *Volero* formed a Deſign to cauſe the *Conſuls* to be forbidden ſpeaking at the next Aſſembly, and to hinder the *Patricians* from appearing at it. This was a violent Step, but not utterly againſt Law. However, a terrible Accident hindered *Volero* from executing it. The Plague, now more

Liv. B.2. c.56. Dion. Hal. ib.

[58] *D. Hal.* tells us that *Urbinia* was beaten with Rods, and that after ſhe had been led thro' the Midſt of the City, ſhe was buried alive near the Gate *Collina*. He adds, That one of thoſe who had committed Inceſt with the *Veſtal*, killed himſelf; and That the *Pontifices* ſeized the other, cauſed him to be beaten with Rods in the Midſt of the *Foram*, and then delivered him up to the Executioner.

[59] We muſt alſo add, with *D. Hal.* that the Aſſemblies of the People *by Curiæ*, were in ſome meaſure at the Diſpoſal of the *Augurs*. It often happened, that they, to ſerve the Intereſts of the *Patricians*, of which Body they then were, either deferred the *Comitia*, or diſannulled the Election of ſome *Tribunes*, who had more openly declared themſelves againſt the Nobility, under Pretence that the *Auguries* were inauſpicious. This was enough to reſtrain a ſuperſtitious Populace. So that the *Patricians* knew how to turn theſe falſe Appearances of Religion to their Advantage, againſt the Enterprizes of the *Plebeians*. But this was not the Caſe with the *Comitia by Tribes*; they did not want the Report or Conſent of the *Augurs*; their Deliberations did not depend on thoſe religious Ceremonies, which were always to precede the *Comitia by Curiæ*, and *by Centuries*.

violent

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXI. L. Pinarius, and P. Furius. Conſuls.

violent than formerly, renewed its Ravages in *Rome*, and put a Stop to all Aſſemblies. Men, Women, and Children were all ſwept away without Diſtinction. Whether Remedies were made uſe of, or not, it was the ſame thing; and Recourſe to the Gods was as vain as to the Phyſicians. This Contagion was like a Torrent, which ſpread it ſelf every where with Precipitation and Fury; but it laſted only ſome Months. In the mean time, the Year of *Volero*'s *Tribuneſhip* expired. However, as he ſtill had a Deſign to purſue his Scheme, and get his Law paſſed, he ſtood again for the *Tribuneſhip*, for the next Year, and found a Party ſtrong enough to continue him in his Employment.

THE Meaſures of the *Patrician* Faction were all diſconcerted, by the new Election of *Volero* to be *Tribune*. They could think of only one Expedient to ward off the Miſchief they feared he would do them; and that was, to ſet up againſt him, for the enſuing Year, the moſt intrepid, and moſt inflexible Man in the Senate. The Nobility pitched upon *Appius Claudius*, the Son of the famous *Claudius*, who had ſo often ſignalized his Hatred to the *Plebeians*; and in this, the Son equalled, or even ſurpaſſed his Father. The *Centuries* being aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, and the *Patricians* having more Intereſt in theſe *Comitia*, than in the other Aſſemblies of the People, they gained their Point, and got *Appius* elected. But this was not what he deſired. *Appius* judged rightly of himſelf; he thought himſelf but ill qualified to govern, in a Time of general Commotions; and abſented himſelf from the *Comitia*. But *Rome* declared him *Conſul*, tho' abſent; and joined with him *T. Quinctius*, a venerable Man, but of a ſweet Temper, and very fit to moderate the Violence of his Collegue.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXII. A. Claudius, and T. Quinctius, Conſuls. *Liv. B. 2. c. 56.*

§. XXVI. THIS turbulent Year began with a Quarrel between *Appius* and *Volero*. But the *Conſul* was not ſeconded by a Collegue as warm for the Intereſts of the Senate, as one of the *Tribune*'s Aſſociates (who was joined with him to promote the paſſing of the Law) was for the Intereſts of the People. The latter was one *C. Lætorius*, a *Plebeian* indeed, but a Man of great Reputation in the Army, who paſſed for the boldeſt and moſt enterprizing Officer in all the *Roman* Soldiery. His Valour, rather than his Skill in the Management of Affairs, was what raiſed him to the *Tribuneſhip*, at a Time when the civil Broils muſt in all appearance end in Blows. *Lætorius* was not the Author of the Law, but he was the moſt warm and furious Defender of it. On the other hand, the whole Hope of the *Patricians* may be ſaid to have been placed in *Appius* only. As for *Quinctius*, his Merit conſiſted in knowing how to manage both Parties, and to find out Expedients to reconcile them. But this he did neither out of Weakneſs, nor a ſelf-intereſted Compliance. It was from Reaſon and Principle he held the Balance between the two Parties. He found too little Equity, and too much Zeal, in both; and he diſcovered his Sentiments to the Senate, as ſoon as he entered upon his Adminiſtration. *Appius* gave himſelf up to the Dictates of his natural Severity, and propoſed to the *Conſcript Fathers*, to raiſe an Army among the People, and ſend it to vent that martial Courage abroad, which made them untractable at home. *Let them go*, ſaid he, *and live at the Expence of our Neighbours; and let military Fatigues teach them to be more tractable! Such a Republick as ours, which is always victorious, and always envied, can never want Pretences for beginning a foreign War.* But *Quinctius* was too apprehenſive of the Conſequences of making ſuch unſeaſonable Levies, to conſent to it. *Let us content our ſelves*, ſaid he, *with repelling the Attacks of our Enemies; and not draw upon our ſelves the Hatred of the neighbouring Nations, and of our own Subjects, by Declarations of War, which are always odious. It is enough that we find our Citizens ready and willing to march into the Field when the Enemy preſſes upon us, and it is abſolutely neceſſary. We have Reaſon to fear the Fate of the* Conſuls *of the laſt Year, if we venture to attempt raiſing Troops unneceſſarily. Perhaps more* Voleros *than one may diſobey our Orders; and the Mutiny of a ſmall Number may perhaps turn to the Diſhonour of the* Conſular *Authority, and produce a general Flame.*

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 599.

BESIDES that *Quinctius* had Experience and Reaſon on his Side, he was likewiſe inveſted with an Authority ſuperior to that of his Collegue. It is well known, that the *Conſuls* [60] preſided in the Aſſemblies of the Senate, and of the People, monthly, each

60 The Right of firſt exerciſing the *Conſular* Authority, belonged to him of the new *Conſuls*, who had moſt Children, or was oldeſt, or had been firſt choſen. Both had for ſome time their Turns of preſiding monthly in the Aſſemblies of the Senate, and of the People: but this Cuſtom varied. In the Year of *Rome* 585, we ſhall find them preſiding ſucceſſively by Days. He who was in the Exerciſe of his Office, was called *Major Conſul*, to diſtinguiſh him from his Collegue, who was called *Virgis inſignis Conſul*, becauſe his *Faſces* were not

in his turn: and this was *Quinctius*'s Month. His Opinion therefore prevailed: but *Appius Claudius* was an obſtinate Man, who did not eaſily forgive the leaſt Oppoſition to his Deſires. He lived upon ill Terms with his Collegue all the reſt of their Year; and thereby the Affection the People already had for *Quinctius*, was increaſed.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXII. A. CLAUDIUS, and T. QUINCTIUS, Conſuls.

THE Diviſion of the *Conſuls*, and the Union of the *Tribunes*, made *Volero* believe, he ſhould now get the Law paſſed, which he had propoſed the laſt Year: And he had even the Confidence to add two important Articles to it. The firſt was, that the *Ædiles* ſhould likewiſe be choſen by the *Comitia by Tribes*; the ſecond, that all Affairs relating to the People, ſhould no longer be brought before the *Curiæ*, but the *Tribes*. We have already obſerved, that there were but four *Tribes* in the City, and ſeventeen in the Country, without reckoning the *Latins* [61], and the *Hernici*, who had all a Right of Suffrage, and were not all under the Influence of the Nobility: whence we may eaſily judge of the ſtrenuous Endeavours of the *Patricians*, to deſtroy a Law, which muſt make the Senators and *Conſuls* Slaves to the *Tribunes*. The *Conſcript Fathers* conſulted what Method to take, to ward off a Blow ſo fatal to their Authority; and *Appius* made a Propoſal agreeable to the Violence of his Temper. He would have had the Senate make a Decree, inviting all thoſe who loved their Country, to take up Arms, and declaring all thoſe who refuſed to take up Arms in its Defence, Enemies to the Republick. But *Quinctius*, who was afraid of ſeeing *Rome* a Field of Battel, was of a contrary Opinion. *The People*, ſaid he, *ought to be brought to their Duty, by Ways of Gentleneſs and Inſinuation. If they follow pernicious Counſels, it is becauſe they are ignorant of their true Intereſts. Let us endeavour to inſtruct, before we correct, them; For is it not even inhuman to make Uſe of Violence, where Gentleneſs will do?* And this moderate Advice of *Quinctius* prevailing againſt the dangerous Scheme of his Collegue; the Senate deſired the *Tribunes* to appoint an Aſſembly to debate the Merits of *Volero*'s Law, and the *Conſuls* demanded the Privilege of ſpeaking in it. It was not without difficulty, that theſe two Articles were granted them; but at laſt they obtained both. At the Time appointed, *Quinctius* and *Appius* aſcended *The Tribune*, the one beloved, as much as the other hated, by the People. *Quinctius* ſpoke firſt. His Eloquence was ſoft, and the Reputation he had long had for Equity, gave Weight to his Diſcourſe. He firſt demonſtrated, that *Volero*'s Law had only an Appearance of being uſeful to the People, but was at bottom deſtructive of their true Intereſts; and then proved, that it was not agreeable to Juſtice, and might in the end overturn the Republick. His Diſcourſe was the more artful, the leſs it appeared to be ſo: and the Impreſſion it made on Mens Minds, is not to be expreſſed. *Volero*'s Advocates found it difficult to anſwer it; and in ſhort, the Requeſt of the *Tribunes* would doubtleſs have been rejected, if the hateful *Appius* had not inſiſted upon ſpeaking. Nothing appeared in his Behaviour, but Pride and Indiſcretion; nothing in his Harangue, but Invectives and Threatenings. He forgot that he was ſpeaking to an Aſſembly, which were Judges of the Cauſe he maintained, and could accept or abrogate the Law in queſtion. He treated the People rather as Slaves, than as *Roman* Citizens. Without troubling himſelf to intreat or reaſon, he commanded, he dictated with the Air of a Sovereign. He accumulated, to the People themſelves, and in a bitter Stile, all the Reproaches which could be caſt on their Conduct. He put them in mind of their Mutinies, their Separation, and their Perjuries in deſtroying the Camp of the *Conſuls*, whom they had ſworn to obey. Nor did the Orator ſuppreſs the mention, of the Peoples Encroachments on the Authority of the *Conſuls*; of the Creation of new Magiſtrates, which they had made themſelves, to balance the *Conſular* Power; of their inſatiable Covetouſneſs; and of their Artifices to uſurp a tyrannical Power, by ſuppreſſing the Laws and Authority of the Senate. *Have we any reaſon to be ſurprized*, added he, *if ſuch Beginnings as theſe were followed by new Uſurpations?*

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 600.

not armed with *Axes*, till he reaſſumed the Exerciſe of his Office.

61 The *Latins* and the *Hernici* were then the moſt faithful Allies of the *Romans*; and the Right of Citizenſhip had been granted them, but with ſome Limitations. It is very true, theſe People were permitted to vote in the *Comitia*, eſpecially in important Affairs, as in the paſſing a Law, and condemning or acquitting a Citizen, who was tried at this Tribunal: but they were not for this Reaſon enrolled in the *Tribes*. The Magiſtrate only diſtributed them in ſome of the *Tribes*, by Lot. This was always the Cuſtom, whenever they were ſummoned to come to *Rome*, to vote in the General Aſſemblies, either *by Centuries*, or *by Tribes*. And yet it happened on ſome Occaſions, that the *Tribune of the People*, or the *Conſul* excluded them. In the Year 267, the *Conſul Virginius* could find out no better Expedient, to hinder the paſſing of the *Caſſian* Law, than to order all thoſe, who were not Inhabitants of *Rome*, to leave it immediately. By this means, he excluded the *Latins*, who were come into the City, with deſign to vote for the *Caſſian* Law, in the next Aſſembly. They had therefore no Votes in the Determinations of the *Comitia*, unleſs the Magiſtrates thought fit to allow of it.

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The City is now become a Prey to the Licentiouſneſs of the vileſt of its Inhabitants. Contemptible Commoners ſet themſelves up for Judges of the moſt venerable of the Nobility. Tyrannical Laws are made and accepted at their Pleaſure. The Senate, that wiſe Part of the Republick, are denied the Power of examining the Laws which are made for the Security of the State. And when can we expect to ſee an end put to all theſe Grievances? What Remedy can be found out for ſuch inveterate Diſtempers? Rome, *thou haſt no reaſon to hope for any, as long as the* Tribunes, *whoſe Authority was founded in a Crime, ſhall continue to ſupport themſelves, by condemning the* Patricians *and deſpiſing the* Conſuls! *The* Tribunes *owed their Riſe to Sedition, and are ſupported by oppreſſing the Nobility. Let us put an end to this Authority, which was uſurped againſt the Will of the Gods, and in Contradiction to the* Auguries! *Let the Republick be eſtabliſhed on the Foot of its firſt Inſtitution!* Rome! *Thou wilt then revive, and the Fear of Seditions and civil Wars, will be baniſhed with the* Tribunes! *To conclude, I will never ſuffer any Deliberations, to be held, or Election made, in the* Comitia by Tribes, *without the Participation of the Senate: And if it be neceſſary to come to Blows,* Romans, *to deſtroy* Volero's *Projects, you ſhall then feel the Weight of that* Conſular *Authority, of which you affect to be ignorant.*

Livy, B. 2. ch. 57. and Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 602.

Every thing he ſaid in this extravagant Diſcourſe, gave Offence. But above all, his Invective againſt the *Tribunes* was exceedingly ill-timed. The People never found their Want of them, to defend their Liberty againſt the Tyranny of the Great, more ſenſibly than at this time. So that *Appius*'s Harangue was received with Indignation; and made *Quinctius*'s wiſe Propoſals concerning the Law abortive. The People had forgot *Quinctius*'s Reaſons, and remembred nothing but the inſulting Declamation of *Appius*. In refuting the *Conſuls*, *Quinctius*'s Arguments were overlooked by the *Tribune Lætorius*, who roſe up to anſwer the *Conſuls*; and who inſiſted on nothing, but the Invectives of his Collegue. If we may believe ſome Hiſtorians, *Lætorius* was no eloquent; but nevertheleſs, how bad ſoever his manner of expreſſing himſelf may have been, the Parts of his Harangue, which are yet remaining, plainly ſhew, that he neither wanted Art nor Zeal to defend the Cauſe he had undertaken.

He in the firſt place repreſented the Services the People had done their Country, their Victories, and the Blood they had ſpilt in the Conqueſt of Nations: And then he asked, what Reward theſe Conquerors had received. He complained of the Refuſal which had been always given them of a Part of the Fruits of their Victory. He exaggerated the Slavery to which the People were reduced, when forced to leave *Rome*, and make a Separation. He inſiſted ſtrongly on the Oaths the *Patricians* took, when the ſeparated People returned to *Rome*, upon a Condition univerſally agreed to, that *Tribunes* ſhould be elected, to defend their Perſons, and their Rights: And then turning to *Appius* all on a ſudden; *Theſe*, ſays he to him, *are the contemptible Citizens you ſpoke of! Theſe are the* Tribunes, *which you ſay owe their Eſtabliſhment only to Sedition! Does it become a* Claudius *to reproach others with their Revolts, and their Separation? Was not the firſt of your Anceſtors, who came to* Rome, *a Rebel in his native Country, which he was therefore forced to leave, to take Refuge among us? Is it glorious for the* Claudii *only to free themſelves from Chains, by leaving their native Country? You diſlike the* Tribuneſhip: *But do you forget that you are a Senator and* Conſul? *Or don't you know that the* Tribuneſhip *was eſtabliſhed by the Conſent of both Senators and* Conſuls? *Have not the publick Oaths, whereby it was confirmed, made it ſacred and inviolable to the* Romans? *Had the* Conſular *Dignity it ſelf a more venerable Origin than that of the* Tribuneſhip? *The People revolted from their* Kings, *expelled them, and ſubſtituted* Conſuls *in their room: and their Proceedings were much of the ſame nature, when they made themſelves* Tribunes. *What! ſhall the Oppreſſion of the* Tarquins *authorize an Innovation, which changed the Monarchy into a Republick; and ſhall the People be blamed for procuring themſelves Defenders, without ſo much as altering the Republican Government, when they were tired out with the Pride and Iniquity of the* Patricians? *But what ſignify our Endeavours to bring a Man to Reaſon, who is blinded with Prejudice? Put on the Man,* Appius, *and you will then become capable of Sentiments of Humanity. Whilſt you give your ſelf wholly up, like a wild Beaſt, to purſue that Inſtinct of Rage, which you derived from your Forefathers with your Blood, what can we expect from you, but beſtial Fury? We ought not then to fight any longer with Words againſt a roaring Lion. The Sword is the proper Weapon to be uſed in ſuch Engagements. That may perhaps make you ſenſible, that the* Roman *People are not ſo contemptible as you think them. And in the mean time*

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you ſhall at leaſt experience the Authority of thoſe Tribunes, *which are the Objects of your Contempt, but which the Laws have made your Judges.*

Upon this, there was immediately a profound Silence; and *Lætorius*, lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, ſwore that he would either get *Volero*'s Law paſſed, or periſh. Then, after he had kept the People in ſuſpence about what he was going to ſay; *I command*, ſays he, *I command the* Conſul Appius *to leave the Aſſembly:* At which Words, *Appius* made Signs to his Friends, and his Clients ſurrounded him. Theſe were ready for any Attempt: ſo that he thought himſelf ſtrong enough to deſpiſe the Order of the *Tribune*. But the latter renewed his Charge, and commanded one of his Officers to carry *Appius* to Priſon. Then the Fray began, between one of the *Conſul's Lictors*, and one of the *Tribune*'s Officers. *Lætorius*, on one hand, implored the Aſſiſtance of the People, and *Appius* on the other, cried out aloud to the *Patrician* Youth, to repel the Violence of the *Tribunes*. Inſtantly therefore the Clamours of the two Parties increaſed, and Blows were mutually given and received. There was however but little Blood ſpilt in the Scuffle: Arms were forbidden in the *Comitia*. But the Populace took up Stones, which they threw from all Parts, on all that were fighting, without Diſtinction; and the Preſence of a Man, ſo univerſally beloved as *Quinctius*, was neceſſary to appeaſe the Tumult. He, attended by ſome old Senators, threw himſelf into the midſt of theſe furious Men, who were ſharply engaged, appeaſed them, ſeparated them; and Night approaching, every one returned to his own Houſe [62].

§. XXVII. This Diſturbance in the Aſſembly ſerved for Matter of Diſcourſe in the City, for ſome Days after; each Party boaſting of having had the Advantage, and promiſing to do more, the firſt Opportunity. The graveſt Men complained of one another; the *Conſuls* of the Inſolence of the *Tribunes*, and the *Tribunes* of the Tyranny of the *Conſuls*. *Lætorius* eſpecially, who was firſt in the Fray, was wounded in the Face, by the *Patrician* Faction, which he accuſed of having made an Attempt upon the Life of a Magiſtrate, whoſe Perſon was declared inviolable by the Laws; and theſe reciprocal Inſults produced a Contention which in all probability would end in a civil War. This Situation therefore of Affairs at *Rome*, made the Senate tremble; and what diſtreſſed them more, was the Miſunderſtanding between the *Conſuls*. *Quinctius* was of opinion, that it was beſt to grant the People with a good Grace, what it was not in their Power to take from them by Force. But *Appius* choſe rather to periſh, than conſent. In the mean time, it was neceſſary to appeaſe thoſe who had been provoked by the Blows given in the laſt Aſſembly, before any Determination upon *Volero*'s Law; and *Quinctius* undertook that Buſineſs, and ſucceeded. He went from the *Conſul* to the *Tribunes*, and from the *Tribunes* to the *Conſul*; and at length brought them all to agree, to refer their Grievances to the Arbitration of the Senate. *Quinctius* alone preſided in it, becauſe he was not a Party in the Cauſe;

62 *Livy* differs a little from *D. Hal.* as to what paſſed in this tumultuous Aſſembly. He ſays, the Day after *Quinctius*, *Appius*, and *Lætorius* the *Tribune*, had made their Harangues, the latter placed Centinels upon the *Capitol*; and that notwithſtanding this, the *Conſuls*, attended by the Body of the Nobility, came to the *Comitia*, to hinder the Acceptation of the Law. Then, adds *Livy*, *Lætorius* commanded all thoſe who had no Votes, to leave the Aſſembly. This Order was levelled at the *Patricians*, who were excluded from the *Comitia* ſummoned by the *Tribunes*, by the Conditions of the Treaty of Reunion, concluded in the Year 260, between the Senators and the *Plebeians*, who had retired to the *Mons Sacer*; as we learn from *D. Hal. B.* 7. Nevertheleſs, the Nobility, adds the *Latin* Hiſtorian, kept their Ground, and did not think it for their Honour to obey the Commands of a *Tribune*; ſo that the Notification of the Officer, who was charged with putting *Lætorius*'s Orders in execution, had no Effect. The *Patricians* perſiſted in refuſing to obey them. The provoked *Tribune* therefore immediately ordered an Officer to ſeize ſome of thoſe, who ſeemed moſt zealous in oppoſing the Law; upon which *Appius* could contain himſelf no longer. He accuſed *Lætorius* of uſurping an un-heard-of Right over the *Patricians*. He expoſed with Warmth the unworthy Proceedings of this *Tribune*; and exclaimed, That the *Tribuneſhip* was a Magiſtracy entirely *Plebeian*, the Authority of which extended to *Plebeians* only: and That there needed no other Proof of this, than the reſpectful Terms, generally uſed, to remove the Multitude, which was in the way, when the *Tribune* approached: *Make way*, Romans, *if you pleaſe*. This was the Form uſed by the Officer, to diſperſe the Crowd. Si vobis videtur, discedite Quirites. *Lætorius*, enraged at theſe Reproaches, ordered an Officer to lay hold on *Appius*; and he made Repriſals, and ordered one of the *Lictors* to ſeize the *Tribune*. At the ſame time, he proteſted againſt the Attempt of the paſſionate *Lætorius*, who, he ſaid, aſſumed a Power which did not belong to him, ſince his Office was wholly confined to protecting the Commons from the Oppreſſions of the Nobility. In the Heat of theſe Diſputes, both Sides were ready to come to Blows; and *Lætorius* had felt the Fury of the Nobility, if the *Plebeians*, who ran to the *Forum* from all the Quarters of the City, had not flocked together to oppoſe *Appius*. Nevertheleſs, the inflexible *Conſul* thought it beneath him to give way to the Storm. He not only bore the Menaces and Inſults of the Populace, with Haughtineſs and Obſtinacy, but prepared to reſiſt this enraged Multitude. In ſhort, the Quarrel had ended in a bloody Cataſtrophe, if his Collegue *Quinctius* had not made uſe of the Interpoſition of the moſt conſiderable *Patricians*, to force him to withdraw, if he would not do it willingly.

and

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and he took the Advice of *Valerius Poplicola*, and made a Decree according to it. *Since the Scuffle in the* Comitia, ſaid he, *was not wilful and premeditated, but the Effect of a ſudden Commotion, ariſing on both Sides from a pretended Zeal for the Republick, let not the Injuries committed and received, be conſidered as ſuch, but let them be entirely forgotten.*

What remained, was now to come to ſome Determination about *Volero*'s Law; and the *Tribunes*, to prevent any Tumult in the Aſſembly, when that Affair was to be decided, thought fit to ſeize the *Capitol* in time. They cauſed it to be guarded by the People Day and Night; and *Quinctius*, (who then plainly ſaw that *Volero*'s Requeſt would infallibly be granted, by the Suffrages of the People) ſaved the Honour of the Senate at leaſt from ſuffering in this ſad Affair. He aſſembled the *Conſcript Fathers*, at length brought them to Reaſon; and had the thanks of the Senators for the Moderation he had ſhewn in his Conduct. As for *Appius*, they exhorted him not to carry the Pretenſions of the *Conſular* Authority ſo far, as to breed Diſturbances in the Republick. Whilſt, ſaid they, the *Conſuls* on the one hand, and the *Tribunes* on the other, claim the ſole Power of deciding every thing, the Senate is become a mere Cypher. To which they added, that leſs regard ought to be had to any Man's perſonal Dignity, than to the Publick Good. But the moroſe *Conſul* took their Advice ill. He called the Gods to witneſs, that the cowardly Senators were betraying the Republick. *The Head*, ſaid he, *is not wanting to the Senate, but the Senate is wanting to their Head. They tamely ſuffer a Law to paſs, which is more prejudicial to their Country, than that of the* Mons Sacer. Indeed the *Conſcript Fathers*, to avoid the Shame of ſeeing *Volero*'s Law immediately accepted, without them, gave the People leave to judge of it. So that the Aſſembly, which followed after the Conſent of the Senate had been given, was a peacable one; and this Law, which had been ſo univerſally diſputed, was received, according to the Deſires of the People; and in Appearance, not without the Approbation of the *Fathers*. From this time therefore, the *Ædiles* and the *Tribunes* were made, and almoſt every thing relating to the People, was determined, not in *Comitia by Curiæ*, as before, but in *Comitia* [63] *by Tribes*.

Livy, ibid.

§. XXVIII. However, theſe Conteſts [64] had only employed the firſt Months of the *Conſulate* of *Appius* and *Quinctius*; and foreign Wars afterwards obliged them to take the Field. Indeed the *Volſci* and the *Æqui* thought they might draw Advantage from the inteſtine Broils of the Republick. They expected to ſee the Malecontents once more leave *Rome*, ſeparate from the Nobility, and come and enlarge their Armies. and with this View they came as near to *Rome* as they could, and ravaged the Country. However, the Re-eſtabliſhment of Concord, and the Neceſſity of driving the Enemy further off, made it eaſy for the *Conſuls* to raiſe two Armies, one to act againſt the *Volſci*, the other againſt the *Æqui*; and the former fell to *Appius*, the latter to *Quinctius*. But how differently were the two Armies inclined to obey the Orders of their Generals! The Troops commanded by *Quinctius*, obeyed him with Affection; and entered the Country of the *Æqui*, as much to gain their General Honour, as to do their Country Service. The Enemy did not care to appear in the Field againſt *Romans*, who had ſuch an Eſteem for their *Conſul*; but ſhut themſelves up in their Cities, or hid themſelves in their Foreſts: and their Lands at leaſt were pillaged, and the whole Booty diſtributed among the Soldiers, by their beloved General. It was ſaid at *Rome*, that *Quinctius* only wanted Enemies to fight with, in order to obtain a Triumph. As his Expedition was ſoon finiſhed, he as ſoon led his Troops back to *Rome*, loaded with Proviſions; and the Sweetneſs of his Temper, which equally appeared both in the City and the Camp, gained him the entire Affections of all. The People grew milder, and the Senate inclined more and more to that Moderation, with which the wiſe *Conſul* had inſpired them. But whilſt *Quinctius* was called the Father of the Soldiers, *Appius* was ſtiled by his Troops, the Tyrant of the Army. Indeed, during the Campaign, he did all the odious things his ſavage Temper ſuggeſted, without Reſtraint. When encamped,

Livy, B. 2. ch. 59.

63 Beſides, what we have already obſerved of the Advantages the *Tribunes* might draw from aſſembling the People *by Tribes*; it is certain the *Patricians* could not there eaſily gain the Suffrages of the Commons, who were always devoted to their *Tribunes*. But that was not the Caſe, as to the *Comitia by Curiæ*, which conſiſted only of the Citizens who were Inhabitants of *Rome*, and were for the moſt part Clients to the Nobility. The ſame thing may alſo be ſaid of the *Comitia by Centuries*, in which the Nobility had had the chief Authority, from *Ser. Tullius*, to this time.

64 This Year, ſays *Livy*, the *Tribunes* were firſt created in *Comitia by Tribes*. And if we believe *Piſo*, whom the *Latin* Hiſtorian quotes, there had been but two *Tribunes* till that time, and their College was then increaſed to five: but we prefer *D. Hal.*'s Opinion of that Matter. The Reader may ſee our Remarks on that Subject, above, *page* 307. Theſe five *Tribunes*, according to *Piſo*, were *C. Sicinius*, *L. Numitorius*, *M. Duilius*, *Sp. Icilius*, and *L. Mecilius*.

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camped, his Rage againſt the Commons, of whom his Soldiers were a Part, was no longer under any Reſtraint from the *Tribunes*; and he entirely gave way to it. He called to mind the Shame of having been overcome by a vile Populace, the Contempt of his Repreſentations in the *Comitia*, and the paſſing of a Law in his *Conſulſhip*, which his Predeceſſors had kept in ſuſpence; and theſe Reflexions ſowering his Mind, which was already naturally inclined to Severity; he made his Troops feel the ill Effects of his Uneaſineſs. Never was Army more ſeverely governed, or Diſcipline executed with more Rigour. The Conſequence of which was, that the Soldiers firſt did their Duty negligently, and unwillingly; and at laſt laid aſide all Shame; and the more he endeavoured to inſpire them with Fear, the more they learned to ſurmount it. Inſomuch, that their Contempt of his Puniſhments was followed by an avowed Diſobedience. If he commanded them to make haſte, they marched ſlowly. If he ordered them to halt, they ran. When the General appeared to inſpect their Works, their Arms fell down to their Sides, as if they had been tired. As ſoon as they ſaw him, they all fixed their Eyes upon the Ground, without ſaying a word; and if they broke ſilence, it was only to curſe him, as he paſſed by. But after all, this intrepid *Appius* was not unaffected with ſo much Hatred; and not daring therefore to make any more Complaints of the private Men, he vented his Rage upon the Officers. The *Tribunes* and *Centurions* were all ſuſpected by him. He ſaid of them, *It is they who alienate the Affections of my Troops from me; they are all ſo many* Voleros: and it is therefore not to be wondered at, if there were ſome Traitors, amidſt ſo many Malecontents. The *Volſci* were punctually informed of all that paſſed in the *Roman* Camp; hoped to gain the ſame Advantage over their mutinous Enemies, as they formerly had done over the revolted Troops of *Fabius*; and found more than they expected. *Fabius*'s Army had formerly refuſed to conquer them, but that of *Appius* now ſought to be conquered by them.

APPIUS indeed ventured to give Battle; tho' in the preſent Diſpoſition of his Army, it would have been wiſer to have kept himſelf in his Camp, where the Enemy would not have attacked him. But brutal Men are often raſh. *Appius* led out his Troops into the Plain; and as ſoon as they were drawn up, the *Tribunes, Centurions, Enſigns*, inferior Officers, and Soldiers, all fled with one Conſent, and returned to the Camp. The *Volſci* purſued the *Romans*, and killed a great Number of them: But leſt a pretended Flight ſhould draw them into an Ambuſcade, they reſtrained their Ardour, and did not reap all the Advantages they might have done. Yet ſtill the *Conſul* was obſtinately bent on purſuing his Deſign, how unreaſonable ſoever. The next Day, after he had ſeverely reprimanded the Soldiers, and exhorted them to make amends for their ſhameful Behaviour the Day before, he prepared to lead them out again to face the Enemy. But all on a ſudden, a ſeditious Clamour was heard among them, *We will not expoſe our ſelves to be butcher'd a ſecond time. Our mangled Limbs render us unable to engage in a ſecond Battle.* Several of them ſhewed their Wounds; others had put their Arms in Slings on purpoſe, pretending to have Wounds which they had not; and the common Cry was to decamp, and leave the Enemy's Territory. The General inveighed, threatened, and exerted the Rigour of the Laws: But after all, he was forced to comply with the Multitude, and remove his Camp into a peaceable Country. Nor were the *Romans* without Alarms, even in their Retreat; for the *Volſci* fell upon them, and cut in Pieces a Part of their Rear-Guard. As ſoon as *Appius* entered into the *Roman* Territory, where he was in a Condition to revenge the Affront offered him in the Enemy's Preſence, the Barbarity of his Temper made him give a Looſe to his Reſentments. The Lieutenant-Generals, and other *Patricians* in his Army, in vain diſſuaded him from giving the Republick new Wounds; he liſtened to nothing but the furious Dictates of his Revenge. By his own abſolute Authority he ordered Puniſhments to be inflicted on all thoſe whom he ſuſpected; ſome *Centurions* [65], and other Officers, died by the *Axes* of the *Lictors*; others were beaten to Death; whilſt the common Soldiers were *decimated* [66], that is, every tenth Man was condemned to die. And at

65 *D. Hal.* comprehends all thoſe in this terrible Execution, who had loſt their Standards in the Battle. We have already obſerved, that this was an unpardonable Fault among the *Romans*, which the General ſcarce ever failed of puniſhing with the utmoſt Severity. *Livy* reckons the *Duplicarii* among thoſe who were executed on this Occaſion. This is the Name *Varro* gives thoſe, who, as a Reward of their Valour, had a *double* Allowance. The *Latin* Hiſtorian adds, that they died by the *Lictors Axes*, after they had been beaten with Rods, according to Cuſtom.

66 *Tully*, in his *Oration for Cluentius*, gives us the Reaſon of this Cuſtom, which was always obſerved in the *Roman* Armies, when the greateſt Part of them were equally guilty. *Statuerunt ita Majores noſtri, ut ſi a multis eſſet flagitium rei militaris admiſſum, ſortitione in quoſdam animadverteretur, ut metus videlicet ad omnes, pœna ad paucos perveniret.* By this means,

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length the *Conſul* return'd to the City, univerſally hated as the Cauſe of the many remarkable Diſaſters which had happened throughout this Year. After all, *Volero*'s Law was not ſo prejudicial as had been thought; there was more Reſentment and Prejudice, than ſolid Reaſon, in the Oppoſitions the *Patricians* made to it. The Victory the Commons gained was of no great Service to them; and the Year was more memorable for the Diſgrace of *Appius*, and the Glory it brought to *Quinctius*.

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§. XXIX. In the *Campus Martius*, the Republick choſe new *Conſuls*, and the *Tribes* created new *Tribunes*. The *Conſuls* were *L. Valerius* [67], now raiſed a ſecond time to this Office, and *Tib.* [68] *Æmilius*; who favour'd the Pretenſions of the People as much as any *Conſuls* before them. Beſides that *Valerius* was one of *Poplicola*'s Deſcendants, who had tranſmitted down to his Family his Affection for the *Plebeians*, he now repented of having in his *Quæſtorſhip* proſecuted the popular *Caſſius*, and cauſed him to be put to Death. The People had opened their Eyes, and lamented the Loſs of him, after they had deſtroyed him; and *Valerius*, thinking to remove the Hatred he had drawn upon himſelf, by being the Accuſer of a Man who was always remembered with Regret, appear'd entirely devoted to the Commons. As for *T. Æmilius*, he loved the People, becauſe he hated the Senate; he remember'd that the *Conſcript Fathers* had formerly refuſed his Father a Triumph. And the *Tribunes* hoped, that they ſhould get the *Caſſian* Law executed, and the Lands diſtributed, under the Adminiſtration of the new *Conſuls*. This Quarrel between the People and the *Patricians*, had already continued 17 Years [69]; and the *Tribunes* again preſented their Petition to the Senate, deſiring the *Conſuls* to back it. Accordingly, the latter became their Protectors, and convened the Senate; the *Tribunes* took their Places in it as uſual; and the *Conſuls* reported their Petition to the Houſe, without ſeeming either to favour or oppoſe it. For fear of declaring themſelves too openly, they asked the Opinions of the oldeſt Senators; and *Æmilius*, the *Conſul*'s Father, whom the Senate had perſonally affronted, ſpoke firſt, to this Effect.

WHY ſhould we, Conſcript Fathers, *refuſe to grant the Peoples Petition, which they offer us in an humble Manner? We have been but too often compelled to yield to their Pretenſions. Whereas now They pray, who might demand. Ought not thoſe of us who receive the Profits of the Lands which belong to the Publick, to ſurrender them up, and be thankful to the Senate, that they have been ſuffer'd to enjoy them quietly ſo long? And if they obſtinately keep Poſſeſſion, ought it not to paſs for Uſurpation? It is a Maxim of the Law of Nations, That Eſtates gain'd by the Publick, ſhould belong to the Publick; as thoſe acquired by private Perſons do to thoſe who acquire them. The Law then which extended a Right to the conquer'd Lands to the whole Republick, is agreeable to the Dictates of Equity. Shall ſo many brave Citizens, who have nothing to live upon but the Labours of their Hands, be always oppreſſed with Want? Why are ſo many Lands left untilled, and not given to them to cultivate as their own, which would preſerve them from Idleneſs? With what valiant Soldiers would they furniſh the Republick? If they were inured to the Labours of Husbandry, we ſhould ſee them and their Children better able to ſupport the Fatigues of War. A good Education would increaſe their Courage, and raiſe them above that Meanneſs of Soul which commonly attends Beggary. I therefore vote, 1ſt, For diſtributing the Lands which belong only to the Publick, among thoſe of the People who have none of their own; and, 2dly, For creating* Decemviri, *to diſtribute them, and to put the* Caſſian *Law in execution, ſince it has been confirmed by a Decree of the Senate.*

But *Appius*, that ſworn Enemy to the People, was of a contrary Opinion. He expreſſed himſelf with all the Fury his natural Temper, and his late Vexations, ſuggeſted. *Æmilius*, ſaid he, *it is not true, that the infamous Law of the Rebel* Caſſius *was confirmed by the* Conſcript Fathers; *had it been ſo, it would have been immediately put in execution. The ambitious* Conſul *who had drawn it up, made the People hope the Senate would confirm it; but it died with him, being condemned and proſcribed by the*

means, the Crime did not eſcape unpuniſhed, and all were intimidated by the Puniſhments they ſaw inflicted.

67 This was the ſame *L. Val. Poplicola Potitus*, who had been *Conſul* in the Year 270.

68 In *Livy* and *Diodorus* we read, *Titus Æmilius*. Yet we don't find one Inſtance of the Uſe of the *Prænomen* of *Titus* in the *Æmilian* Family. Which gives juſt Reaſon for a Suſpicion that the Copyiſts have been guilty of a Miſtake, in taking *T.* which ſignifies the *Prænomen Titus*, for *Ti.* which are the initial Letters of *Tiberius*. Add to this, that *D. Hal.* gives this *Conſul* no other Name but that of *Tiberius*. *Diodorus Siculus* alſo gives him the ſame *Prænomen*, when he ſpeaks of his ſecond *Conſulſhip*. *Tib. Æmilius Mamercinus*, was the Son of *Lucius Æmilius*, who had been *Conſul* three times.

69 The *Caſſian* Law was propoſed by the *Conſul Sp. Caſſius*, in the Year of *Rome* 267. From that Year, to this 283d Year of *Rome*, was juſt 17 Years.

ſame Suffrages which ſentenced him to Death. Why then do the Conſuls *venture to revive it? By what Authority have they preſumed to report it to the Senate? Does it belong to any but the Authors of a Law, to propoſe the Execution of it? Not that I approve of the Uſurpation of the publick Lands. If any* Patricians *detain them without a Title, let them be taken from them! We want no new Laws for that. Thoſe which authorize only legal Poſſeſſions are antient; and by them we ought to judge of Uſurpations. But ought theſe Lands, when taken from the unjuſt Detainers, to be divided among the People? The publick Good, is only a Pretence. When the Populace have what they now covet, will their inſatiable Deſires be ſatisfied? Have the Spoils of our Enemies, and the Booty which has been ſo often taken from them, and ſo often divided among the Soldiers, at all leſſened their Wants? The more is granted them, the more they ask. Their Diſtreſs is not occaſion'd by our Avarice, but by their own ill Conduct. Let them be ſober and temperate, and they won't be ſtraitened. To give them Lands, is to feed their Debaucheries; it is treating them like Men ſick of deſperate Diſeaſes, whom the Phyſicians leave at their Liberty, without confining them to any Regimen. The Diſtempers of the People are become incurable; neither in the City, nor in the Camp, is any Reſpect ſhewn to the Senate, or Obedience paid to the* Conſuls. *The Soldiers throw down their Arms, quit their Ranks, give up their Standards to the Enemy, fly, and ſuffer themſelves to be overcome. As if the Shame of a Defeat did not fall more upon their Country, than their General? Are theſe Exploits which deſerve Rewards? The* Volſci *erect Trophies of our Spoils, and adorn their Altars with them. I ſhould indeed have the leſs Reaſon to complain,* Conſcript Fathers, *if the Contagion of the People had not infected us; but we find ſome, even in the Senate, who admire the Licentiouſneſs, the Chicanery, the Malignity, the Impudence, and the ſatyrical Invectives of the* Tribunes. *Thus we ſee the Marks of an approaching Decline, even in the Heart of the Republick! Inſtead of exerting their Power with Gravity and Severity, our Magiſtrates ſhew a cowardly Complaiſance, and a timorous Indulgence. It little concerns me how diſagreeable this Diſcourſe is, if it be but uſeful to you, or our Poſterity. If it makes me Enemies, I will deſpiſe them; for I prefer the Fate of the many illuſtrious Men who have acquired immortal Glory by having been condemned, to Safety with ſuch cowardly Senators.*

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THIS Harangue of *Appius* was bold and offenſive, yet it had its Effect. The Senate rejected the Requeſt of the *Tribunes*, tho' preſented by the *Conſuls*; and then the Rage of the Defenders of the People all turned againſt the proud *Appius*. The *Tribunes* had private Conferences among themſelves, and reſolved on the Deſtruction of this violent Adverſary. The Method of bringing this about was grown common: It was to accuſe him before the People, and to make his Behaviour in his *Conſulſhip* amount to a capital Crime. His Accuſation was reduced to theſe four Heads. 1. That he had ſpirited up the Senate againſt the People. 2. That he had raiſed Seditions in the Republick. 3. That he had cauſed a *Tribune* to be ſtruck, tho' the Laws declared his Perſon inviolable. 4. That he had ſunk the Courage of his Soldiers by his Severity, and ſuffered himſelf to be overcome by the *Volſci*. But tho' the Accuſed was moroſe, and arrogant, he was eſteemed by the Senate for his Probity, his Frankneſs, and his Zeal for the publick Good: And indeed his Faults were only Virtues carried to Exceſs. Beſides, it was the Intereſt of the *Patricians* to ward off a Blow, which would rebound upon themſelves: And as ſoon as they ſaw *Appius* ſummoned, they did their utmoſt to prevail upon him to appear, as Perſons in that Caſe uſually did.

IT was then cuſtomary for Such, to put on Mourning, to affect a negligent Carriage, to ſqueeze their Judges by the Hands, fall down at their Feet wherever they met them, and to employ all their Relations, Friends and Clients to intercede [70] with them. Some wiſe Men therefore, and Men of Diſtinction, intreated *Appius* to humble himſelf like a Suppliant, and to give thoſe ſlender Proofs at leaſt that he was not ſo proud as he was thought to be. But he not being ſuſceptible of Fear, the Intreaties of his Friends were uſeleſs. He even forbad them to leſſen him, by any Sollicitations in his Favour. As for himſelf, ſtill continuing to act conſiſtently with his Character, he neither appeared

Liv. B. 2. c. 61. Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 610.

[70] At *Rome*, the Accuſed made their Friends and Clients accompany them in Mourning. In this humble State they appeared before their Judges, and omitted nothing which might inſpire them with Sentiments of Compaſſion towards the Accuſed. *Tully*, *Orat. pro Sextio, & pro domo ſua*, glories in having engaged the Senate to declare it ſelf for him, when the Senators unanimouſly agreed to change their Habits, to ſhew how much his Diſgrace affected them. It was then in *Appius*, the Effect of an heroical Confidence, that he would not have any of theſe uſual Steps taken for him; and that he choſe rather to brave the Danger which threatened him, than to ſtoop to his Enemies.

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peared more negligent, or more ſorrowful, or leſs proud, than before. He had ſecret Deſigns of his own, which he communicated to no Body. In the mean time, the Day approached for his Trial, which was likely to end ill for him. The Accuſed appeared but once, and then with the ſame Air of Intrepidity which he had ſhewn in the Senate; his Harangue to the People, was rather an Invective or Accuſation, than a Defence. In ſhort, his Steadineſs put his Enemies into a Conſternation. Tho' under Proſecution as a Criminal, he gained more Reſpect than when he was *Conſul*; the *Tribunes*, being determined on his Deſtruction, were forced to poſtpone his Sentence to another Day. But he prevented the Shame and Severity of a Condemnation, by an Exceſs of that ſavage Magnanimity, which animated him to the laſt. He killed[71] himſelf. But his Friends ſpread a Report, that he died by an Accident: And the *Tribunes* endeavoured in vain to deprive him of ſuch Funeral-Honours at leaſt as his Merit and Rank in the Republick deſerved. His Son obtained Leave of the *Conſuls* to aſſemble the People, and pronounce his Father's[72] Funeral-Oration: In order to which, he brought the Deceaſed into the *Forum*, where it was uſual to make Harangues. The revengeful *Tribunes* commanded that the Body ſhould be immediately buried; but the People did not extend their Inhumanity ſo far as their Magiſtrates. They heard the Praiſes of the Deceaſed with Patience, and ſhewed him more Regard after his Death, than they had done in his Life-time.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 610. & Zonar. B. 7. Annal.

THUS fell the Man, who deſerved the greateſt of Praiſes, and at the ſame time the moſt blame, of any one in the Republick. His Intentions were right, but his Conduct faulty. He was a good Citizen, but a bad *Conſul*. *Appius* had formed to himſelf ſuch Maxims for Government, as were excellent in Speculation, but not practicable. He conſidered the Men of his Time rather as what they ought to have been, than as what they were. He thought to have brought them to their Duty, by Severity: but inſtead of that, it alienated the Peoples Minds from him, and made them obſtinate in Diſobedience. Being a Zealot for the *Patrician* Party, he ſunk it, by endeavouring to raiſe it; his only Point in View was to make the Senate ſupreme; yet he brought it under Subjection to the *Tribunes*. In ſhort, thoſe very Methods which ſhould have made the *Conſul* beloved, got him the Hatred even of that Party which he openly eſpouſed. So true is it, that Probity without Prudence, and Zeal without Moderation, inſtead of remedying the Diſorders of a State, increaſe them.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 611. Liv. B. 2. c. 62.

§. XXX. THE Troubles at home were now a little quieted; but *Rome* was threatened with new Wars from abroad. The *Sabines* had juſt declared themſelves againſt her; and the *Æqui* were old Enemies, whom it was neceſſary to ſubdue, and put upon the Foot of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. The *Conſuls* had gained the Affection of the People, and found no Difficulty in raiſing two Armies; one of which *Æmilius* led againſt the *Sabines*, *Valerius* the other againſt the *Æqui*. The latter had at firſt ſome Advantage over the Enemy, he repulſed them, forced them to retire into their Camp, and they durſt not appear any more in the Plain. His Troops were well-affected to him: and he expected to have forced the Enemy's Entrenchments, which the *Romans* indeed attempted with Courage; but an unforeſeen Accident, and *Valerius's* Superſtition, loſt them this Opportunity of ſubduing the troubleſome Nation of the *Æqui*. When the *Roman* Army was beginning the Attack of the Camp, all on a ſudden, a dark cloud covered the Sky; Thunder and Lightning, joined with Hail and Rain, diſperſed the *Legions* who were making the Aſſault; and to complete the Terror, as ſoon as the *Romans* were retired, it was fair over the beſieged Camp. Upon this, the Diviners, who were conſulted, interpreted the Event in favour of the *Æqui*, and ſaid, *The Menaces of Heaven ſhew, that it protects their Camp.* The General therefore, making no farther Attempt, leſt he ſhould offend againſt the Religion of the *Augurs*, only ravaged the Country, and led back his Troops to *Rome*.

71 *Livy* makes *Appius* die of ſome Diſeaſe; and what *D. Hal.* mentions only as a Report which his Friends ſpread of him, the *Latin* Hiſtorian affirms to be inconteſtable Matter of Fact. But ſo ſudden a Diſeaſe, and in thoſe Circumſtances, when he was in danger of being ſacrificed to the Fury of the *Tribunes*, ſeems a leſs plauſible Account of the Matter than that of *D. Hal.* Beſides, this violent Death agrees better with *Appius*'s inflexible Temper, who, in the Deſpair which the Indignities he had received threw him into, preferred a voluntary Death, to the Shame of ſinking under the malicious Attempts of his Enemies.

72 The Cuſtom of pronouncing Funeral-Orations for illuſtrious Men after their Deaths, was introduced in *Rome* by *P. Valerius Poplicola*. The dead Man was carried into the *Forum*; then his eldeſt Son, or, if he had none, ſome other Perſon of the ſame Family, aſcended *The Tribune*, and made a Diſcourſe to the People, in Commendation of the Dead. We ſhall hereafter ſee the ſame Privileges granted to Women, after the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIII.
L. VALERIUS, and TIBERIUS ÆMILIUS, Conſuls.

AND the Succeſs of *Æmilius* againſt the *Sabines* was little better. At firſt he made Incurſions with his *Romans* into *Sabinia*; and not expecting the *Sabines* to engage him in the open Field, the Contempt he had for them made him neglect neceſſary Precautions. At a time when he leaſt imagined it, and a Part of his Troops were diſperſed abroad for Plunder, the Enemy appeared, and gave him Battel. It was long and bloody; but the Succeſs doubtful. After they had fought from Noon to Sun-ſet, both Armies retired to their reſpective Camps; and the *Sabines* decamped the next Day, as ſoon as they had buried their Dead; which was the only Proof, that *Æmilius* had had any Advantage. But an Action which was ſo far from being a deciſive one, gained the *Conſul* but little Glory. He was not honoured with a Triumph; and his *Conſulate* expired ſoon after.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIV.
A. VIRGINIUS, and T. NUMICIUS, Conſuls.
Livy, B. 2. ch. 63.

§. XXXI. THE next *Conſuls* were *A. Virginius*, and [73] *T. Numicius*; the beginning of whoſe Adminiſtration was not altogether peaceable. Upon every Election of *Conſuls*, the *Tribunes* never failed renewing the Remembrance of the *Caſſian* Law; and in this Year, the Diſputes it had raiſed began to grow more furious. It was happy for *Rome*, that the *Æqui* ſuſpended the Broils of the Republick. A formidable Army of this reſtleſs People was entered very far into the *Roman* Territory, was advanced very near to *Rome*, and had ſet fire to a Village in ſight of the *Romans*. Indeed the Smoke which aroſe from the burning of the Village, brought them the firſt News of the Devaſtations which the Enemy was committing round the City; and then the publick Good got the better of private Intereſt. The Seditions were ſtopped, and the People wholly taken up with their own Defence. As it was Night when the Fire was firſt perceived, the *Conſuls* immediately diſpatched ſome Horſe to diſcover the Enemy; and early in the Morning, the *Roman* Infantry marched out of the City, in purſuit of the *Æqui*. But theſe Pillagers had already diſappeared, and were retired into their own Country. Nevertheleſs, they did not long eſcape the Vengeance of the *Romans*. The *Conſuls* raiſed two Armies; *Virginius* led one againſt the *Æqui*, and *Numicius* the other againſt the *Volſci*. Theſe two Nations kept the *Romans* long in play. The *Æqui* firſt marched out againſt *Virginius*, and drew the General into an Ambuſcade through his Negligence; from which his brave Soldiers found it difficult to deliver him. After this, they continued hid, as uſual, behind their Entrenchments, which the *Roman* Army could not force: So that the *Conſul* carried nothing out of their Country, except ſome little Booty, which the *Æqui* had not been able to ſecure.

BUT the wiſe *Numicius* conducted his Troops like a brave Soldier. At firſt the *Volſci* ventured to appear in the Field, and were beaten; and then, ſhutting themſelves up within their Walls, they thought only of defending the Ramparts. But *Numicius* puſhed his Advantages as far as they could be carried. After he had burnt and ſacked the whole Country, he came and ſat down before *Antium*, the Capital of the *Antiates*, and one of the richeſt Cities in *Italy* at that time. The whole Nation of the *Volſci* was divided into two Cantons: that of the *Ecetrans*, whoſe chief Town was *Ecetræ*; and that of the *Antiates*, whoſe moſt conſiderable City was *Antium*. It was ſituated very near the *Tyrrhenian* Sea, and ſeparated from it only by a Suburb, called *Cenon* [74], pretty well fortified. There was the Port of *Antium*; there Ships rode ſafe, under cover of the Fortifications, which defended the Suburbs; and *Cenon* was full of Magazines, in which the *Antiates* kept the Merchandizes, and Proviſions they imported, and depoſited the Spoils brought from the Lands of the *Romans*. *Numicius* did not think himſelf ſtrong enough to undertake the Siege of *Antium*; but was bent upon taking and plundering *Cenon*; where he made a great Number of Slaves; and from whence he carried away Money, Cattel, and Merchandize. He likewiſe ſeized twenty two Galleys, which he found in the Port, with all the rigging, prepared for fitting out other Veſſels; and in ſhort, he burnt the Suburbs, demoliſhed its Fortifications, and filled up the Port.

Livy, B. 2. ibid.

HOWEVER, the Expeditions of the two *Conſuls* did not end here; they joined their Forces together to enter *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* had taken hold of this favourable Opportunity, when the *Romans* were engaged with the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, to enter into the *Roman* Territory; and had committed Devaſtations in it. But the two *Conſular* Armies made Reprizals on the Enemy; and returned from *Sabinia*, loaded with Spoils.

[73] *A. Virg. Tricoſtus Cælimontanus*, was the Son of him who had been *Conſul*, in the Year of *Rome* 259. His Collegue *T. Numicius Priſcus*, is miſcalled *Minucius*, in *Diod. Siculus.*

[74] *D. Hal.* and *Livy* repreſent *Cenon*, as a little maritime City near *Antium*. The *Antiates* placed their Magazines and Arſenal in it. The Neighbourhood of theſe two Cities has therefore made us take the former to be only a Suburb to the latter. *Holſtenius* places *Cenon*, where *Nettuno* now ſtands.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIV. A. Virginius, and T. Numicius, Consuls.

§. XXXII. The Return of the *Conſuls* to *Rome*, produced new Troubles; the People and *Patricians* could not come to a good Underſtanding, as long as the Conteſts about the Diſtribution of the Lands were an eternal Obſtruction to their Reunion. The Commons ſhewed their Reſentments againſt the *Patricians*, by refuſing to appear at the *Comitia*, for the Election of *Conſuls* for the Year enſuing; and the Event proved, that the Senate had taken the wiſeſt Way, to puniſh the Perverſeneſs of an obſtinate Populace. After a Day had been appointed for aſſembling the *Centuries* in the *Campus Martius*, the Nobility alone, and their Clients, who repreſented the People, proceeded to the Election. It is true, the Aſſembly, being under the Guidance of Men of Senſe, had the Prudence to chuſe only ſuch Men, as were agreeable to both Parties; which were the famous *T. Quinctius* 75, (who had ſignally ſhewn his Moderation in the *Conſulſhip* of the rugged *Appius*, and who was now choſen *Conſul* a ſecond time) and *Q. Servilius* 76.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXV. T. Quinctius, and Q. Servilius, Conſuls.

But tho' theſe new *Conſuls* had not been created in due Form, yet the Choice was too judicious a one to be contradicted. The People continued to preſs their antient Pretenſions to the Diſtribution of the Lands; but foreign Wars extricated the *Conſuls* out of this troubleſome Difficulty; and the Peoples Affection for them, even prevented their Wiſhes, as to the raiſing of Troops. The *Romans* voluntarily offered to ſerve under Generals ſo well beloved; the Allies ſent away their auxiliary Troops, before the Senate had called for them; and this ardent Zeal was an happy Preſage of the future Succeſs of the Campaign. Of the two Armies the *Romans* raiſed, one was led by *Servilius* againſt the *Sabines*, who were the Aggreſſors the laſt Year; the other by *Quinctius*, againſt the united Forces of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. *Servilius* had the *Sabines* to engage, even at the very Gates of *Rome*. They, after having paſſed through the Territory of *Cruſtuminum*, had ſpread themſelves upon the Banks of the *Anio*; and from thence made Incurſions to the very Gates of the City. Here they were repulſed with Loſs, by *Servilius*'s Troops; and driven home: but this brave *Conſul* had not the Happineſs to come up cloſe with them, and bring them to a general Battel. The *Sabines* returned immediately through difficult Paſſes; ſhut themſelves up within their Walls; and left their Country open to the Mercy of the *Roman*. The Devaſtations his Troops committed in it, and the Spoil they carried away from it, were inconceivably great; all the Terrors of War, Burning, Demolitions, Maſſacres, and Rapines, were put in Practice againſt the audacious *Sabines*: And yet, *Servilius*'s Glory was not equal to that of his Collegue. *Quinctius* penetrated very far into the Country of the *Volſci*; and found the Enemy encamped near *Antium*. Their chief Buſineſs was to cover that Place, which they feared would be beſieged, ſince its Port was now demoliſhed. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* had joined their Forces, and both made but one Army; which much exceeded that of the *Romans* in Number. Nevertheleſs, the brave *Conſul* haſtened the March of his Troops, appeared unexpectedly in ſight of the Allies; and immediately drew out his Forces in a Valley, where the Enemy could ſee them from their Camp, which was upon an Eminence. *Quinctius*, to engage the Enemy to fight, and ſhew them, that he was not afraid of their Numbers, had likewiſe removed ſome diſtance from his Baggage. This was giving them a Challenge, which they accepted, depending on the Multitude of their Men; but they were far inferior to their Enemies in Courage. A *Roman* Army was invincible, when commanded by a General they loved.

Livy, B. 2. ch. 64.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 613.

The Confederates had no ſooner drawn up their Men, but the Battle began with Fury. Great Efforts were made on both Sides, and notwithſtanding the Inequality of Numbers, the Advantages and Loſſes continued equal a great while. It was but natural that the *Roman* Forces ſhould at laſt be exhauſted, and obliged to give way to ſuperior Numbers. Every Loſs was more conſiderable to them, than to the Enemy; and this Conſideration had like to have induced the *Conſul* to order a Retreat. But he was afraid the Enemy would call his retiring a Flight, and that his Honour might ſuffer by it; and he prevented the Defeat he was apprehenſive of, by a Stratagem. He went to one of the Wings of his Army, and cried out, that the other was victorious. This was a Fiction, which the General ſucceſsfully made uſe of, to revive the Courage of

Livy, B. 2. *ibid.* *Dion. Hal.* B. 9. *ibid.*

75 This was the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *T. Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus*. Some Editions of *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus* give him by Miſtake the *Prænomen* of *Publius*. The *Faſti Siculi* have changed his Surname of *Capitolinus* into that of *Cælimontanus*.

76 *D. Siculus* gives *Q. Ser. Priſcus* the Surname of *Structus*, which was pretty common in his Family. It is conjectured, that he was the Son of *Q. Servilius* Captain General of the Horſe, in the Year of *Rome* 259; and that he was the Brother of *Servilius*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 275.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXV. T. Quinctius, and Q. Servilius, Conſuls.

his Army, which conquered becauſe it thought it ſelf victorious. The *Conſul* had no ſooner declared the Enemy routed, but he diſmounted, and ordered all the Horſe attending him to do the ſame. They followed their General, and performed ſuch glorious Exploits that the *Volſci* (for it was with them *Quinctius* fought) were ſtruck with Terror. They gave way by degrees, and were at length broken and diſperſed. Then *Quinctius* immediately mounted his Horſe, flew to the other Wing, and informed them of the Defeat of the *Volſci*. *Shall I find leſs Valour among you*, ſaid he, *than among your Fellow-Soldiers? Are not you* Romans, *as well as they?* At which Words nothing could ſtand before Men who gloried in expoſing their Lives, to gain Honour to their General; they put the reſt of the Confederates into Diſorder, and purſued them for ſome time. But the *Conſul*, who was afraid of a freſh Action in caſe the Enemy ſhould rally, order'd his Men to retire. It was high time for the *Romans*, who were fatigued with fighting, to breathe a little. Their Arms being blunted or broken, began to be but a weak Defence; and they went to take ſome Refreſhment in their Camp, where they experienced all the Kindneſs that could be ſhewn them by a good-natur'd General, who lov'd his Soldiers. He gave them time to recover themſelves from their Fatigues, to dreſs their Wounds, and bury their Dead; and for this Purpoſe made a Truce with the Enemy for ſome Days. But in the mean time, the provident *Quinctius* got all things neceſſary for forming a Siege.

§. XXXIII. However, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* did not loſe their Courage, during the Truce; they made it their Buſineſs to bring freſh Troops from their own Countries, which they did in ſuch Numbers, that they were above five times as many as the *Romans*. This formidable Body gave the *Æqui* the Confidence to come and lay Siege to the *Conſul*'s Camp, in the Night. They were perſuaded that the *Romans*, terrified by ſuch ſuperior Numbers, would quit their Entrenchments, and encamp in another Place. Under this Perſuaſion, their General poſted Troops in ſeveral Places, and ſeized the narrow Paſſes, in order to attack the *Romans* in their Retreat. Their Multitudes were too great to obſerve much Order, or form a regular Camp; and their Battalions were diſperſed about the Country in Companies. It was juſt Midnight [77] when the *Romans* perceived their Camp to be inveſted; and it is eaſy to imagine that it ſtruck a general Terror into them. But *Quinctius* encouraged them, and ordered them to continue quiet, and take their Reſt. The prudent General only ſent out of the Camp a Body of *Hernici*, part Horſe, and part Foot, as an Advance-Guard; and joined with them all the Trumpets and other [78] Inſtruments in his Army, with Orders to ſound from time to time. His Deſign was to make the Enemy believe the *Legions* were upon their Guard in the Avenues of their Camp: And by this means he kept the Enemy upon Duty all Night; whilſt his own Men were in his Entrenchments, taking their Reſt in Quiet. When it was Day, the *Conſul* marched out at the Head of his Horſe, and order'd the Foot to follow him. He found

77 *Livy* ſays, it was the third Watch in the Night, when the *Romans* firſt perceiv'd that their Camp was inveſted. In order to underſtand this way of dividing the Hours of the Night, it muſt be obſerved, that in the *Roman* Armies the Night was divided into four Parts, called *Watches*; each conſiſting of three Hours, reckoning from Sun-ſet to Sun-riſing. So that the Hours of the Night were longer or ſhorter, according to the Length or Shortneſs of the Day. Every Watch was proclaimed in the Camp, by Sound of Trumpet. Then thoſe who had kept Guard the firſt Watch, were relieved by the ſecond, and theſe by the third, till the Sun aroſe, according to this Verſe of *Propertius*;

Et jam quarta canit venturam buccina lucem.

78 The Wind-Inſtruments uſed by the *Romans*, were only the Trumpet, Clarion, and Horn. The Trumpet was called *Tuba*, or *Tubus*; and was of three Sorts: one called *Tuba directa*, another *Lituus*, or *Tuba curva*, and a third *Buccina*. The firſt was ſtrait, and widened inſenſibly from the Mouth to the End, which was round at the Opening, like our Trumpets. The *Lituus*, or *Clarion*, which was of the Form of the *Augural* Staff, was not ſo much bent as the *Buccina*. The latter was ſo round, that the Mouth and the other End almoſt met. It had a very ſhrill Tone, and was heard at a very great Diſtance. The Horn was originally nothing but an Ox's Horn hollowed, with which the Herdſmen gathered their Herds together. *Quæ nunc fiunt ex ære, tunc fiebant ex bubulo cornu.* Var. *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* As ſoon as it came to be uſed in Armies, it was called *Buccina*. *Ad ſonum Buccinæ pecus ſepta repetere conſuevit*, ſays *Columella*, 6. 23. It is plain the *Buccina* and Horn differed in little more than in Name. *Ovid* has given us the Deſcription of it in theſe two Verſes:

——— Cava Buccina ſumitur illi
Tortilis, in latum quæ turbine creſcit ab imo. Metam.

Vegetius, who wrote in the Time of *Valentinian the Younger*, aſſures us that the *Romans*, inſtead of Trumpets, uſed the Horns of certain wild Bulls called *Uri*, of which there were ſeveral Sorts in *Germany*. He ſays this Horn, adorned with Silver at its Mouth, gave a very fine Sound. The ſtrait Trumpet was for the Foot, the crooked for the Horſe. The *Buccina* was common to both. Theſe Inſtruments gave Names to thoſe in the *Roman* Armies, who were called *Buccinatores*, *Tubicines*, *Cornicines*. *Athenæus*, *B.* 4. *Dipnoſoph.* pretends, that we owe the Invention of Trumpets to the *Tyrrhenians*; or, according to *Pauſanias*, to *Tyrrhenus*, their Head. They were not only uſed in War, to ſound a Charge, or a Retreat; but likewiſe in all great Solemnities, in Funeral-Pomps, the Celebration of the Games, Triumphs, &c.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXV. T. Quinctius, and Q. Servilius, Con. *Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 614. Liv. B. 2. c. 65.*

the Enemy as much fatigued by the Alarm he had given them all Night, as his own Troops were refreſhed. It was no hard Matter for him to drive a confuſed Number of Men a great way from his Camp. The Difficulty was, to diſlodge them from a ſteep Place, whither both *Æqui* and *Volſci* had fled for Refuge; and when the *Romans* were at the Foot of the Rock, to which they had followed the Enemy, the *Conſul* on a ſudden commanded them to halt. And indeed, how could he attempt ſo dangerous an Attack? The Troops of the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were rallied upon the Top of the Hill, and were there no longer afraid of the Enemy; but the *Romans* were too brisk to retire. They crowded about *Quinctius*, and earneſtly preſſed him to permit them to give the Conquered the finiſhing Stroke; the Cavalry eſpecially ſhewed a great Earneſtneſs to fight. They aſſured the General, that for the ſake of gaining him Glory, they would even diſobey him, leave their Colours, and go before their Leaders to the Charge. The *Conſul*, before irreſolute, gave way to the Ardor and Affection of his Troops, and ſaid, *Go, Fellow-Soldiers, I think nothing too hard for your Courage.* At which Words, they fixed their Javelins in the Ground, that they might climb with the more Eaſe; and then flew towards the Top of the Hill, without conſidering the Danger. The Enemy threw down their Darts, and tumbled down Stones upon them; and the left Wing of the *Romans*, who kept their Ranks, ſuffered ſo much by the Shower of Darts which filled the Air, and the Stones which bounded from the Ground, that they were at a Stand, and ready to retire back; but the *Conſul* came to their Relief, and, with an Air of Sweetneſs mixed with ſome Indignation, reproached them, both with their Want of Courage, and Raſhneſs, *You did ill*, ſaid he, *to deſire Leave to fight; but you do worſe to quit the Field of Battle.* His Voice revived their Courage; they ſtopped a Moment to take Breath, and then advanced with Intrepidity. They encouraged one another, by a general Shout, to ſurmount the reſt of the Rock; and at length, making a new Effort, came almoſt within Reach of the Enemy, who abandon'd the Eminence, fled with Precipitation down the Hill; and the *Romans* were as quick in purſuing them. Without giving them a Moment's Reſpite, they drove them to their Camp, took it by Aſſault; and paſſed the Night in it, after they had ſeized a Booty anſwerable to this terrible Multitude of *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 615.

But *Quinctius* did not ſtop there: He made the beſt Uſe of the Ardour and Good-will of his Soldiers. Two Battles won in the open Field facilitated the Siege of *Antium*. His Predeceſſor *Numicius* had already paved the Way for taking this important Place, by plundering and deſtroying its Port. Beſides, *Quinctius* was provided with Machines proper for a Siege. He was but 30 *Stadia* [79] from *Antium*, and the Enemy was in a Conſternation, after ſo much ill Succeſs. He came therefore and ſate down before it; and to complete his Happineſs, whilſt he was preparing to make a Breach, and ſcale the Walls, there aroſe a Diviſion among the Troops which defended it. The Garriſon of *Antium* conſiſted partly of *Æqui*, and partly of *Volſci*. The *Æqui* demanded Leave to march out of the Place, and avoid the Severities of a Siege, having ſo lately experienced the Superiority of the *Romans*, in two Battles; and after the firſt Refuſal, they formed a Deſign of eſcaping by Flight. But it being diſcovered, and they forced to ſtay and aſſiſt in the Defence of *Antium*, they changed their Deſign of flying, into a Plot to betray the *Antiates*, and deliver them up to the *Romans*. This Conſpiracy, which was known to the Inhabitants, made them ſenſible how unſafe it was to reſiſt Conquerors, whoſe Name was enough to gain over even their Enemies; and they therefore offered to ſurrender upon two Conditions. Firſt, that the *Æqui* ſhould march out of the City without being inſulted. Secondly, that the *Antiates* ſhould continue in their own City, upon receiving a *Roman* Garriſon, and becoming ſubject to the Republick. The *Conſul* accepted theſe Terms, and required nothing more of them, but Subſiſtence for his Army, and Money to defray the Expences of the Campaign. After this moſt glorious Expedition, he led back his Troops to *Rome*; and his Exploits were too conſiderable not to procure him more than the common Honours of a Triumph [80]. The Senate, as well as People, went in a Body to meet him without the Walls, and attended him in his Proceſſion to the *Capitol*.

79 Theſe 30 *Stadia* make 3750 Geometrical Paces, *i. e.* a little leſs than a *French* League and half, at the Rate of 125 Paces *per Stadium*.

80 The *Faſti Capitolini*, and *D. Hal.* mention this Triumph, but *Livy* paſſes it over in Silence.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK IX.

§. I. THE Conteſts between the People and the *Patricians*, about the Diſtribution of the Lands which had been conquered at different Times were not ended, when *Tib. Æmilius* [1] was nominated Conſul a ſecond Time, and *Q. Fabius* given him for his Collegue. This *Fabius* was the Son of one of thoſe three famous Brothers, who had devoted themſelves and their Family to the Preſervation of *Rome*, againſt the *Hetrurians*. More than one Branch of this illuſtrious Stock had eſcaped the Slaughter which the Enemy made of them near *the Cremera*. And this Man ſeems not to have been ſo young, at the Time of the Defeat of the *Fabii*, as the Hiſtorians have repreſented him to have been. We already ſee him old enough to be raiſed to the *Conſulate* in ten Years after his Father's Death.

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WHEN *Æmilius* and *Fabius* entered upon their Office, the Affairs of *Rome* were in an advantageous Situation. *Quinctius*'s Victories had juſt brought the *Antiates* under the *Roman* Dominion; and the Republick was, by this new Addition, diſembarraſſed of one half of the Nation of the *Volſci*, who were ſo inveterately bent on making War with it. Beſides, the inteſtine Seditions ſeemed to take a good Turn, for the aggrandizing of the *Romans*. The Senate found means to draw Advantages from the Reſtleſsneſs of the Citizens of *Rome*, who were always mutinous when not engaged in War. They were often made to take Arms, only to prevent their raiſing Storms at Home: And their Valour, which made them victorious Abroad, ſerved to extend the Limits of the Republick. So that every Thing, even their very Vices, turned to the Advantage of the *Romans*. But it muſt be acknowledged, that in the Space of above three Centuries, in which they had always their Swords in their Hands, they ſcarce extended their Conqueſts twenty Leagues from *Rome*. To the Eaſt, the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and the *Antiates*, were the only Nations in the Neighbourhood of the *Romans*, which they had ſubdued. Nay their Dominion over the *Antiates* was yet but wavering, and this new Conqueſt ſeemed not to be yet well ſettled. To the Weſt, the *Romans* had made ſo little a Progreſs in conquering the Lands of the *Hetrurians*, that they ſcarce had above two or three Leagues, of Land, beyond the *Tyber*, within their Diſtrict. To the North, the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* yet defended their Territories againſt the Invaſion of the *Romans*, and preſerved their Liberty. So that it was then incredible, that ſo ſmall a State ſhould ever conquer the Univerſe. But we ſhall ſee it grow great by Degrees, firſt ſubdue its warlike Neighbours rather by Arms, than a juſt Polity, and then make uſe of their Aſſiſtance to bring the reſt of the World into Subjection.

ÆMILIUS, one of the *Conſuls* for the Year 286, favoured the People. He had from his firſt *Conſulate*, ſhewn a Deſire of gaining for them from the Senate that Diſtribution of Lands, which had been ſo long expected. And in his ſecond *Conſulate* *Livy B. 3. c. 1.* and *Dion. Hal. B. 9.*

[1] The *Faſti Siculi*, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*, and *Diodorus*, give *Quintus Fabius* the Surname of *Vibulanus*, and *Tiberius Æmilius* that of *Mamercus*. It cannot with any Reaſon be ſaid, that this *Quintus Fabius* was the ſame with him, who, according to *Livy*, was the only Remains of the famous Family of the *Fabii*. According to him this *Fabius* was at moſt but fourteen Years of Age, after the unfortunate Battle of *the Cremera*: *Unum prope puberem ætate relictum*. And *Dion. Hal.* calls this young *Fabius* νεώτερον. Now, from this Time to the Year 286, we reckon only ten Years, which added to the fourteen, make but twenty four. Whereas, eſpecially in the firſt Ages of the Republick, none could obtain the *Conſulate*, who had not at leaſt begun his 43d Year. It is therefore evident, that the *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* we here ſpeak of, was a very different Perſon from him, who, if we believe *Livy*, alone ſurvived his Family, and was not yet arrived at the Age of *Puberty*.

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Tib. Æmilius, and Q. Fabius Conſuls.

he was more inclined than ever to ſatisfy their Deſires. The *Tribunes* therefore, who knew *Æmilius*'s Sentiments, and thought him well affected to the Commonalty, prevailed on him to try all Methods of giving them Poſſeſſion of what they had ſo long claimed. The *Conſul* engaged warmly in the Affair; and diſregarded the Murmurs of the *Patricians*, who obſtinately refuſed to give up the Lands they had uſurped. They were heard to ſay, that *Æmilius was worſe than a Tribune. He is*, ſaid they, *a Man bent upon gaining the People by Bounties, which are not burdenſome to himſelf, but to others. He is an ambitious Man, who ſeeks to make himſelf Maſter in* Rome, *at the Expence of the Patricians.* And theſe odious Rumours ſpread Abroad by the Nobility againſt a *Conſul* might have raiſed great Commotions. But the wiſe *Fabius*, *Æmilius*'s Collegue, prevented it, and found out an Expedient to appeaſe both People and *Patricians*. *Rome* had juſt appropriated a Canton of *Volſci*; and the Lands of this new conquered Country had not yet been given to any Body. There therefore *Fabius* adviſed the ſettling a Colony of *Romans*. The pooreſt of the People, who had hitherto been the moſt factious, were to go and people it, and cultivate it for their own Advantage. He thought a maritime and fruitful Country, would be an Allurement for the Malecontents. And indeed, an Abode at *Antium*, a City commodiouſly and agreeably ſituated, muſt, one would have thought, have made thoſe Citizens little ſenſible of any Uneaſineſs at leaving *Rome*, who had long been deſirous of leaving it, to go and cultivate Lands of their own. This was the propoſed Method of getting rid of a difficult Affair, which every Year raiſed new Storms in the Republick. *Fabius*'s Advice was followed by the Senate, and the Decree that was paſſed upon it, muſt needs have been, one would have imagined, agreeable to the People. Three Men were already named to regulate the Diſtribution of the Territory of *Antium*. *Quinctius* [2] who had conquered it, and two other Senators choſen out of the old *Conſuls*, were to preſide over the Settlement of this new Colony. But how very fantaſtical are human Paſſions! Theſe ſame *Romans* who were formerly ſo earneſt in deſiring Lands, and ſo ſeditious in demanding them, refuſed to accept of them when they were offered. Scarce any gave in their Names, that they might go and take Poſſeſſion of the Lands, which had been promiſed them. The People even changed their Stile, and complained of the Artifices of the Senate, who, they now ſaid, wanted to ſend away brave Men out of their Country, becauſe they oppoſed their Oppreſſions. The greateſt Part choſe rather to live at *Rome*, and go on begging of Lands, than to leave it in order to go and receive them in another Place. Such Charms do the moſt indigent Citizens find in the Buſtle of great Cities, eſpecially if the People have Authority in them.

As then the Commiſſioners who were ſet over the Diſtribution of the Territory of the *Antiates* were already upon the Spot, they divided it between the *Latins*, the *Hernici*, and ſome of the native, and conquered *Volſci*. Few native *Romans* had any Share in the Diſtribution. So that *Rome* did not now depend ſo much upon the Fidelity of the Inhabitants of *Antium*, as ſhe would have done.

The Republick had, for a long time, had two Armies in the Field every Year. The *Conſuls* commanded them, and drew by Lot which Army each was to lead. In the preſent Year, *Fabius* commanded that, which was appointed to march againſt the *Æqui*, and *Æmilius* that which was to act againſt the *Sabines*.

The Expedition of the latter had nothing remarkable in it; but *Fabius* may be ſaid to have made a glorious Campaign. He entered the Country of the *Æqui*, with an Air of Confidence which terrified them. This People, who were formerly ſo haughty, were yet ſtunned with the Blow, which *Quinctius* had lately given them. At the Sight of a *Roman* Army, commanded by a General who had not drawn upon himſelf the ill-will of his Troops, the *Æqui* were equally afraid of the Loſs of a Battle, and the Conqueſt of their Cities. Beſides, the Fate of the *Antiates*, who were ſubdued and reduced to Colonies, made them more wiſe. They reckoned they ſhould make better Terms with the *Conſul*, if they ſued for Peace, before a Battle, than if they only had Recourſe to his Clemency after a Defeat. They therefore ſent Ambaſſadors to *Fabius* to treat with him, and get advantageous Terms of him. It was then cuſtomary for the *Roman* Generals, to have Power only to make a Truce. As

Dion. Hal. B. 9.

2 *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus* who had ſubdued the *Antiates*, *Lucius Furius* to whom *Livy* gives the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, and *Aulus Virginius* were charged with this Commiſſion, under the Name of *Triumviri*.

for

for Peace, this was to be concluded by the Senate and People: tho' they uſually had ſo much regard for their General, as to leave it to him to make the Treaty. And this was the Behaviour of the *Conſul* to the Senate, and the Senate to the *Conſul*, in the preſent Inſtance. *Fabius* made a Truce with the *Æqui*, and ſent them to *Rome* to negotiate their Peace there. But the Truce he granted them coſt them dear. He demanded of them Proviſions and Subſiſtence for his Army for ſix Months, and two Suits of Clothes for every one of his Soldiers. And then, when he had Power given him by the Senate and People to make Peace with the *Æqui* upon what Conditions he pleaſed, *Fabius* left them in Poſſeſſion of their Lands, and their Cities, but in Subjection to the Republick. He laid no Tribute upon them; but he obliged them to furniſh and maintain at their own Expence, as many auxiliary Troops, as *Rome* ſhould have occaſion for and demand. And the Republick might from that time have reckoned the *Æqui* among her Subjects, if Levity and Unfaithfulneſs had not made them break the Treaty, almoſt as ſoon as it had been concluded.

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§. 2. IN the mean time the two *Conſuls* returned to the City, to give Way to new Succeſſors: And *Sp. Poſthumius* [3] and *Q. Servilius*, were choſen in the *Campus Martius*. This was the ſecond time *Servilius* had obtained the *Conſulate*. And now all was quiet at Home, and the *Tribunes of the People*, dared not propoſe the Diſtribution of the Lands, in favour of the Populace. After their refuſal to go and cultivate the Territory of *Antium*, they could not with any manner of Decency renew their antient Pretenſions. So that if the *Antiates* and *Æqui*, theſe new Subjects of *Rome*, had but contained themſelves within the Bounds of their Duty, the Republick, after ſo many Wars, would at laſt have enjoyed one Year of Peace. But the *Romans* were not complaiſant enough to the Canton of the *Volſci*, they had juſt ſubdued. They divided the Territory of *Antium* between their Allies, and left the old Inhabitants of the Country but a very ſmall Part of it. Theſe poor People therefore, being now deprived of their Eſtates, and ſeveral of them not being able to obtain even the Favour of being Farmers to the new Proprietors, were under a Neceſſity of ſeeking their Fortune elſewhere. The *Æqui* received them in their Territories: And their Compaſſion for ſo many unfortunate Men, led them to ſhake off the *Roman* Dominion themſelves. Indeed the Exiles of *Antium*, being preſſed to it by Neceſſity, were forced to live by robbing. So that they gathered together in Troops, and entered the Lands of the *Latins* to plunder them. And the Spoil they brought Home tempted ſome ſtout Fellows among the *Æqui*. They increaſed the Company of Robbers, and joined with them, in ſpreading Deſolation among the *Latins*. Theſe faithful Allies of the Republick therefore, brought their Complaints before the Senate of *Rome*, and demanded either that a *Roman* Army ſhould be ſent to them, to protect them from ſo many Inſults, or that they ſhould have Leave to take Arms and defend themſelves. But the Senate granted neither of theſe Demands; thinking to remedy this Evil, by appointing a Deputation to the Council of the *Æqui*. The ſame *Fabius*, who had concluded a Treaty of Peace with them, the Year before, was at the Head of the Embaſſy: And his Commiſſion ſeemed to be extraordinary. It was difficult to know, whether he went to give Orders to Subjects, or to conclude a Negotiation with Allies. However the Ambaſſador was heard in an Aſſembly of the *Æqui*; and he demanded to know of them, whether the Hoſtilities which had been committed by ſome Robbers, in the Country of the *Latins*, were done by the Conſent of their Nation. The *Æqui* anſwered, that nothing had been undertaken againſt *Rome* by their Order, and that they were not reſponſible for the Plunders of a Company of Vagabonds, of whoſe Violences they diſapproved. To which *Fabius* replied, *Why then don't you force them to reſtore what they have taken away? Why don't you deliver them up to the* Romans, *to execute Juſtice upon them?* Upon this the *Æqui* grew angry, and either out of Pride or Compaſſion abſolutely refuſed to give up thoſe voluntary Exiles either to Death or Slavery, who had thrown themſelves into their Arms. This made the Ambaſſador ſtrongly

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Dion. Hal. B. 9.

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[3] *Cuſpinian*'s *Faſti* only ſay, that *Priſcus* and *Albinus* were Conſuls this Year. And *Dion. Hal.* does indeed give *Poſthumius* the Surname of *Albinus*, and *Servilius* that of *Priſcus*. The former is called in the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Spurius Poſthumius Albus Regillenſis*. He was the Son of *Aulus Poſthumius* the *Dictator*, who gained the famous Victory of *Regillum*. And the Surname of *Regillenſis* or *Regillanus* ſeems to have paſſed from him to his Deſcendants. The *Faſti Siculi* ſay nothing either of theſe two Conſuls, or thoſe who ſucceeded them the Year after.

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ſuſpect that they were acting a double Part, and that the Reſpect they profeſſed to have for the *Romans*, at the ſame time that they denied their Requeſt, was only a Pretence to amuſe them. Beſides, he found falſe Pretences were made uſe of to detain him in the Country of theſe pretended Allies, who ſeemed to value themſelves upon giving him a Reception, which was at Bottom but a feigned Hoſpitality. He reſolved therefore to draw ſome Advantage from his Abode among them, by obſerving the Deſigns of the *Æqui*. He run over all their Cantons, viſited all their Temples and publick Places, and examined their Magazines of Arms and Proviſions. Some of theſe he ſaw already full, and ſome were filling. At length the Ambaſſador took his leave, and came to make a Report to the Senate of the Preparations the *Æqui* were making. Upon this a Reſolution was immediately taken, to ſend ſome *Feciales* to them, to declare War with them, if they refuſed to drive the *Antiates* out of their Country, and to repair the Damages the latter had done the *Latins*. The *Roman* Yoke begun already to ſit heavily on a People who were accuſtomed to live in perfect Liberty. The *Æqui* therefore anſwered, that they preferred War to Slavery. Then the Conſul *Servilius* marched out of *Rome* with his Troops, and took up his Quarters in *Latium*. But his little Army was ſo afflicted with Diſeaſes all the Summer, that, without undertaking any Expedition againſt the new Enemy, it kept itſelf only on the defenſive, and ſerved only to keep off the Robbers from the Frontiers. So that the *Romans* did not enter upon Action till the next Year. And this ſhort interval of Tranquillity was ſignalized by a religious Ceremony. *Poſthumius*, who continued at *Rome*, during the Abſence of his Collegue, dedicated the Temple of *Dius* 4 *Fidius*, that is, of *Jupiter* the Witneſs and Preſerver of Fidelity in Treaties. The laſt King of *Rome* had formerly erected it on the Hill *Quirinalis*; and it being not yet dedicated, this was now fixed to the *Nones* of *June*, and *Poſthumius* conſecrated it himſelf.

Livy, B. 3. c. 2.

Dion. Hal. B. 9.

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The War the Republick was going to renew with the *Æqui*, and the Fugitive *Antiates*, made the aſſembled *Centuries* chooſe two *Conſuls* for the enſuing Year, whoſe Names were formidable to the two Nations. *T. Quinctius* who had conquered *Antium* in his ſecond *Conſulate*, was named *Conſul* a third time; and with him *Q. Fabius*, who had forced the *Æqui* to ſue for Peace, was raiſed to the *Conſulate* a ſecond time. *Rome* had Reaſon to expect all poſſible Succeſs from theſe two famous Generals, whoſe Valour and Wiſdom were well known. Two Armies were therefore raiſed, to be led by them againſt theſe perfidious People. *Quinctius* was entruſted with the Charge of preſerving the *Roman* Territory from Pillage, and *Fabius* with that of carrying the War into the Country of the *Æqui*. Nevertheleſs his Moderation made him once more attempt an amicable Accommodation. He ſent a Deputation to the *Æqui* with Orders to tell them, That *Fabius the Conſul had two Years ago carried to* Rome *a Treaty of Peace which had been made with them; but that he was now bringing them back a War; and that they ſhould therefore take care leſt they found him as formidable now, as he had been heretofore favourable to them. That the Gods who were the Witneſſes of their Perjuries would be the Revengers of them: That it was his Deſire, they ſhould rather repent than ſuffer Hoſtilities: That if they did repent, they ſhould again experience the* Roman *Clemency: But that if they perſiſted in their Perjuries, they would not ſo much make War with the* Romans, *as with the angry Gods.* But theſe Words made no Impreſſion on a People, who were reſolved to ſuffer all Extremities rather than bear the Yoke of a Republick which was grown too imperious. The *Conſul*'s Envoys themſelves narrowly eſcaped being ill treated by the *Æqui*. However, the latter inſtantly ſeized the Poſt of *Algidum* 5; a little City in their own Country, ſituated near a Wood, and

Livy, B. 3. c. 2.

4 It is ſurprizing, that ſome Interpreters ſhould have confounded this Temple of *Dius Fidius*, with the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which was erected by *Tarquin the Proud*, and dedicated by *Marcus Horatius*. The Temple we ſpeak of, ſtood on the Hill *Martialis*, as the *Greek* Text of *Dion. Hal.* ſignifies, ἐπὶ τοῦ Ενναλίου λόφου, that is, on the Hill *Quirinalis*. This Hill conſiſted of ſeveral little Hills, one of which was called *the Hill of Mars*, probably from the Time that a Temple was built upon it, in honour to this God, under the Name of *Quirinus*, whom the Antients confounded with the God of War. We have ſpoken elſewhere of one *Sancus Fidius* who was in great Veneration among the *Sabines*, and who, *Varro* ſays, was the ſame with the *Hercules* of the *Greeks*. The Worſhip of *Dius Fidius*, was brought to *Rome* from *Sabinia*. But the Name of *Dius Fidius* ſeems not to have been more appropriated to *Hercules*, than to the other Gods, who were all worſhiped, as Protectors of Faith, or Fidelity. This Appellation was given to *Jupiter*, who was called Ζεὺς Πίστιος, *Jupiter Fidius*.

5 *Algidum* was formerly a City, ſituated in the extreme Parts of the Country of the *Hetrurians*, in the *Latin Way*, on an Hill, and near a Wood of the ſame Name. The Wood is at preſent called *Selva del l'Aglio*.

flanked

flanked with a Hill, eighteen Miles distant from *Rome*. But this new Encampment did not so much frighten, as raise the Indignation of the *Romans*. In order to drive them from thence, the Consuls united their Forces, and came together in a Body to face the Enemy, and engage them. It was now late in the Day, when the *Roman* Army came in sight of the *Æqui*; and one of their Soldiers therefore cried out from the Top of the Ramparts of their Camp: *It is mere Ostentation*, Romans, *to shew your selves at Night to draw us to a Battle. We must have more Day-light to humble you, than we now have. To morrow at Sun-rising look to your selves. We shall then have no Reason to fear the Night will separate us.* This Raillery provoked the *Romans*. They returned to their Camp, where their Soldiers waited for Day-break with Impatience. Early in the Morning, the Armies of the Consuls appeared first in the Plain, drawn up in Battalia. And as soon as the *Æqui* were drawn out, and had taken their Ground, the Battel begun. The Attack was on the one Hand vigorous, and the Resistance on the other brave. The *Romans* were exasperated, and the *Æqui*, who had so lately broken the last Treaty they made at *Rome*, had no Hopes of any Advantages by new ones: So that they fought like Men desperate. Nevertheless, they first drew off from the Field of Battle, but not till their Weapons were grown blunt, and they could no longer use them. The Action was so bloody on both Sides, that they dared not hazard a second. Both Parties contented themselves with a few slight Skirmishes, or little Fights for Forage, or their Convoys. Nevertheless the Haughtiness of the *Æqui* was not abated. Their Soldiers spread Complaints abroad in the Camp, against their own Generals. *Why*, said they, *did they force us to come to a pitched Battle? The* Romans *always have the Advantage in them. That is what they excel in; but we surpass them in making Incursions, and ravaging an Enemy's Country. All Things considered*, added they, *the true Art of War does rather more consist in fighting in small Parties, than in engaging Armies with Armies. Valour shews itself to better Advantage in Skirmishes, than in a confused Engagement.* There was a Necessity of complying with the seditious Demands of these Soldiers, who could not without Difficulty be kept unactive in their Camp. So that the *Æqui* entered the *Roman* Territory in Parties, leaving no more Troops behind them, than were necessary to guard their Entrenchments. But Experience shewed them they were no more successful in Incursions, than in pitched Battles. They at first took a large Compass in order to enter the *Roman* Lands, and appeared in Places, where they were least expected. And so sudden an Irruption spread a great deal of Terror among the *Romans*. The whole City was alarmed at it. All Contentions, and all Assemblies, either of Senate or People, ceased upon it. But by good Fortune, *Quinctius* was returned to *Rome*, since the Battle he and his Collegue had fought with the *Æqui*. His Presence helped much to keep up the Peoples Spirits. *What*, said he, *will* Romans *be afraid of an Handful of vanquished Enemies?* At the same time, he gave good Orders for the Security of the City, and set Bodies of Guards at all the Gates. Then, after having appointed *Servilius* Governor of *Rome*, during his Absence, he marched out of the City, in quest of the *Æqui*, whom he could not come up with. So that he returned to *Rome*, without having seen the Enemy, which did him no Honour. But *Fabius* acted a wiser Part. He led out his Troops into the Country privately in the Night, and left only a few Veterans to guard his Camp, who were less fit for a long March. He observed the Defiles thro' which the *Æqui* must pass, when they returned to their Camp: And indeed, great part of these Pillagers fell into an Ambuscade which he had laid for them. They could not, without great Difficulty, either retreat or fly. They were too much laden with the Spoils they had brought from the *Roman* Lands, to do either with Ease. Some of them therefore made Resistance, and fought like brave Men: But were all killed or dispersed. In short, the Consul recovered the Spoil they had taken; and his Victory settled *Rome* again in Tranquillity. The Senate again sate. On the other side, the *Æqui* shut themselves up in their Cities, and dared not face *Fabius*. But it may be observed, that though they were weakened, they did not think themselves overcome. We shall see them disturbing the *Romans* yet a great while, and spreading Desolation in their Lands. And whilst *Fabius* continued in the Country of the *Æqui* to keep them within Bounds, and plundered their Territories, *Quinctius* appointed a *Census* to be taken of the *Roman* People. In it they reckoned up 124215 *Roman* Citizens who were able to bear Arms. This *Lustrum*, which was the ninth since their Institution, shews that *Rome* had received no consi-

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXVIII.
F. Quinctius and Q. Fabius Consuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 9.

Livy B. 3. c. 2.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIX.

A. Posthumius and Sp. Furius Conſuls.

derable Increaſe. However it was now neceſſary to come to a new Election of Conſuls, and *Fabius* returned to *Rome*, to preſide at it with his Collegue.

§. III. The Choice of the *Romans* fell upon [6] *A. Poſthumius* and *Sp. Furius*: Two Men, who, if we may judge of them by the Event, were but indifferently skilled in the Buſineſs of War. Nevertheleſs the Republick was to expect to ſee the War with the *Æqui* continued, during their Year. This wild People, who were exceedingly multiplied in their Hills, and were very difficult to be come at, were ſo accuſtomed to live by Plunder, that they choſe rather to keep up a War with the *Romans*, for the ſake of pillaging them, than tocultivate the Lands in their own Dominions, in Peace. So that they had Thoughts of making freſh Attacks upon the Republick this Year: And they ſollicited the *Volſci* of *Echetra* to join them. Beſides, the *Romans* were told on all Hands, that the *Antiates*, their new Subjects, inclined to revolt, and that they would ſoon take up Arms againſt the Republick. When this News was brought to *Rome* by the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, it gave the Senate ſome Uneaſineſs. The Senators knew that the Citizens of *Antium*, who had deſerted their own City, to go and ſerve under the *Æqui* in the former War, and had ſhewn moſt Valour and moſt Inveteracy againſt the *Romans*, were returned into their own Country, and ſtirred up their Countrymen to a Revolt. The Senate therefore came to a Reſolution to cite the Heads of the *Antiates* to appear before them. But their ill-concerted Anſwers increaſed the Senate's Suſpicions. So that the *Roman* Gariſons in their Countries were doubled, and they were not ſuffered to ſtir.

Livy B. 3. *Dion. Hal. B.* 9. *p.* 619.

In the mean time the *Æqui* and *Volſci* uniting made great Preparations againſt *Rome*. They encamped in the Country of the *Hernici*, and there waited till the *Romans* arrived. The Conſul *Furius* commanded the Army, whilſt his Collegue *Poſthumius* continued in the *Roman* Territory, to cover it. As ſoon as the *Æqui* heard that the Conſul appeared in the Field, they prepared to attack him. *Furius* knew not with how great a Multitude of Enemies he was to engage: And firſt encamped in a Place which was both inconvenient, and unſafe. But he was afterwards obliged to decamp, and thereby gave the Enemy Reaſon to conceive no very favourable Opinion of his Experience in War.

And how ſtrong ſoever his new Entrenchments were, the *Æqui* reſolved to attack them. Their Confidence was likewiſe increaſed by the great Number of Troops which came to them from the two confederate Nations. They therefore appeared before the *Roman* Camp with a numerous Army. Then *Furius* depended too much upon the Valour of his Troops, and paid dearly for his Raſhneſs. He marched out of his Camp, was beaten, and forced to retreat to it for Refuge. Nor was this all. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* beſieged the Conſul's Camp, and ſo ſtrictly guarded the Avenues to it, that not one ſingle *Roman* could eſcape out of it, to carry to *Rome* the News of the Extremity to which *Furius* was reduced. But it was known there, by other means; and it produced an univerſal Conſternation in the City, and the Senate reſolved upon an Expedient which they ſcarce ever made uſe of, but when under the greateſt Terrors. This was to give up the *Roman* Government abſolutely into the Conſuls Hands, in theſe expreſs Words [7], *Let him take care that the Republick does not ſink under the preſent Danger*. *Poſthumius* therefore, who received this Commiſſion, in order to enable him to provide for the publick Safety, continued ſome time at *Rome*, and made all take up Arms, who were able to bear them. He appointed *T. Quinctius* to be their Commander, who had already been three times Conſul, and whoſe Valour and Wiſdom had gained him the good Opinion of the Troops. This great Man commanded the Army in Quality of [8] *Proconſul*. He immediately ſet out from *Rome*, attended

Livy B. 3. *c.* 4.

6 *Livy*, *Caſſiodorus*, and *Dion. Hal.* give *Poſthumius* the Surname of *Albus*, and *Spurius Furius* that of *Fuſus*. The *Faſti Siculi* only call theſe two Conſuls by the Surnames of *Regillanus* and *Fuſus*. *Diodorus* likewiſe places the ſame Conſuls in this Year, with this Difference, that the one bears the Surname of *Regillenſis*, and the other that of *Medullinus*, probably becauſe he was originally of *Medulia*. The *Faſti Capitolini* run thus; *A. Poſthumius A. F. P. N. Albus Regillenſis*.

7 By this Form, *Viderent Conſules ne quid reſpublica detrimenti caperet*, the Senate granted the Conſuls the ſupreme Power. All their Deciſions were then abſolute, and no Appeal to be made from them.

8 The *Proconſul* ſupplied the Place of the *Conſul*, and governed with the ſame Authority, but was confined to that Province, which the Republick committed to his Care. In the preſent Inſtance *Quinctius*'s *Proconſulate* was confined to the Command of the Republick's auxiliary Troops. This Dignity among the *Romans*, had great Privileges annexed to it, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place.

chiefly

chiefly with auxiliary Troops, which had been levied in haſte among the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. But *Poſthumius* deferred his Departure till he had ſeen the reſt of the Citizens, who were fit to ſerve, inliſted. In the mean time, the *Æqui* well knew they were not to expect that *Rome* would abandon the Conſul *Furius* in time of Danger, but that on the contrary ſhe would run to his Aſſiſtance. And they therefore divided their Army into two Bodies, and ſent one of them into the *Roman* Territory to lay it waſte, or even to ſurprize *Rome* itſelf, if it ſhould be unprovided to receive them. With the other Body they beſieged *Furius*'s Camp; and made incredible Efforts in the attack of the *Roman* Entrenchments. Neither Darts, nor Arrows, nor Stones, could frighten them. They had already begun to demoliſh the Fortifications which covered the *Roman* Army, when the Conſul *Furius*, jointly with his Brother, who was his Lieutenant General, made a Sally on both Sides, at two Gates of the Camp, and repulſed the Enemy, who were ready to mount the Ramparts. The Conſul contented himſelf with diſperſing the *Æqui* without purſuing them. But his Brother, hurried on by his Valour, without perceiving the Conſul's Inaction, drove the *Æqui* quite to their Camp. He was attended with only two 9 *Cohorts*, conſiſting of about a thouſand Men: And the Enemy detached from their Camp againſt him, five thouſand freſh Troops, partly Foot, and partly Horſe. The Horſe broke their Way through the two Cohorts, and went to fall upon them in the Rear, whilſt the Foot attacked them in Front. Then *L. Furius*'s Danger made the Conſul his Brother run raſhly to his Defence, with ſcarce any Troops with him: So that he was wounded in the Battel, and not without Difficulty made his Retreat: Whilſt the Lieutenant General did not abandon his Troops, but made Head with them againſt the Multitude of the Enemy. In vain did the *Æqui* invite him to throw down his Arms, and ſurrender at Diſcretion. The brave *Roman* preferred Death to Captivity. So that he and his Men all fell in the Battle, and not one of them eſcaped.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIX.

A. Posthumius and Sp. Furius Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 620.*

Livy B. 3. c. 5.

Dim. Hal. B. 9. p. 621.

The Death of a Lieutenant General, and the Wound of a Conſul raiſed the Courage of the *Æqui*. They inſtantly appeared before the *Roman* Camp, carrying the Heads of *L. Furius*, and the Officers of his Detachment on the Tops of their Lances. This they did to frighten the *Romans*, and oblige them to ſurrender. But the Bravadoes of the Enemy ſerved only to increaſe the Courage of the *Romans*. They reſolved to conquer or die, with the ſame Conſtancy as thoſe brave Men had done, whoſe Heads they beheld. They therefore ſpent the Night in repairing their Entrenchments, and in making Preparations for ſuſtaining the Siege of their Camp. On the Morrow, the *Æqui* came to force it. But they were received with all the Valour of Men determined to die. The *Romans* repulſed them, and in frequent Sallies drove them back quite to their Camp. The whole Day was ſpent in fighting, and they were yet engaged, when the Succours, *Quinctius* brought to the inveſted Conſul, appeared. Upon this the Joy of the *Romans* was equal to the Fright of their Enemies. The *Æqui* inſtantly left the Attack of the *Roman* Entrenchments, and retired in haſte towards their Camp. In their Retreat, they were for ſome time purſued by the conſular Troops; but their Fatigue and Wounds were ſuch, as would not ſuffer them to advance very far after the Enemy.

The Reinforcement that *Sp. Furius* had received from *Rome*, made his Army almoſt equal to the united Armies of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. By this means, the *Romans* obliged their Enemies to keep themſelves within their Camp, without daring to undertake any Thing. Nevertheleſs, they had Recourſe to their own Way of making War: Which was, to ſend Parties into the *Roman* Territory, to pillage it. But the Conſul *Poſthumius*, who was entruſted with the Care of the publick Security, was already upon his March, to ſuccour his Collegue, with the Troops he had raiſed. When therefore the *Æqui* had made their uſual Incurſion, and were loaded with Spoil, *Poſthumius* came inſtantly and fell upon them. Yet ſtill the *Æqui* were not diſconcerted at the ſight of ſo formidable an Enemy. After they had put by the Spoils they were loaded with, and had lodged them in a ſafe Place, under a good Guard, they marched to fight the Conſul. The Action was vigorous on

9 Each *Legion* conſiſted of ten *Cohorts*. The Number of Men in a *Cohort* was greater or leſs, according as the Legions were greater or leſs. In a Legion which had four thouſand Men in it, a *Cohort* had four hundred; and in a Legion of five thouſand, five hundred. A *Cohort* contained three *Manipuli*, the firſt of which conſiſted of thoſe who were called *Principes*, the ſecond of the *Haſtati*, and the third of the *Triarii*.

Year of *ROME* CCLXXXIX. A. Posthumius and Sp. Furius Consuls.

their part, and they had like to have erected many Trophies on *Roman* Lands. At least they left a great Number of the Consul's Soldiers dead upon the Plain. But at length, *Posthumius* by the help of his Cavalry, whom he made advance full Speed against the *Æqui*, put them into Disorder, and their Flight was followed with that of the Soldiers they had left to guard their Spoil. And they lost more Men in their Retreat, than they had done in the Battel. As for *Sp. Furius*, he now, from being invested, became an Aggressor. He undertook to besiege the Camp of the *Æqui*, and to prevent their sending Succours to their Troops, who were wandring over the *Roman* Lands. But the *Æqui* did not wait for the Attack with which they were threatened. They had no sooner heard of the defeat of a part of their Army by *Posthumius*'s Troops, but they decamped, and retired into their own Cities. So that the Victory of the *Æqui* was not so sure as they had hoped, nor that of the *Romans* so compleat, as they had expected. The latter lost in the several Engagements, a Lieutenant General, and a good Number of Soldiers. An antient Historian makes them amount to five thousand and three hundred. To which he adds, that the *Æqui* and *Volsci* together lost six thousand six hundred and thirty. However that was, the Retreat of the *Æqui* was followed with this Advantage at least, that *Rome* was now in Tranquillity again, its Consternation was at an end, and the *Romans* returned to their ordinary Occupations. Thanks were returned to the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, for the Succours they had lent *Rome* in her Necessity. But the *Antiates* had no Honours done them, only the thousand Men were sent back, which they had lent the *Romans*, but which did not arrive till after the Battel had been won. And now Peoples Thoughts were wholly employed about assembling the *Comitia by Centuries*, in the usual Place, i. e. the *Campus Martius*, in order to elect new [10] Consuls.

Valerius Antias apud Livium B. 3. c. 5.

Livy B. 3. c. 5.

Year of *ROME* CCXC. P. Servilius Priscus, and L. Ebutius Elva Consuls. *Livy B. 3. c. 6.*

§. IV. The Majority of Votes fell upon [11] *P. Servilius Priscus*, and *L. Ebutius Elva*. It is not absolutely certain, in what Month of the Year, the Consuls entered upon their Office, from *Brutus* to this Time. But History assures us, that *Servilius* and his Collegue took Possession of the *Consulate*, on the first Day [12] of *August*. Their Year was fatal to them as well as to the rest of the Republick. In the beginning of *September*, the Plague [13] first shewed itself in the Country. Horses, Oxen, Sheep, all died without Distinction; and from the Stalls and Stables, the Contagion spread itself to the Huts, of those, who kept them. Nor was it less fatal in the City. It was imputed to a bad Air, occasioned by the Cattle the Peasants had for Security's sake, brought thither during the Incursion of the *Æqui*. No Age, Sex, or Condition was exempted from the common Contagion. It swept away almost all the Flower of the *Roman* Youth, who were fit to bear Arms, and of whom the invincible Legions consisted. It took off the fourth part of the Senators. In short, the Slaves, hireling Servants, and Artificers who were destroyed by this terrible Scourge were not to be numbered. At first the Dead were carried out in Heaps upon Carts to be buried without the City. But afterwards they became so numerous, that they were thrown into the *Tyber*, without any Burial. The Services which were done the

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 623.

10 *Livy* adds that *Rome* then enjoyed more Tranquillity than usual. Every private Person had leave to apply himself wholly to his own Affairs, and carry on his Processes at Law. In the extreme Danger in which the Republick was, upon the Irruption of the *Æqui* and *Volsci*, the Court of Justice had been shut up. This was usual at *Rome*, when the City was under great Apprehensions. This Cessation or Interruption was called *Justitium*, according to the Etymologists, *a jure sistendo*.

11 *Dion. Hal.* gives *Servilius* the Surname of *Priscus*; *Diodorus* gives *Lucius Ebutius* that of *Elva*, and *Publius Servilius* that of *Structus*. The *Fasti Siculi* mention these two Consuls under the Surnames of *Priscus*, and *Flavus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* run, *P. Servilius. S. P. F. P. N.*

12 Nothing is more uncertain than the beginning of the consular Years. Chronologists have at last acknowledged that their Enquiries on this Head are useless. This Epocha varied according to the Events and Circumstances of the Times. We have fixed the Creation of the first Consuls to the sixth of the Calends of *March*. Afterwards it appears that they entered upon their Office in *October*. At this Time we see the new Consuls were elected in *August*. And it will appear in the Sequel of this History, that down to the 600th Year of *Rome* these Promotions were made at different Times, sometimes in *July*, sometimes in *December*, and sometimes in *March*. Then the consular Years began the first of *January*, and continued to do so as long as the Republick subsisted.

13 If we believe *Livy*, who is credulous even to Superstition, these Diseases were foretold by extraordinary Signs. He expresses himself thus. *Cœlum visum est ardere plurimo igni, portentaque alia observata oculis, aut vanas exterritis ostentavere facies.* In order to appease the Wrath of Heaven, three festival Days were appointed, the Temples opened, and the People flocked to them in Crowds, to implore the Protection of the Gods. These Festivals were called *Imperativæ Feriæ*. They were not held on any fixed Day. They were appointed, as present Circumstances required, or there was Occasion: Sometimes in a time of publick Rejoicing, after a signal Victory, or some happy Event: Sometimes in a Time of publick Calamity.

Year of *ROME* CCXC.

P. Servilius Priscus, and L. Ebutius Elva Conſuls.

Sick, became fatal to thoſe who did them, and Death was the Reward of their Compaſſion. Upon the News therefore of ſo general a Mortality among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, their eternal Enemies, renewed their old Deſign of deſtroying the haughty Republick. They made a League together, and confirmed it by Oaths, to come and beſiege *Rome*; and from that time they haſtened their Preparations for ſo glorious an Expedition. Nevertheleſs, to prevent the *Romans* having any Succours from their Allies, and perhaps for fear of being killed in infected Countries, they did not at firſt enter into the *Roman* Territory: But begun the Campaign with committing Hoſtilities in the Country of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. Upon this, theſe Allies of the Republick, had recourſe, as uſual, to the *Roman* Senate. The Deputies, at their Arrival, found *Ebutius*, one of the Conſuls, breathing his laſt, and *Servilius* his Collegue in ſuch a Condition, as to deſpair of a Cure. But the latter, weak as he was, cauſed himſelf to be carried to the Senate, whither ſome few Senators likewiſe made a Shift to crave, though they looked like Ghoſts, and had Death painted upon their Faces. The Anſwer given to the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, was ſuitable to the Extremity, to which the Republick was reduced. Leave was given them to provide for their own Security themſelves, and Reaſon was given them to hope, that *Rome*, in better Times, would fly to their Aſſiſtance. Hereupon the Conſternation of theſe faithful Allies was inexpreſſible. When joined with the *Romans*, it was as much as they could do, to reſiſt the united *Volſci* and *Æqui*. So that the News they brought from *Rome* was worſe than that which they had carried thither. Certainly, the Republick was never nearer its Ruin than in the preſent Deſolation; nor did ever Providence more ſignally watch over her. All the Defence the *Latins* could make was to ſhut themſelves up in their Cities, and leave their Lands open to the pillage of the Enemy. The *Hernici* defended theirs for ſome time, and fought a Battel, which was not indeed without Loſs on their ſide, but the Enemy loſt more Men in it than they. After all, their Nation was not populous enough, to make any long Reſiſtance to the Multitude which attacked them. They therefore confined themſelves to their Towns, and fortified them. From thence the Enemy paſſed without Oppoſition into the *Roman* Territory, which they found more deſolate by the Sickneſs, than it could have been by their Robberies. After this, they advanced towards *Tuſculum*, did ſome Miſchief in *Sabinia*, and ſuddenly came from thence, and appeared before *Rome*. How great then muſt the Terror of the City have been, at the ſight of a formidable Army! The two Conſuls were dead, the greateſt part of the *Tribunes of the People*, had been carried off by the Plague, and they who were left, were in ſo ill a State of Health, as to be diſabled from aſſiſting the Republick either with their Hands, or Advice. In ſhort, the *Ediles* were the only Magiſtrates, among ſo many, which were in any Condition to aſſiſt the inveſted City. So that *Rome* was now, for the firſt time, governed by inferior Officers, who repreſented the Dignity, and performed the Functions of the Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. *p.* 623.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 6.

But the *Romans* ſeemed not to have loſt any thing of their antient Steadineſs, in the midſt of ſo many [14] Calamities. Though overwhelmed with Misfortunes, they crauled to the Ramparts, and put a good Face upon it. Their City ſeemed then to be impregnable, its Outworks were not inferior to thoſe of *Athens*. Its Walls were built on ſeveral Sides, on the Declivities of the Hills it contained, and conſequently were ſteep, and difficult of acceſs. The *Tyber* covered it on another ſide, and ſerved inſtead of a wide Ditch, which was no where fordable. This River was then only paſſable by a wooden Bridge, which was taken to pieces, to make the City inacceſſible. The only Place Nature had left Defenceleſs was fortified by the Induſtry of Men; which was from the *Collinean* to the *Eſquiline* Gate. There *Tarquin the Proud* [15] had raiſed a Rampart of a great Thickneſs, and a prodi-

Dion. Hal. B. 9. *p.* 624.

14 If we believe *Livy*, the *Romans* neither could, nor had the Courage to aſſiſt their Allies, and put themſelves in a Poſture of Defence. Being reduced to the utmoſt Extremities, ſays this Author, they even abandoned the Care of *Rome* to the Providence of the Gods, who preſerved the City from the Ruin, with which it was threatened, in a miraculous manner. A giddy Fit then ſeized the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*. They rather behaved themſelves like Robbers than Enemies, and this formidable Army, which was ready to fall on a deſolate and defenceleſs City, diſperſed itſelf of its own accord, without undertaking any thing conſiderable. But in order to ſave the Expence of a Miracle, of which *Livy* is always profuſe, the beſt Way is to adhere to the Account we have given in the Body of the Hiſtory, after *Dion. Hal.*

15 *Tarquin* had dug a Ditch of above an hundred Foot wide, and thirty deep. Above the Ditch was raiſed a Wall, which was ſupported on the Inſide, by an high and wide Terraſs.

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gious Height. It was Proof againſt the *Ram*, and defended againſt Sapping. Upon theſe Walls the *Romans*, ſick as they were, appeared ready to defend themſelves. The very Senators did not ſpare themſelves in the common Danger. Such of them, whoſe Age and Health would admit of it, mounted the Guard, and ſtood Centinels. The *Ediles* went the Rounds, and commanded the Militia. And yet it may be ſaid, that *Rome* was only preſerved by that Providence which watched over her. She eſcaped the Danger with which ſhe was ſurrounded, tho' without Governors, and without Forces. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* were more expert at plundering than conquering. They readily laid aſide the Reſolution of beſieging *Rome*, and contented themſelves with looking on its Walls and Houſes, from the Eminence, on which they were poſted. They were ignorant of the Art of making Trenches and moveable Sheds, which were uſed in attacking Cities. Their Soldiers were heard to murmur in their Camp, and ſay one to another; *To what Purpoſe ſhould we loſe our Time in deſert Fields, at the Hazard of being carried off by the Plague, which deſtroys both Man and Beaſt? Why don't we march into the Territory of* Tuſculum, *where we ſhall find both Subſiſtence and Plunder?* The Enemy therefore inſtantly decamped, and carried all the Horrors of the War with them to *Tuſculum*. And in the mean time the Hearts of the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, thoſe faithful Allies to the *Romans*, were moved with Compaſſion towards them. They were aſhamed to ſee *Rome* periſh without Pity and without Aſſiſtance; and haſtened their Troops to the Deliverance of a City, which they thought beſieged. Upon their Arrival, they were ſurprized to ſee the Enemy decamped; and being full of Confidence at it, followed them to the Place of their Retreat, and attacked them in the Valley which leads from *Tuſculum* to *Alba*. But the Succeſs of the Allies of *Rome*, was not equal to their Fidelity. They were beaten and diſperſed, whilſt the Plague continued ſtill to depopulate the City. The two Augurs, *Virginius* and *Valerius* died of it, as well as *Sulpicius* the [16] chief of the *Curiones*, i. e. of the Prieſts of each *Curia*. And it ſwept away a prodigious Number of the common People. So that the Calamity being become exceeding great, the People turned their Thoughts wholly to the Divine Aſſiſtance. All made their Vows upon the Altars, and interceded with Heaven, as well out of private Intereſt, as in Obedience to publick Authority. The Ladies ſwept the Temples with their Hair, and continued proſtrate in the Preſence of the Gods. Till at length a more wholſome Seaſon put an end to the Diſtemper, and *Rome* in a Condition to apply her ſelf to publick Affairs. And now ſeveral *Patricians* had already ſate at the Helm of Government one after another, during the *Interregnum* which had laſted from the Death of the *Conſuls*, when *Valerius Poplicola* aſſembled the People, *by Centuries*, on the third Day of his Adminiſtration.

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

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L. LUCRETI-TRICIPITI-NUS, and T. VETURIUS GEMINUS Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 9. *Dion. Hal. B.* 9. *p.* 629.

§. IV. THE *Comitia* elected [17] *L. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, and *T. Veturius Geminus* for Conſuls, who did not enter upon their Office till the ninth Day of *Auguſt*. Paſt Afflictions had neither corrected the factious Spirit of the *Romans* at Home, nor diminiſhed their Ardour againſt their Enemies Abroad. It is ſurprizing that after ſo many Loſſes, the Republick ſhould ſo ſoon be well enough recovered from them, to carry the War into the Enemy's Country; which they did, tho' the beginnings of the *Conſulate* of *Lucretius* and *Veturius* were not altogether peaceable at Home. *The Tribunes of the People* for this Year were active Men, and thought of nothing but making themſelves famous by ſome new Enterprize, in favour of the common People. One of them [18] therefore did his utmoſt to revive the Conteſts about the Law formerly made concerning the Diſtribution of Lands. But his Zeal was fruitleſs. The People themſelves would not accept of the Service he would have done them, but turned all their Thoughts upon revenging the Inſults *Rome* had received from the *Æqui* and *Volſci* the Year before. So that the Senate and *Curiæ* agreed to command Levies to be raiſed in the City. And the People were never more eager to give in their Names, in order to be entered into the Legions, than now. Even they, whom the Laws exempted from

16 The chief of the *Curiones* bore the Title of *Maximus Curio*. As ſuch he had a right of Preeminence and Inſpection over the other inferior *Curiones*, who were, for that Reaſon, called *Curiones Minores*. The chief *Curio* was uſually elected by the *Curiæ* when aſſembled. He was, to the other *Curiones*, (if we may uſe the Compariſon) what the Arch-prieſts, or Arch-deacons in *France*, are to the Miniſters of Pariſhes.

17 *Diodorus* does not give *Lucius Lucretius* any Surname: But he gives *Titus Veturius* that of *Cicurinus*.

18 *Dion. Hal.* ſays, *Sextus Titus* was the only *Tribune* who undertook to renew the old Quarrel about the Diviſion of the Lands.

going

going to the War, neglected their Privileges, and voluntarily inlisted themselves. So that two consular Armies were formed out of these Levies, without reckoning the Troops which were left to guard the Walls, under the Command of *Q. Fabius*. Then the Consuls drew Lots, what Nation each should engage with; and the *Æqui* fell to *Lucretius*, the *Volsci* to *Veturius*. In the mean while, the two confederate Nations had joined their Forces, and were at that time entered into the Country of the *Hernici*. In order therefore to force them to return Home, the Consuls thought it adviseable to make an Incursion into their Lands, to plunder, and lay them waste, and to besiege their Cities. But the Confederates neither altered their Measures, nor divided from one another. They contented themselves with leaving some few Troops, who had been hastily raised, to guard the Country. In the Territory of the *Æqui* no body appeared to defend their Lands. But those of the *Volsci* on the contrary, who were left in the Country, had the Confidence to offer *Veturius* Battel; his Army appearing to be inferior in Number to theirs, they came within reach of the Consul, and encamped near him. However, this Army, which consisted of *Volsci* tumultuously gathered together, was not comparable to that of the two Nations, which was encamped in the Country of the *Hernici*, with a Resolution to enter the *Roman* Territory, and spread themselves over all the Lands in general, which belonged to the Allies of *Rome*. So that *Veturius* made them an easy Conquest. Peasants, in a manner, without Arms, and without any Experience in War, gave Way upon the first Attack, without fighting. Being put into Disorder they fled for Refuge to the next City, and being pursued by the *Roman* Cavalry, a great Number of them were cut off in the Road, and at the Gate, as they were crowding through it. On the other side, the chief Army of the Confederates consisting of both *Æqui* and *Volsci*, no sooner heard of the Check their Party had just received, but they advanced towards *Rome* to revenge it. The two Generals of the Confederates promised themselves, that they should either surprize the City, which they thought defenceless, or by their March draw the consular Armies from the Countries they were ravaging. But their Design did not succeed to their Advantage. Upon their Arrival at *Tusculum*, they were informed that *Rome* was provided both with Troops and Provisions: And this News made them alter their Design. They employed themselves wholly in plundering the Territories of *Prænestе* and *Gabii*, which had not been ravaged the Year before. They left them with Reluctance, when the Consul *Lucretius*, who left the Country of the *Æqui* to watch the Steps of the Enemy, came and fell upon them all on a sudden. And the farther the Confederates removed from *Rome*, the less Order and Discipline they observed in their Marches. The sudden Appearance of the Consul therefore, put them into a Consternation. The *Romans* were not indeed equal to their Enemies in Number: But their Valour made them formidable. However, the Army of the *Æqui* and *Volsci* delayed not to give Battel, before the two Consuls had joined their Forces. But this Precaution served only to give *Lucretius* the whole Glory of their Defeat. They marched against him in a vast Plain, and began the Attack with Ardour. Their first Fury was not easily sustained. But then, at the sight of some Troops which came down from an Hill, they thought *Veturius* was come to the Assistance of his Collegue; and there needed nothing else to put them into Disorder. They were put to flight, and left the two Generals of their Army dead on the Field of Battel. The rest dispersed themselves, and returned every one into his own Country. It may be said, the *Volsci* never received a more cruel Overthrow. If we believe some Historians, they and the *Æqui* lost 13460 Men in the Battel and the Flight; seven and twenty Standards were taken from them, and 1250 of their Men made Prisoners. So memorable an Action regained *Rome* her antient Splendor, and made her forget the Desolation of the last Year.

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L. Lucretius Tricipitinus and T. Veturius Geminus Consuls.

Livy B. 3. c. 8.

Dion. Hal. B. 9. p. 625.

Livy B. 3. Ibid.

The Consuls, who were both victorious, tho' not with equal Glory, joined their Armies again, and still carried on the Campaign. The *Æqui* and *Volsci* were rallied again after their Defeat. The two Consuls therefore attacked them together, defeated them, and took Possession of their Camp. So that the Campaign, which followed the most unfortunate Year of *Rome*, made her more flourishing than ever: And the Desire of pursuing so great Advantages seemed to be a just Excuse for the Consuls Absence from *Rome*. But it nevertheless became fatal to the Republick, by the Dissentions it raised in it.

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L. Lucretius Tricipitinus, and T. Veturius Geminus Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 627. and *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 9.

TERENTIUS [19], or as others, *Terentillus the Tribune*, made an ill Uſe of the Diſtance of theſe chief Magiſtrates in order to his laying the Foundations of a Law [20], which he ſaid, he had projected for the publick Good. But alas! What Misfortunes did it afterwards bring upon the *Romans*, under this Pretence of doing them good! *Terentius* then found Fault with the civil Laws of *Rome*, and the arbitrary manner in which the Kings formerly, and after them the Conſuls, had adminiſtred Juſtice. They had no Rules to judge by, but the natural Equity of the one, or the Caprice of the other. No Uniformity in their Deciſions of civil or criminal Cauſes. Nevertheleſs Conteſts about Eſtates, Honour, Contracts, Wills, and all ſorts of Incroachments upon the good Order of Society, multiplied in proportion as the Number of the Citizens increaſed. The *Papyrian* Code [21], which was only a Collection of ſome Laws made by the Kings of *Rome*, was therefore not thought a ſufficient Direction for the *Conſuls*, in all the different Cauſes which came before them. They all rather followed their own private Views, than any ſettled Rules, in their Deciſions. But the *Tribune Terentius* ſeems to have magnified this Defect, more out of hatred to the *Conſuls*, than any love of Equity and Impartiality in judicial Decrees.

In order to make his Complaints ſucceed, he pitch'd on the time, when *Lucretius* and *Veturius* were purſuing their Victories. He then repreſented to the People the Iniquities which were committed in the Courts of Juſtice. He accuſed the *Conſuls* of exerciſing Oppreſſion and Tyranny there. *Did* Rome *then*, ſaid he, *ſhake off the Yoke of one Maſter, only to make her ſelf two? The Authority of the* Conſuls *will ever be inſupportable, till it is reſtrained. Eſtabliſh Rules therefore*, Romans, *which may confine it within due Limits! Chooſe ye out five Men of known Integrity, who may give Law to our capricious Law-givers. Let them not be any longer abſolutely without any Reſtraint, in paſſing Judgment; and let not our Eſtates be entirely at the Mercy of their Humours and Paſſions!* This reforming Scheme was very diſagreeable to the *Patricians*; this would be tying up their Hands when they ſhould be in Office. In the Abſence therefore of the *Conſuls*, they had Recourſe to *Quintus Fabius*, who then officiated as Governor of *Rome*; and his Preſence and Diſcourſes ſtruck the *Tribune* with as much Terror, as if the *Conſuls* had been preſent. *Thus to take Advantage*, ſays he, *of the Abſence of the* Conſuls, *to ſtrike at their Reputation and Authority, is laying Snares for deſtroying the conſular Dignity. If a* Tribune *of* Terentius's *Character, had made the ſame Attempt laſt Year, when the Plague had carried off our chief Magiſtrates, and the War oppreſſed us, what would have become of* Rome! *After the Death of our* Conſuls, *the* Æqui *themſelves did not puſh on their Advantages to the utmoſt. Let the College of* Tribunes *then put a Stop to the raſh Deſigns of* Terentius! *Let them oblige him to defer his attacking the* Conſuls, *till they are returned to the City!* Upon this *Fabius* eaſily obtained his Requeſt; and *Terentius* was obliged not to be too haſty in preſſing the Acceptance of his Law. At length the *Conſuls* returned to *Rome*; and made it their firſt Buſineſs, to reſtore the People all the Spoil the Enemy had taken from them in their Incurſions. Every one knew his own Goods, and was put in Poſſeſſion of them again. But thoſe which had no Owner were ſold for the Benefit of the Army. By this equitable Conduct, the *Conſuls* gained the Affections of the People; and certainly a Triumph was due to them, eſpecially to

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

19 *Livy* calls this *Tribune of the People*, *Terentillus*, and gives him the Surname of *Arſa*.

20 In the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the Kings themſelves adminiſtred Juſtice, and their Determinations had the Force of a Law. Under the conſular Government the *Conſuls* were at firſt the natural Judges of the Differences which aroſe among the Citizens. The chief Magiſtrates and their Vicegerents, who were choſen out of the moſt conſiderable Men in *Rome*, were the ſole Depoſitaries of the antient Laws, which then made up the Body of the *Roman* Law. Theſe Laws were written in the Books of the *Pontifices*, which were kept from the Knowledge of the Vulgar. The People, being wholly taken up with their own private Affairs, and the Cultivation of their Lands, were Strangers to the Myſteries of the Bar. *Caius Terentius* was the firſt who attempted to aboliſh the old *Civil* Law, in order to introduce a new one. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10.

21 By the *Papyrian* Code is meant that Collection of Laws which *Sextus Papyrius* digeſted into a Body, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Proud*. *Baudouin* the Civilian reckons up eighteen Laws, which he ſays, he had collected from a very antient Table. *Paulus Manucius* mentions part of them. And *Cujas* is of Opinion, that theſe ſame Laws, as reported by *Baudouin*, are of a later Date than the *Roman* Monarchy, becauſe they have none of the old *Latin* in them, which is obſerved to be in the greateſt part of thoſe which are aſcribed to *Romulus*, *Numa*, and *Servius Tullius*. Not but that the greateſt part of theſe Laws were early enacted, in Subſtance at leaſt, eſpecially in the Reign of *Numa*. But the manner in which they are expreſſed, carries an Air of Novelty with it, which has made ſome believe, that they were made later than thoſe which we find ſcattered abroad in the Works of *Tully*, *Dion. Hal.* and *Plutarch*. *Pandulphus Prataeus* in his Collection of the old civil Law, adds ſix other Laws to the eight firſt.

Lucretius, who had gained a Victory of more Importance to the State, than any yet had been. Nevertheleſs this great Man refuſed to accept of a Triumph till *Terentius* deſiſted from the Steps he had taken, to make his Law paſs. Accordingly the *Tribune* granted, in Appearance at leaſt, the *Conſul*'s Demands. All was calm, and *Lucretius* [22] entered *Rome* in Triumph. As for his Collegue *Veturius*, he was forced to content himſelf with an *Ovation:* Which was a ſort of Triumph, a little different from the other.

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§. V. HOWEVER, the change of *Conſuls* revived the *Terentian* Law, which had only ſlept. As ſoon as *P. Volumnius Amintinus* [23], and *Servius Sulpitius Camerinus* were entered upon their Office, the whole College of the *Tribunes*, who were then five in Number, renewed their Efforts, to get the Law enacted which *Terentius* had drawn up. It certainly appeared to be highly reaſonable, and ſeemed in ſome Meaſure neceſſary. *Virginius* one of the *Tribunes*, (for *Terentius* was out of his Office,) was the great Promoter of it. The *Tribunes* laboured with great Zeal to make it paſs, and the *Patricians* with as much to prevent it. The People were often aſſembled, to hear the Harangues of the *Tribunes* on this Subject; and the Senate as often to concert proper Meaſures to oppoſe their Pretenſions. There was no Abatement of their Zeal on either ſide. The Factions increaſed to ſo great a Height, that it was eaſy to foreſee the Diſeaſe would ſoon become incurable. And the Alarms which theſe Diſſentions gave, were increaſed by the Dread, with which ſome pretended [24] Prodigies ſtruck the City. Not to mention the Fires which were ſeen blazing in the Skies, the Earthquakes which ſhook the City, and the Spectres which the People fancied they ſaw in the Air, there appeared a new Phænomenon [25], which the Hiſtorians, who were leaſt ſuperſtitious, have made no Scruple to relate. There was a ſort of Snow fell, which was

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P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS, and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 627.

22 *Livy* contends, that one of the *Conſuls* received the Honour of a Triumph, and the other that of an *Ovation*, for having jointly defeated the *Æqui* and *Volſci* in the ſame Action. Whereas *Dion. Hal.* ſuppoſes that theſe two Nations were overcome ſeparately, *viz.* the *Æqui* by *Lucretius*, and the *Volſci* by *Veturius*. The latter had only an *Ovation* decreed him, becauſe the Victory he gained had not coſt him ſo dear, as his Collegue's had done him.

23 *Dion. Hal.* gives *Servius Sulpicius* the Surname of *Camerinus:* And *Diodorus Siculus* gives *Publius Volumnius* that of *Amintinus*. The *Faſti Capitolini* add likewiſe the Surname of *Gallus* to that of *Amintinus*. The *Faſti Siculi* only mention theſe *Conſuls* by their Surnames *Gallus* and *Camerinus*. This *Servius Sulpicius* is thought to have been the Son of a Man of the ſame Name, who was *Conſul* in the 254th Year of *Rome*.

24 When once Superſtition gets Poſſeſſion of Mens Minds, every thing then becomes a Prognoſtick, and is either fatal or auſpicious. The Vulgar being ignorant, and conſequently the more credulous, at the ſight of any natural Event, the Cauſes of which they knew not, immediately imagined that the Gods interpoſed, and that future Things were always foretold by Prodigies. If Stones fell down from the Hills, ſome Shepherd or Husbandman was ſurprized at it, and fancied that they fell down from Heaven. If an Ox lowed louder than ordinary, he was ſaid to ſpeak. And by the Story's paſſing from one to another, the Fact became changed, and was turned into a Miracle. The *Pagan* Hiſtorians knew the Inclinations of the People, who love to cheat themſelves in what flatters their ſuperſtitious Credulity, as *Livy* has judiciouſly obſerved. *Multa, eâ hyeme, prodigia facta, aut nova evenire ſolet, motis ſemel in religionem animis, multa nunciata & temere credita ſunt. Decad* 3. *l.* 2. So that moſt antient Authors have varied their Accounts of ſurprizing Accidents, according to their own Intereſts, or that of their Readers. All goes down for the ſake of one miraculous Circumſtance. But not to diſpute thoſe Facts with theſe Writers, which they relate as ſo many Prodigies: What occaſion is there for having recourſe to Miracles? The greateſt part of theſe Events, when thoroughly conſidered, were only natural Effects, which have ceaſed to ſurprize, ſince natural Philoſophy has unriddled the Myſteries of them. Of this kind, are the raining Stones formed in *Volcanoes*, and Earthquakes cauſed by the Fermentation of the ſulphureous and metallick Bodies. As to the Rain of Fleſh, which *Livy* mentions as at this Time, his Account is ſo little circumſtantiated, that it is difficult to form a juſt Idea of the Body which was taken for Fleſh. As for the Rains of Blood, which *Pliny* and ſome other Writers would paſs off for Prodigies, ſeveral Philoſophers have attempted to account for them. *Monſieur Peiresk* thinks thoſe little red Spots, were looked upon as Marks of its having rain'd Blood, which are left in an infinite Number of Places in the Country by the Butterflies, which come out of the Beans, in which the Caterpillers incloſe themſelves about the Month of *June*. And modern Naturaliſts agree with *M. Peiresk* in this Opinion. With the help of natural Philoſophy, it is eaſy to account for that ſort of Rain of which *Dio* ſpeaks *in Severo*, and which falling upon ſome Pieces of Copper Money, changed them, for ſome Days, into Silver. It is evident this was occaſioned by ſome Particles of Quickſilver which were exhaled by the Sun with other Vapours, and fell down again with them. This is a very common Experiment in Chymiſtry. Thoſe luminous Bodies and ſhining Fires, which formerly cauſed Terror and Admiration, have frequently appeared ſince, and are now become the Entertainment of natural Philoſophers. And it is the ſame thing as to monſtrous Births of Men or Beaſts, which the Antients looked on, as certain Signs of the Anger of the Gods.

25 *Livy* even improves upon theſe Prodigies. He ſays, it was reported in *Rome* that a Cow had ſpoken. The ſame Prodigy, adds he, happened the Year before: But they who had a Mind to report it, did not find the People inclined to believe them upon their bare Word. But the ſecond time they ſucceeded better. They then found ſome People credulous and ſuperſtitious enough to hearken to ſo childiſh a Fable.

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P. Volumnius Amintinus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 628. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 10.

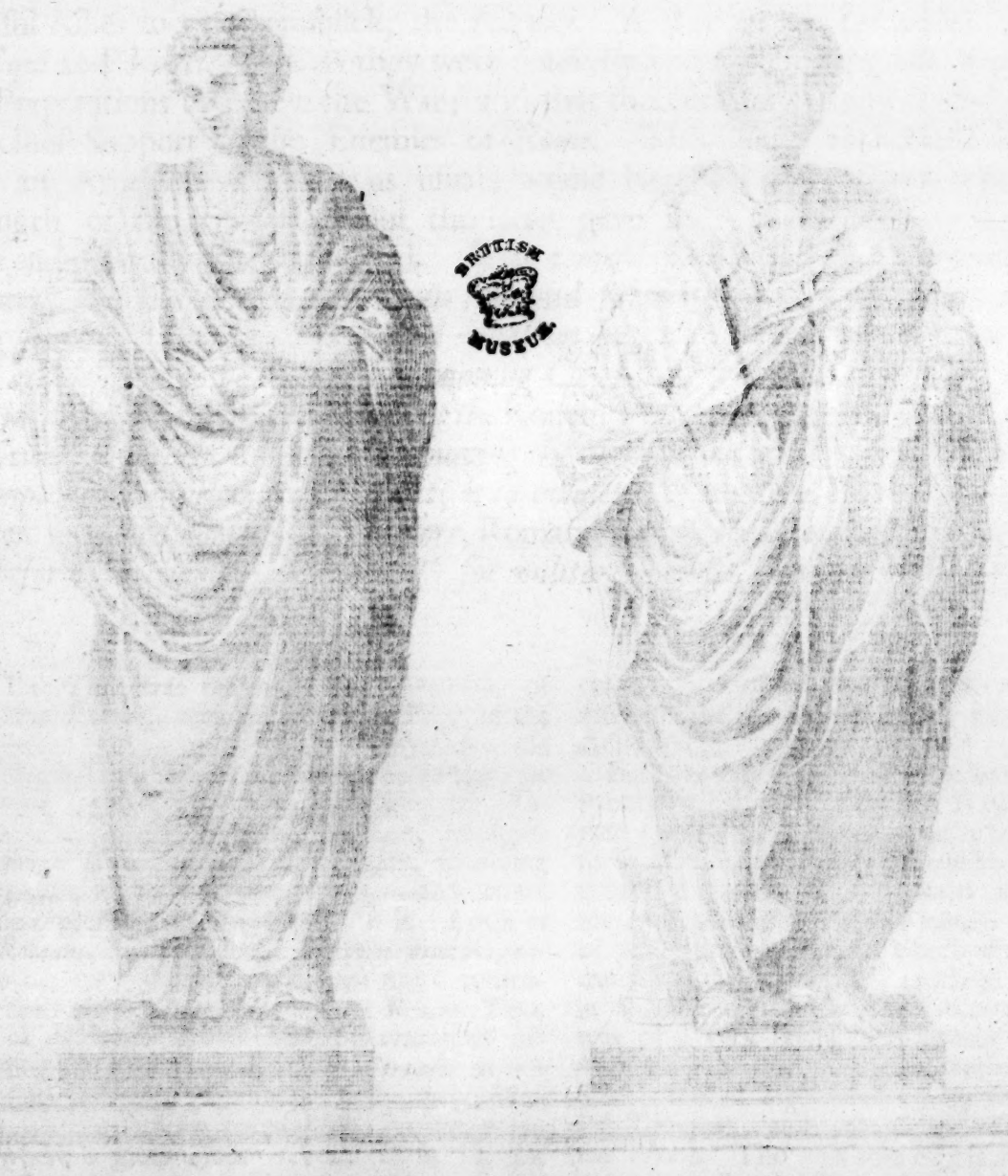
like little pieces of chopped Fleſh. The Birds eat plentifully of it; and tho' it lay a great while upon the Ground, both in City and Country, it neither changed Colour, nor corrupted. In order to explain theſe Preſages, recourſe was firſt had to the *Augurs*, and then to the Books of the *Sybils*. It is credible, the *Patricians* turned them to their own Purpoſes, in order to divert the carrying on of the *Terentian* Law. Theſe Oracles were made to ſay, that *Rome* was threatened with an Incurſion of Foreigners, who would almoſt reduce her to Slavery; that the foreign War would be preceded by inteſtine Seditions; that in order to avoid both theſe Scourges, it was neceſſary to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods, with Sacrifices; and that by this means *Rome* might become ſuperior to her Enemies. Then the *Pontifices* interpoſed, to heal up the riſing Diviſions between the Nobility and People. But what Turn were they to take in this Reconciliation? The *Conſuls* accuſed the *Tribunes* of endeavouring to innovate, and the *Tribunes* charged the *Conſuls* with having an arbitrary Power, whereby the Fortunes of the People was at the Diſpoſal of their capricious Humours. They deſired that the Judges might be made ſubject to Rules, which ſhould be made for them by ten Men of ſound Judgment, and an unblemiſhed Reputation. But as neither ſide would give Way, the *Conſuls* made uſe of an Expedient, which was often put in practice in the publick Diſſentions. This was to raiſe an Army, and thereby to take away that part of the People, from the *Tribunes*, which ſeemed moſt inclined to favour their Demands. The Pretence for arming was naturally enough brought to *Rome* by thoſe faithful Allies to the Republick, the *Hernici*. A Report was ſpread by them, that the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, weak as they were made by their Loſſes the laſt Year, were making Preparations to renew the War; and that the faithleſs Colony of the *Antiates*, were the chief Support of the Enemies of *Rome*. This News authorized the *Conſuls* to raiſe an Army of Citizens, as uſual; whoſe Removal from *Rome* would leſſen the Strength of the *Tribunes*. But the latter gave no Credit to theſe Reports, which were induſtriouſly ſpread Abroad. *It is a mere Fable*, ſaid they, *invented by the* Patricians; *and the* Hernici *have been ſuborned to publiſh it. How could the* Volſci *recover the Blow they received? And what an horrid Calumny is this upon the* Antiates *who are deſigned to be oppreſſed by cunning Contrivances and an unworthy piece of Policy? Tho' in reality the Stroke is aimed at the* Roman *People thro' them. The Deſign is to deprive the* Tribunes *of their Support, by removing the Citizens out of the Way, and confining them to a Camp. The main Point laboured at, is to evade the* Terentian *Law, by theſe unſeaſonable Levies. Guard your ſelves therefore*, Romans, *againſt the Snares which are laid for you; and before you change your Robes* [26] *for military Habits, ſecure the* Terentian *Law, and your*

Livy B. 3. *c.* 10.

26 The *Toga* was the moſt common Habit of the antient *Romans*, eſpecially in the Times of the Republick. Under the Empire of *Auguſtus*, the poor People often wore nothing but *a Tunick*, or a ſort of Caſſock. *Tunicatus hic populus*, ſays *Tacitus de Orat. tranſeuntes nomine vocat, & digito demonſtrat.* This Emperor, being angry, according to *Suetonius*, to ſee the People ſo cloathed, could not help expreſſing his Reſentment at it. Look at theſe *Romans*, ſays he, *Romanos rerum dominos gentemque togatam!* Nothing has been more controverted than the Form of the antient *Roman Toga*. Some, as *Rubenius*, are perſuaded it was open before, from Top to Bottom. *Le Ferrari*, in his Book, *de re veſtiaria*, thinks, with more Probability, that it had no opening but in the upper part, where a great Hole was cut in it, for the Head to go through, and to give the more play to the Arms, becauſe this Robe had no Sleeves. It was pretty much like a Mantle, which reaches down to the Heels in great Folds, only with this Difference, that the *Toga* was not open before. We may judge of it by the Medals, and the Figures we here give of it from the antient Monuments. In theſe we ſee the *Toga* ſo repreſented, as to make it credible it was not open before; and our Eyes ſeem ſufficient to determine the Queſtion in *Ferrari*'s Favour. We may obſerve in theſe Figures, that the Hole in the upper part of the *Toga*, gave the right Arm free play. But not the left, which was employed in holding up the bottom of the Robe, the other Lappet of which was thrown from the right ſide over the left Shoulder, for the Convenience of Action.

But was this Garment ſquare or round? Or was it only an half Round? This is again another Dispute among the Moderns, and is both very difficult to be determined, and more trifling. The *Toga* was generally white. Before Luxury prevailed, its Value conſiſted only in the Fineneſs of the Wool of which it was made. Thoſe who ſtood Candidates for the Magiſtracy appeared in the *Comitia* in a Robe dreſſed by the Fuller on Purpoſe. It was of a very bright and ſhining *white* Colour, from whence they had the Name of *Candidati*. The common *Toga* worn by the *Romans*, was called *Toga pura*, and was of the natural Colour of the Wool. Tho' this ſort of Habit was pretty inconvenient for Soldiers, yet it was uſed by the *Roman* Soldiers in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, till for the Convenience of the Soldiery, Habits were given them, of another Form. After this, the *Toga* was worn only by ſuch as did not belong to the Army, and became the Symbol of Peace, *Cedant arma Togæ*. Some have thought, the *Romans* tied up the Folds of the *Toga* with a Girdle: And quote a Paſſage in *Macrobius* in Proof of it. He, ſpeaking of *Cæſar*, *Saturnal. B.* 2. expreſſes himſelf thus. *toga præcingebatur, ut trahendo laciniam, velut ſi gladiis inſurgeret, ut Sylla tanquam providus dixerit Pompeio, cave tibi illum puerum male præcinctum.* But beſides that a Girdle would have tied down the

Romans *in the* Toga.



Year of *ROME* CCXCII.

P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Conſuls.

your own Liberty. If you have Courage to ſecure this Point firſt, you will then have Succours enough. Our Enemies Abroad are already ſubdued, the Volſci *remain quiet, and the Gods put us in a Condition laſt Year, to defend our Liberties againſt all Attempts at Home. O* Rome! *Unhappy* Rome! *Courage and Force are no longer the Inſtruments made uſe of to oppreſs thee, but Artifice and Deceit!* Thus ſpake the *Tribunes.*

In the mean time the *Conſuls* had the Boldneſs to have their *Curule Chairs* brought into the *Roman Forum*, and placed over againſt *the Tribune*, from whence the *Tribunes* were ſtill haranguing the People. And being ſeated on their Tribunal, the *Conſuls* commanded Troops to be raiſed. Upon this the *Tribunes* inſtantly ran thither and brought with them the Auditory which ſurrounded them. The *Conſuls* only cauſed ſome few Citizens to be named, in order to their being enrolled, that they might try whether the People were diſpoſed to comply with them. But this was enough to bring them immediately to a Revolt, and to acts of Violence. As ſoon as the *Lictors* ſeized a Citizen to make him write his Name in the Roll, the *Tribunes* openly oppoſed it. And then the People would not hearken either to Law or Reaſon; Force alone took place of all Submiſſion and Obedience. Whilſt the *Patricians* in their Turn, took the ſame Steps to prevent the proclaiming of the *Terentian* Law, which the *Tribunes* had done to hinder the Enrollments. The *Patrician* Youth intermixed themſelves in the Aſſemblies of the People, on all thoſe Days [27] when the *Comitia* were to be held according to *Numa*'s Appointment; for the old *Senators* and *Conſuls* came ſeldom there for fear of being affronted. Theſe young *Patricians* therefore made Diſturbances in theſe Aſſemblies with their Clamours, and created Confuſion by their Violence; till at length they

left Arm, which could not have been uſed but by putting it under one of the Lappets of the Robe; it is evident, the *Romans* wrapped the *Toga* round their Bodies in ſuch a manner, that a Girdle would have been both inconvenient and uſeleſs. The *Toga* itſelf made a Girdle: *Macrobius* therefore only means, that *Cæſar* wrapped the Lappets of his Robe croſs him, in ſuch an affected manner, as made him to be thought effeminate. The Soldiers, when they alſo wore the *Toga* in the Army, uſed to faſten it up, and bringing up the Lappets under the Stomach, tie them in a Knot, after the manner of the *Gabini*. This they did that they might be the more nimble. And from hence come the *Latin* Expreſſions *Cinctus Gabinus*, and *in procinctu*, which was originally ſaid of a Man ready to fight. The *Romans*, who uſually went bare-headed, uſed to cover their Heads with the upper part of their Robe, which was like a Cowl, to defend them from the Sun, Rain, and Cold. Only they took care, as we learn from *Plutarch*, to uncover their Heads, whenever they met any Perſon, to whom they would pay any Reſpect. *Varro* aſſures us, that in the firſt Ages of *Rome*, the *Toga* was a Garment uſed both by Men and Women. But afterwards the *Roman* Ladies wore a particular Habit, of which we ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter. After this the *Toga* was uſed by none but looſe Women. They were obliged by the Laws to appear in it, as a Mark of their Infamy.

27 *Numa*, after having reformed *Romulus*'s Calendar, reduced the Days of the Year into three different Claſſes, under the Names of *Dies Feſti*, *Profeſti*, and *Interciſi*. The Feſtival Days or *Dies Feſti*, were dedicated to the Worſhip of the Gods. The Days called *Profeſti* were appointed for publick and private Buſineſs; and one part of the *Interciſi* were ſet apart for Religion, the other for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice. Among the *Feſti*, *Macrobius* reckoned the Days appointed for Sacrifices, for Feaſts, for publick Sports, and for the *Feriæ* or Holy-days, which were celebrated in honour of the Gods. Theſe latter were diſtinctly appointed, and were either publick or private. The Publick were divided into four ſorts. The firſt were thoſe which had a fixed Day in the Calendar; and they were therefore called *Stativæ*. Another ſort called *Conceptivæ* were appointed by the Magiſtrates. A third ſort called *Imperativæ Feriæ*, or the *decreed Feriæ*, had no fixed Day. It belonged to the *Prætors* or *Conſuls*, to determine the Time of the Celebration of them, as they thought proper. And laſtly, the Market-Days which were held at *Rome* every nine Days, and were called by the *Romans*, *Nundinæ*, are reckoned among the *Feriæ* by *Feſtus* and *Macrobius*. On theſe Days, the Country People came to *Rome*, to ſell their Proviſions, take care of their Affairs, and ſupply their Families with Neceſſaries. On theſe Market-days, neither Senate nor *Comitia* were aſſembled. As to the private *Feriæ*, each Family had its own. Of this kind, were certain Days of Expiations, Rejoicings, and funeral Solemnities, which were regularly celebrated, and annually renewed, among thoſe of the ſame Family. The publick *Feriæ* were proclaimed by the *King of the Sacrifices*, and the *Prætor*. They both joined in this Ceremony, to give the People notice, that they ought to ſtop their Proceedings at Law, that they might come to the Sacrifices, with the more Freedom and Recollection of Mind. *Tull. de Leg. B.* 2. and *Rævard B.* 5. *Variorum*, have given a particular Account, of the Duties annexed to the *Roman Feriæ.*

Under the general Name of *Profeſti*, were comprehended thoſe Days to which antient Authors give the Names of *Faſti Dies*, *Dies Nefaſti*, *Comitiales Dies*, *Comperendini*, *Stati*, and *Præliares*. On the *permitted* Days, which were therefore called *Dies Faſti*, the *Prætor* ſate upon the Bench, and adminiſtered Juſtice. On the Days *not permitted*, Law-proceedings were ſtopped, and theſe Days were therefore called *Nefaſti*. On the Days called *Comperendini*, an Action might be brought againſt an Adverſary, and a Summons ſerved upon him to bring him *before* the *Prætor*. The *Comitia* were obliged to be held on certain Days, which were called *Dies Comitiales*. On thoſe Days the Senate was never aſſembled, that the *Senators* might be at Liberty to go to the *Comitia*, and give their Suffrages in them. There were alſo certain Days fixed for the hearing the Cauſes, which Foreigners brought

Year of ROME CCXCII.

P. Volumnius Amintinus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 629.

they diſperſed the People, and hindered the reading of the Law. It was drawn up in theſe Words. *Let the People, in lawful Comitia, elect ten* [28] *Men, of a mature Age, conſummate Wiſdom, and unſpotted Reputation, to draw up a Body of Laws, as well for the Adminiſtration of the Publick, as the Determination of private Affairs. Let theſe Laws be fixed up in the publick* Forum; *and let the annual Magiſtrates as well as other Judges, be obliged to conform themſelves to them, in their Deciſions of the Controverſies which may ariſe in* Rome. But at length the *Tribunes* gained their Point of propoſing this Law to the People, and ſubmitting it to the Deliberations of the Publick. Then new Intrigues were carried on to prevent its being approved. The Report that was to be made of it to the People, after it ſhould be examined, was fixed to three Market-days, that is twenty ſeven Days, from that time. Then both old and young Senators laboured with ſtudied Harangues to diſſuade the People from accepting this Law. The Number of the *Patricians* who ſpoke to it was ſo great, that the Aſſemblies continued ſeveral Days. Till at laſt the *Tribunes* were tired with theſe Delays, which were deſignedly thrown in the Way to prevent the Concluſion of an Affair which they had at Heart. They therefore fixed the Day, when the People aſſembled *by Tribes*, were to end the Diſputes about the *Terentian* Law by their Suffrages. In the mean time, the *Conſuls*, who paid the *Tribunes* a Viſit, broke out into Invectives againſt them. *We will never ſuffer*, ſaid they, *your Innovations to be introduced into* Rome, *but by the Conſent of the Senate. Properly ſpeaking, Laws are Compacts between all the Members of a Nation, who accept them for the common Good. Does it then belong to the vileſt part of the State to propoſe them? With us, it is the People only who indulge your Paſſions, and ſubject us to your Decrees. Who gave you a Power to draw up Laws, and bring them to the Tribunal of the People? From whom have you this Authority? Was it not the Senate that eſtabliſhed the* Tribunes? *Did thoſe who inſtituted you, give you a right to become Legiſlators? You were permitted indeed to become the Defenders of private Perſons among the People, whenever they were injured. This is the proper Buſineſs of your Office, and even this you could not obtain but by Violence. If it were true, that you formerly had a cuſtomary right of propoſing Laws to the People, yet have you not now loſt that right, ſince your Elections have been no longer made by the* Curiæ, *but by the* Tribes? *Sacrifices* [29] *and Ceremonies of Religion are likewiſe neceſſary to give a Sanction to the legiſlative Authority. Whereas you hold yours only from a ſort of* Comitia *out of which Religion is excluded.*

Thus the *Conſuls* expreſſed themſelves, and filled *Rome* with their Complaints. They went ſo far as even to ſolicite the moſt conſiderable Citizens not to vote for the new Law: And the moſt turbulent they terrified with Threatnings. The young *Patricians* would not ſuffer the meaneſt of the Populace to be preſent at the Harangues of the *Tribunes*. They treated them like Slaves, and beat them out of the *Forum*. On the Day appointed for the People's going into the Voting-place, and giving their Suffrages, they dared not oppoſe the Violences of the young Nobility, and the *Comitia* were deſerted. But it may be ſaid, that no Body diſtinguiſhed themſelves more in this turbulent Affair, than young [30] *Cæſo Quinctius*. His Name ſufficiently ſhews his Nobility; but that was the leaſt of his Qualifications. He was a tall Man, well made, and in point of Strength, had no equal. His Eloquence was not inferior to his Stature, and no *Patrician* was better heard in publick than he. He ſpoke with all the Dignity both of a *Conſul* and *Dictator* at the ſame time. As to Valour, no Of-

brought to be heard at the publick Tribunal of Juſtice, and theſe were called *Dies Stati*. The *Dies Præliares* were ſo called, becauſe the *Romans* thought that Acts of Hoſtility could be lawfully committed, only on thoſe Days. We ſhall not here ſpeak of thoſe ſorts of Days, which the antient *Roman* Calendar diſtinguiſhes by calling them, *Faſti primo*, *Nefaſti primo*, &c. nor of thoſe unfortunate or unlucky Days, called *Atri Dies*, which renewed the Remembrance of ſome Event, which had been fatal to the Republick: We ſhall ſpeak of them, and make our Obſervations on them, in their proper Place, as we proceed in this Hiſtory.

28 According to *Livy*, *Caius Terentillus Arſa* had propoſed the Year before, that only five Perſons ſhould be made Commiſſioners, with a full Power to eſtabliſh new Laws, in order to confine the Power of the *Conſuls* within due Bounds. Here the Number is increaſed to ten.

29 The Aſſemblies held *by Curiæ*, and *by Centuries*, were always preceded by ſome Act of Religion. The *Augurs*, in Conjunction with the Magiſtrates, inquired after the Will of the Gods, in the common Auguries, in relation to thoſe two ſorts of *Comitia*, and without this Precaution they were thought unlawful. But it was not ſo as to the aſſembling of the People *by Tribes*; none of theſe Formalities of Religion were neceſſary in order to their being held.

30 The *Prænomen* of *Cæſo* was appropriated to the *Quinctian* and *Fabian* Families. This was the Name uſually given by the *Romans* to thoſe Children which could no otherwiſe be brought into the World than by cutting open their Mothers.

ficer in the *Roman* Army had given more ſignal Proofs of it, than he had done in ſeveral Battels. So that he was always attended by the fineſt and moſt ſhining part of the Nobility. Againſt *Cæſo* therefore the *Tribunes* levelled their greateſt Strength. He had juſt been making Harangues againſt them, with the Vivacity of a Man of his Age, and the Freedom which Merit and high Birth inſpire. *Quinctius Cincinnatus* his Father was a *Roman* Hero of rigid Virtue. He never ſollicited Honours but always deſpiſed them, being content with deſerving them. We ſhall hereafter ſee him acting the greateſt Parts in the Republick. The Fury of the *Tribunes* was now pointed at thoſe young *Patricians*, whoſe riſing Merit gave the Senate great Hopes, and ſtruck the *Plebeian* Faction with moſt Terror. The *Tribunes* therefore reſolved to deſtroy *Cæſo*. They hoped, that when they ſhould have diſpatched this formidable Enemy of the *Terentian* Law, it would paſs without Reſiſtance; and that the Puniſhment of *Quinctius* only would diſarm the young Nobility. Nevertheleſs *Virginius* was the only one among all the *Tribunes*, who dared undertake to carry on the Proceſs, they were going to begin againſt young *Quinctius*. He declared himſelf his Accuſer, and cauſed him to be ſummoned to appear before the People, to anſwer to his Accuſation, which was of a capital Nature. This was indeed an Affair that required Seriouſneſs and Attention; but *Cæſo*'s Pride made him deſpiſe it. He did not at all leſſen his violent Proceedings. His Fury againſt the *Tribunes*, and the *Terentian* Law, was increaſed by the Affront that had juſt been offered him, by the oppoſite Party. He ſpoke, he inveighed againſt, he reviled the *Plebeians*, and made open War with the *Tribunes*. *Virginius* therefore let the raſh *Cæſo* go on with his Violence, and hurry himſelf, of his own accord, to his Deſtruction. The young *Patrician* furniſhed his Accuſer with freſh Matter of Complaint againſt him. In the mean while, *Virginius* ſtill went on propoſing the Law, not ſo much out of any Hopes that it would meet with a ready Acceptance, as purely to raiſe the Paſſions and increaſe the Fury of *Cæſo Quinctius*. In the Diſcourſe the *Tribune* made to the People, he often put them in mind of the furious Conduct, and factious Spirit of *Cæſo*. *Don't you ſee*, ſaid he, *that the Law will never be accepted, whilſt* Quinctius *continues within our Walls? But why do I ſay the Law? Will the Liberty of the* Romans *itſelf be ever able to hold out againſt the Attempts of a Tyrant, who is more haughty than the* Tarquins? *Suppoſe he were* Conſul *or* Dictator: *What Abuſes of his Authority will not that Man be guilty of, who, though but in a private Capacity, already aſſumes the Airs and Audaciouſneſs of a King?* Thus did the Harangues of the *Tribunes* enrage the *Plebeians* againſt *Cæſo*; but not ſo much as the perſonal Injuries they had received from him. Whilſt on the other Hand, the Senate and Nobility, who ſet him at work, promiſed him their Protection, at the critical Moment. At length the Day came, which was appointed for young *Quinctius*'s Appearance. And then it was firſt perceived, that *Cæſo*'s Character had more of Vanity and Indiſcretion in it, than true Courage, and ſolid Virtue. He was expoſed to the Vengeance of the *Tribunes*, as *Coriolanus* had formerly been, but he did not imitate his Conſtancy. Before he appeared upon his Trial, he condeſcended to mean Intreaties, and endeavoured to ſave his Life by low and unworthy Sollicitations. Perhaps indeed he might be forced to it by his Family and Friends. However, *Virginius* began the Accuſation, and in his Diſcourſe, enumerated the ſeveral ſeditious Violences of the young *Patrician*. He produced thoſe People to be Witneſſes againſt him, who had been ill uſed by him themſelves. *Quinctius*'s greateſt Crime, was the having hindered by Violence the meeting of ſome judicial Aſſemblies which had been lawfully called. This, he ſaid, was being guilty of Treaſon againſt the State, which deſerved Death. When the Accuſation was ended, the accuſed was cited to appear; but *Quinctius* at firſt refuſed to ſubmit to be tried by the People. He offered to come to a hearing before the *Conſuls*, as to the ill uſage he was accuſed of having given to ſome particular Perſons; and he offered to make them all the Satisfaction the Laws required, if he was convicted. This Proceeding ſet the People yet more againſt him. So that there was a Neceſſity for *Quinctius*'s Father to undertake the Defence of his Son, who refuſed to plead. As to the capital Crimes *Cæſo* was charged with, *Quinctius* the Father endeavoured to ſhew the Falſeneſs of them. As for his Blows, and too warm Expreſſions, which were not to be denied, he excuſed them, by charging them upon the Heat of his natural Temper, the Imprudence that uſually attends Youth, and the Fire of a martial Education, which makes Men love Contention. *My Son*, ſaid he, *has perhaps brought away as many Wounds from theſe Rencounters,*

Year of ROME CCXCII.

P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS, and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 11.

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P. Volumnius Amintinus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 12.

as he has given. Theſe are little Indiſcretions, which rather deſerve your Pity, than your Reſentment. But *T. Quinctius*, that great Man, who had been three times *Conſul*, and who, I believe, was Uncle to the accuſed, ſpoke with more Freedom of the good Qualities of his Nephew. *I don't think*, ſaid he, *the* Quinctian *Family, or even the City of* Rome *it ſelf ever ſaw a young* Patrician *of greater Hopes. He made his firſt Campaign under me, and I was a Witneſs to his firſt Exploits.* Nor did *Sp. Furius* give a leſs advantageous Teſtimony to young *Quinctius. The Conſul* Quinctius, ſaid he, *often ſent him to my Relief, when I was in the midſt of Danger; and no body contributed more than he, to the Re-eſtabliſhment of our Affairs. Lucretius* likewiſe, who triumphed the laſt Year, did Juſtice to the Valour of the accuſed. *On this Occaſion*, ſaid he, *I think my ſelf obliged to ſhare my Glory with the brave* Cæſo. *No body ſignalized himſelf more than he both in ſingle Combats, and the general Action in which I was Conqueror. O* Rome! *How great will thy Loſs be, if thou depriveſt thy ſelf of ſo ſolid a Support! What City is there, to which* Cæſo *will not be an Ornament, if we drive him from ours? As to the natural Impetuoſity he is reproached with, Age will leſſen it, and when his Virtue is arrived at its Maturity, his Defects will be all worn away. How great a Man will* Cæſo *be, when Years ſhall have tempered the Ardor which now tranſports him!* The Suffrages of ſo many illuſtrious Men, and the Entreaties of the Father, had like to have inclined the People to his Favour, when *Virginius* fruſtrated the hopes of the *Patricians.* He roſe up from his Seat, and haughtily addreſſed himſelf to *Quinctius Cincinnatus* the Father. *The Publick*, ſays he to him, *does Juſtice to your Virtues, and the Affection you have for the People. But alas! how little is your Son like you! His proud Temper, and tyrannical Conduct, make him unworthy of Pardon. The Education he has received under the Eye of a modeſt and popular Father, has not been able to abate his Pride.* Romans, *what have you to expect from him for the future? What a pernicious Example has he given to the Youth, which follow him and admire him? If you* Quinctius *was ignorant of it before, yet being to Day better informed, you ought now to join your Indignation to ours. If you did know it, and countenance it, you are not worthy of the Favour you ask. But what am I ſaying? Your Son's Tranſports were certainly concealed from you, nor have you had any Share in his Attempts upon the Authority of the* Roman *People. No,* Quinctius, *you are not to be blamed for any Thing, but being a better Father, than Common-wealth's Man. But in order to efface in your Heart thoſe Remains of Tenderneſs, which the People ſhare with you, hear a new Crime your Son has been guilty of. It has always been kept from you, but the Gods declare it for the Safety of our Country.*

At theſe Words the *Tribune* brought out one of his Collegues named *Volſcius* [31], who declared his Accuſation. He was a falſe Witneſs, ſuborned to deſtroy the young *Patrician. I had a Brother*, ſaid this Deponent, *whom I loved tenderly. We were once returning from ſupping with a Friend, when in the* Suburran *Quarter of the Town, we were met by* Cæſo, *coming from a Debauch. He was followed by a Company of young Men of the ſame Character with himſelf. They firſt attacked us with Words only, and contented themſelves with inſulting us as a pack of Scoundrels. Till at length we loſt all Patience, and returned Injuries for Injuries. Then* Cæſo, *full of Anger and Reſentment, fell upon my Brother, who was not yet perfectly recovered from a Diſeaſe he had had; and kicked and beat him, till he left him dead upon the Spot. In this Diſtreſs, I cried out for help; and upon that* Cæſo *took me in my turn, and fell upon me with ſuch Fury, that he left me half dead upon the Place, and wallowing in my own Blood. I was however carried Home. It was the Year the Plague made ſuch Havock amongſt us. I waited to bring my Complaint to the then* Conſuls, *but Death took them from us ſoon after. As for* Lucretius *and* Veturius, *they ſet out in a Hurry to the War, and* Cæſo *followed them. And ever ſince our domeſtick Broils, I have ſought for an Opportunity of bringing my Complaints before the Tribunal of our* Conſuls; *but I have ſtill met the furious* Cæſo *in my Way, who has prevented me. To you therefore, the People of* Rome, *I now come to relate the Murder of my Brother, and the Treatment I received.*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 632.

31 *Volſcius* was, according to *Livy*, ſurnamed *Fictor*. Which was probably taken from his bearing *falſe Witneſs* againſt *Cæſo*. And this *Latin* Author declares likewiſe that he was not then *Tribune of the People*, which *Dion. Hal.* aſſures us he was; but had only been *Tribune*, ſome Years before.

Year of *ROME* CCXCII.

P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS and SERVIUS SULPICIUS CAMERINUS Conſuls.

THESE Words ſo enraged the *Plebeians* againſt young *Quinctius*, that they had immediately ſtoned him, if the *Tribunes* had not put a Stop to the Fury of the People. Tho' theſe Magiſtrates had nothing at Heart but ſatisfying their Revenge, they yet obſerved ſome Rules in their Proceedings. They were afraid to put the accuſed Perſon to death, before he had made his Defence. The pronouncing his Sentence was therefore deferred to another Day. And the only Queſtion at preſent was, whether this pretended guilty Perſon ſhould be impriſoned. *Virginius* had already cauſed him to be ſeized by the Officers of his Court, when *T. Quinctius*, *Cæſo*'s Uncle, oppoſed the Impriſonment of his Nephew. Till that time, no Criminal had been arreſted, till he had either confeſſed his Crime, or been convicted. The *Tribunes* therefore who were conſulted with, took the middle Way, between *Virginius*'s Pretenſions, and thoſe of the contrary Party. They left young *Quinctius* at Liberty, provided he would give Security to appear before the People, on the Day appointed. This raiſed a new Debate about the Sum in which his Securities were to be bound. But the Senate fixed it to three thouſand *Aſſes* [32] of Braſs, and left it to the *Tribunes* to declare how many Citizens ſhould be Security for it, in caſe of his Eſcape. They were content with ten Securities, and the Accuſed was then delivered up to his Relations. This was the firſt time Security was ever given at *Rome*, in a publick and Criminal Affair. However, *Cæſo* was no ſooner at Liberty, but he left *Rome* the very next Night, and fled to the *Hetrurians* for Refuge. But the *Tribunes* knew nothing of his Eſcape, till he was again cited to appear. Upon this Citation, his Family laboured to prove to the People, that he had executed Juſtice on himſelf, and had anticipated their Sentence of Baniſhment, by baniſhing himſelf. The *Tribunes* ſaw this was only an Evaſion, to avoid the Payment of the Sum in which his Securities were bound; and therefore exacted it with Rigour; but *Quinctius* the Father paid the three thouſand *Aſſes*, to the uttermoſt Farthing. By this means he reduced himſelf almoſt to want. At leaſt he was forced to go and cultivate a little Field of about four Acres of Land, which he had beyond the *Tyber*. Here this great Man lived, in a Cottage, ſcarce ever appeared at *Rome*, and entirely excluded himſelf from all the publick Rejoicings. But we ſhall ſoon ſee him taken from hence, with Glory, to be placed at the Head of the Republick.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 13.

Val. Max. B. 4. *Livy* and *Dion. Hal. Ibid.*

ROME was not then attacked by any foreign Enemy. So that the Fear the *Conſuls* would have raiſed about the Preparations the *Volſci* were making, was frivolous. This then ſeemed to be a favourable Opportunity for the *Tribunes*, to carry on the Buſineſs of the *Terentian* Law. It was thought that *Cæſo*'s Baniſhment would naturally keep the young *Patricians* in Awe, and leave the *Comitia* at Liberty to proceed. The *Tribunes* flattered themſelves with an entire Victory over the Senate. Inſomuch, that the People were ſurprized to ſee the young Nobility more enraged than ever, and ready to revenge the Injury which had been done to *Quinctius*. The *Tribunes* being ready to make their Report of the Law to the People, had ordered all the *Patricians* who were preſent, to be driven away from the Aſſembly. At this the Nobility, attended with an Army of *Clients*, roſe up againſt the *Tribunes*, and made them feel the Conſequences of the Sedition they occaſioned. The Number of the revolted *Patricians* was ſo great, that no one either aſſumed to himſelf all the Glory of the Action, or was loaded with all the Odium of it. The People only ſaid that, *inſtead of one* Cæſo, *there were now riſen up a thouſand.* Nevertheleſs, a good Underſtanding and good Manners were preſerved, as uſual, be-

Livy B. 3. *c.* 14.

[32] If it were true, as *Budæus* pretends, that the *Roman As*, or *Pound* of Braſs, was not worth more than five *French-Deniers*, the Fine was moderate, and would not have much exceeded the Sum of fifty *Livres*. If we make the *As* worth ten *Deniers*, with Monſieur *Peyresk*; then the three thouſand *Aſſes* will amount to a hundred and thirty *French Livres*. [If with Dr. *Arbuthnot*, we make the *As* to be worth three Farthings $\frac{4}{10}$ *Engliſh*, the three thouſand *Aſſes* will amount to about 9 *l.* 8 *s.* 1½ *d.*] If we reduce the *Roman As* to the Proportion of the *French Copper-Farthing*; this antient Money would have been worth thirteen *Sous*, and the whole Sum would have amounted to two thouſand *Livres* and upwards, a pretty conſiderable Sum for the Time of which we ſpeak. But if we ſuppoſe with *Plutarch* that the *Roman Denarius*, or *Attich-Drachma* was worth 10 *Aſſes*, then, according to our Eſtimation, the three thouſand *Aſſes*, would not have been worth more than three hundred *Drachmæ*, i. e. a hundred and fifty *Livres*, reckoning ten *Sous* to a *Drachma*. In this Caſe, it is not to be conceived, that the Payment of ſo inconſiderable a Sum, could have almoſt reduced *Cæſo*'s Father to want; unleſs we ſay, that *Quinctius Cincinnatus*'s Eſtate was much inferior to what the Laws required in order to be admitted into the loweſt Centuries. Whereas *Quinctius* was a *Patrician*; tho' the *Patricians* were indeed, at that Time, more ambitious of acquiring Glory, than of heaping up great Riches.

tween

Year of *ROME* CCXCII. P. Volumnius Amintinus, and Servius Sulpicius Camerinus Conſuls.

tween the *Patricians* and People of *Rome*, except in the *Comitia*. They viſited, they ſaluted one another; they eat together, and met together in the *Forum*; and in ſhort, the *Tribunes* were left at full Liberty to perform all the other Parts of their Office. No Paſſion or Fury appeared, but when the *Terentian* Law was in Queſtion. Nay the *Patricians* ſuffered the People quietly to elect the ſame *Tribunes* again, for the next Year. Thus, partly by Moderation, and partly by Violence, they gained their Point, of preventing the Law from being accepted, all that Year.

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII. L. Valerius Poplicola, and C. Claudius Conſuls. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 15. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 634.

§. VI. The Year following, the *Romans* raiſed *L. Valerius Poplicola* [33], the Son of the firſt, who merited that illuſtrious Surname, to the *Conſulate* a ſecond Time: And *C. Claudius* was given him for his Collegue. Whether this laſt was the Son of *Appius Claudius*, or of one *Marcus Claudius*, is uncertain. However, it was at leaſt well known at *Rome*, that his Family had always been againſt the Attempts of the *Tribunes of the People*, and all the popular Faction was alarmed at it. In the mean time the young Nobility altered their Meaſures. They no longer endeavoured to hinder the Acceptation of the Law by Blows and Violence. They reſerved their Reſentments for the *Tribunes* only. As to the Citizens, they made uſe of gentle and inſinuating Methods to gain them, and that with Succeſs. The *Tribunes* obſerved with Grief that the People were not ſo zealous as formerly, for giving a Sanction to *Terentius*'s Scheme. Nay, they could ſcarce bear to hear the new Law mentioned in the *Comitia*. This ſudden Change ſurprized the College of *Tribunes*; who were perſuaded, it proceeded from the Citizens fear of their new *Conſul Claudius*. At bottom indeed, the Law the *Tribunes* had at Heart was equitable, and their Right to propoſe it was good. But it often happens that a good Cauſe is ſupported by Knavery and Artifice. The *Tribunes* ſtuck at nothing lawful or unlawful to gain their Point. They firſt ſpread an hundred falſe Reports to diſcredit the *Conſul*, and gain the People. Then they appeared publickly, conſulting together from Morning till Night, without admitting any Citizen into their Aſſemblies, but their own Collegues. In theſe ſecret Conſultations, they reſolved to forge ſuch Letters, as might give the People ſtrong Suſpicions of the whole *Patrician* Body. Whilſt the *Tribunes* were holding their Conſultations in publick, but kept their Affairs ſecret to themſelves, they cauſed the Letter they had concerted to be brought to them by a Perſon unknown. And after they had received it, thoſe who ſurrounded them, thought that ſome bad News had been brought to them, by the Air of Surprize and Terror, which appeared in their Faces, and which they put on. The People enquired into the Reaſon of their Fright: But they deferred their Anſwer till the Multitude was got about them. Then, after they had cauſed Silence to be made, *Romans*, ſaid they, *you are threatened with the greateſt Dangers. If they, againſt whom it was chiefly levelled, had not diſcovered it, we ſhould all have been ſwallowed up in one common Ruin. But you muſt give us leave firſt to relate the Affair to the Senate, before it be publickly divulged.* Immediately upon this, the *Tribunes* went directly to the *Conſuls* Houſes. The Senate was aſſembled by their Order, and the *Tribunes* admitted into it. In the mean time, Men ſuborned by the *Tribunes* ſpread an hundred falſe Reports among the People, about the Contents of the Letter, which was ſent the *Tribunes*. Some ſaid that the fugitive *Cæſo* was advancing towards *Rome*, where he had Correſpondents, at the Head of an Army of *Volſci*. Others, that there was a general Plot among the *Patricians*, by help of which he was juſt coming to enter the City with an Army of Foreigners, and that his Buſineſs there was to deſtroy the *Tribunate*. Some confined the Enterprize to the *Patrician* Youth only. Whereas others boldly affirmed, that *Cæſo* was ſtill in the City, and that he had conſpired to go from the Place in which he was concealed, and attack the Citadel and Ramparts of *Rome*. All the Citizens were full of Uneaſineſs and mutual Suſpicions.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

The Senate was employed in reading and examining the Letter the *Tribunes* had brought to them. *Virginius* gave this Account of it. *Our Diſcretion*, Conſcript Fathers, *made us keep Silence, whilſt the Misfortunes with which we are now threatened were yet but uncertain. To act upon bare Conjectures, againſt ſeditious Men not yet diſcovered,*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 635.

33 *Diodorus Siculus* gives *C. Claudius* the Surname of *Regillanus*, becauſe his Family came originally from *Regillum*, a City of the *Sabines*.

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, and C. CLAUDIUS, Conſuls.

often only giving an Handle to factious Spirits to raiſe Inſurrections. Nevertheleſs, we have not been unactive upon our firſt Suſpicions, and our private Enquiries have been effectual. We have been faithfully ſerved by thoſe Foreigners, with whom we live in Hoſpitality and a good Correſpondence. Their Letters will convince you that the Gods watch over the Republick for its Preſervation. The Symptoms we find at Home, agree with the Reports we receive from Abroad. Rome *is betrayed. Some of the moſt illuſtrious Families here, and ſome even of the Senate itſelf, are turned Conſpirators, and have ſworn her Deſtruction. Among thoſe* Roman *Knights, who have not a Place in the Senate, there are ſome Aſſaſſines, who are ready to cut our Throats. They wait only for the Opportunity of a dark Night, to break into our Houſes, and maſſacre us, and all thoſe among the People, who contend for the publick Liberty. They take it for granted, that after this barbarous Execution, they ſhall eaſily obtain of you the Abolition of the Tribunate, and of the Privileges of the People.* Cæſo, *that* Cæſo, *whom they reſcued from his juſt Puniſhment, is the Inſtrument of their Fury. He is to appear within theſe Walls attended by ſeveral Troops of* Æqui *and* Volſci, *who are to be brought in hither privately, and in ſmall Parties. The* Tribunes *are to fall the firſt Victims to his Reſentments; and ſuch of the People as ſhall dare to make any Reſiſtance, are to be ſacrificed without Mercy. Theſe are our Dangers. This is the Crime of your* Patricians. *What then is now to be done? O ye immortal Gods! Ye* Genii, *who preſerve this State, ye who unite us in the ſame religious Worſhip, inſpire the Senate with Sentiments of Equity. Efface out of their Minds, all regard to Rank, Birth, and Party-Intereſts. What we demand of you,* Conſcript Fathers, *is that you do Juſtice to all the Conſpirators, or at leaſt to the Heads of the Conſpiracy: And in a Word, that you grant us a Power of drawing up Informations againſt them. They who are moſt in danger, are moſt nearly concerned to avoid it, and will be moſt active in making Diſcoveries. Time preſſes us, and our Aſſaſſines are at the Gates. Be therefore quick in your Deciſions.*

THIS Demand of the *Tribunes* much embarraſſed the Senate. They thought it dangerous to make them Maſters of an Affair, of a capital Nature, in Matters of State; and were afraid of the Conſequences of giving a new Increaſe of Power to an ambitious Tribunal. On the other Hand, the Senators thought it not ſafe, to charge themſelves with drawing up the Informations in an Affair, in which the *Patricians* might be ſuſpected to have a part. But the *Conſul Claudius* ſaw through the Artifice of the *Tribunes*, and replied thus.

I TAKE upon me to anſwer you, Tribunes, *becauſe none of you can have the Boldneſs to think me an Accomplice in the Crime, which is charged upon the* Patricians. *My Conduct puts me out of your reach. But what then is my Deſign in ſpeaking? Is it to diſſuade the Senators from ſuffering Informations to be taken of ſuch a cruel Attempt? or to hinder them from giving you this Commiſſion? No; were the Accuſation true, too much Precaution could not be taken to ſecure your Lives and the publick Liberty. But let us ſearch the Matter to the Bottom. The* Tribunes *laſt Year could not get their Law paſſed. The People themſelves are now not ſo eaſy to be impoſed upon by them, as formerly. Hence their Air of Conſternation. Hence their continual Deliberations. Hence their Aſſemblies and their Conferences. And what Reſolutions have they come to in them? Why, no doubt to invent the Fable, they now bring to Light. Let us accuſe the* Patricians, ſaid they, *of having conſpired againſt our Lives, and plotted to maſſacre the People. Fear will make them credulous. And then let us demand of the Senate a Power to inform againſt the Conſpirators. If they refuſe it, we ſhall recover the Favour of the Multitude, who will then be enraged againſt the Senators. If they grant it us, we will then give full Scope to our Reſentments, we will revenge our ſelves by Baniſhments, and intimidate the Oppoſers of the* Terentian *Law. This is the* Tribunes *Scheme. Theſe are the Snares they have laid for us, as well as for the many illuſtrious* Roman *Knights, whoſe Oppoſition to their Deſigns has been the Foundation of our Safety. Not that I ſay this barely upon Conjecture. Speak,* Virginius, *whence came thoſe Letters which have ſo much alarmed you? From whom did you receive thoſe Letters you have produced? Who are theſe Gueſts and theſe faithful Correſpondents? Where did you know them? How came they acquainted with the Misfortunes which threaten us? Who is the Servant, who brought theſe Letters? Why has he diſappeared? Are you ſtruck dumb? Why ſhould the naming theſe Witneſſes be deferred to another Time? Shall we wait till ſuch time as you are made Maſters of our Lives,* *Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 637.*

Year of ROME CCXCIII. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, and C. CLAUDIUS, Conſuls.

by a Decree of the Senate, and have it in your Power to convict us by falſe Witneſſes? You ſay the Symptoms at Home, agree with the Informations from Abroad. Why don't you then ſhew us theſe Symptoms? Why don't you produce the Accuſers? All the Marks of Calumny and Fiction appear in this Caſe againſt you. To you, Conſcript Fathers, *to your Indulgence the bold Attempts of the* Tribunes *are to be aſcribed. You were too eaſy in delivering up the brave* Cæſo *to the Rage of his Perſecutors. The* Tribunes *firſt Succeſs againſt him, encourages them to attempt every thing againſt us. They intimidate you by the horrid Suſpicions they ſpread abroad even of your ſelves. To conclude; my Opinion is, the Senate ought to be upon their guard againſt the Artifices of the* Tribunes. *I ſhall not indeed ſpeak with the ſame Warmth to the People: But I will at leaſt let them know, that the Foundation of our Diviſions, is in the* Tribunes.

CLAUDIUS's Speech was applauded by the Senators: They would not ſuffer the *Tribunes* to reply, but the Aſſembly was diſmiſſed. Nevertheleſs the Accuſation of the *Tribunes* was attended with the common Effects of Calumnies. The wiſer Citizens were undeceived: But it left ſome Impreſſions upon the Minds of the moſt fearful, and the moſt factious.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 15. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 640.

§. VII. THE inteſtine Broils of the Republick raiſed it up an Enemy, which it could ſcarce have ſuſpected. And this was a private Man in *Sabinia* named *Herdonius*. He was not contemptible in his own Country, either for his Birth, his Intereſt, or his Eſtate. And it was never known, whether he acted in concert with his own Republick, or whether the Deſire of making himſelf famous, or the Ambition of a Crown, were his only Motives to undertake to ſurprize *Rome*, and ſubdue it. However, *Herdonius* communicated his Deſign to ſuch as he thought capable of aſſiſting him, let his Friends into the Secret, and prepared for the Execution of it. He got together about four thouſand of his Clients and Slaves. This was indeed a ſmall Number for ſo great an Enterprize; but he took it for granted, that a great Number of *Roman* Exiles, the *Roman* Populace who were covetous of Plunder, thoſe Citizens who were Enemies to the *Patricians*, the Slaves who were weary of their Servitude, and at all Adventures the *Æqui* and the *Volſci*, would upon the firſt Rumour, come to his Aſſiſtance. With theſe Hopes, he embarked his truſty Troops on the *Tyber* by Night, brought them down the River, and led them to the Foot of the *Capitol*. The *Romans* had a Superſtition among them which had like to have coſt them dear. They had been directed by I know not what Oracle to leave one of the Gates of the *Capitol* open, Day and Night; which was the Gate *Carmentalis*. By this Gate *Herdonius* entered the Citadel of *Rome*, and then poſſeſſed himſelf of the neighbouring Hill: Which was doubtleſs, the Hill *Quirinalis*. It was yet but Midnight, and all the City was buried in a profound Sleep. The Inhabitants which were neareſt the invaded Poſts, were partly killed; and the reſt ſaved themſelves by flying into the lower Part of the City or to the Country. In the mean time the Noiſe of the terrified People, raiſed an Alarm

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

in all the Quarters of *Rome*. Nothing was heard but the confuſed Voices of thoſe who cried out *to Arms*; and of thoſe who declared there was an Enemy in the Heart of the City. The old Men and Women went up upon the Tops of the Houſes to defend themſelves againſt the Troops, which they thought had already taken Poſſeſſion of all the Streets. In this Diſorder, the *Conſuls* were equally afraid either of arming the People, or leaving them diſarmed. They knew not whether the Miſchief aroſe from a domeſtick Faction or a foreign Enemy. But it was in vain for them to attempt to appeaſe the Tumult; the more they ſaid, the more they increaſed it. While the People were in this Conſternation, there was neither Obedience nor Government. At length the *Conſuls* determined to diſtribute Arms among the Citizens, but not to all without Diſtinction. It is probable, they then kept Arms in Arſenals, and took them out, as the publick Neceſſities required. Every Body ſtill continued in Uncertainty the reſt of the Night, not knowing either how many, or what Enemies they were to fight with. So that they contented themſelves with placing Bodies of Guards in the different Quarters of the City. At laſt, the return of Light diſcovered what Enemy they had to fear, and what ſort of War they had upon their Hands. *Herdonius* attempted in vain to engage the Slaves of *Rome*, to come and recover their Liberty under his Protection. It was in vain for him to aſſure them, that he came to *Rome* with no other Deſign, but to bring Home the Exiles, and relieve the Unfortunate. None of the Propoſals were hearkened to. No Body preferred an uncertain Happineſs to the

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII.

L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA and C. CLAUDIUS, Conſuls.

publick Good. And as for Aſſiſtance from Foreigners, *Herdonius* had none. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* were in no readineſs to help him, when they ſhould have marched to his Defence.

HOWEVER, *Herdonius*, tho' left to his own Troops, did not quit the Poſts he had poſſeſſed himſelf of. Had he had ever ſo little Aſſiſtance, he had been Maſter of *Rome*: And the Broils between the *Senate* and the *Tribunes* had like to have cauſed its Deſtruction. In ſhort, when at Day-break the *Conſuls* had aſſembled the People, to make them take up Arms againſt an Enemy which was become Maſter of the Citadel; the *Tribunes* on their Part appeared upon *the Tribune*, from whence they uſed to harangue the People; and made a Diſcourſe to them, which ſeemed very unſeaſonable. *We don't pretend*, ſaid they, *to obſtruct the publick Good; but after all*, Romans, *this is the time for turning the Services you are going to do your Country, to your own Advantage. Before you march to the bloody Conqueſt of a Citadel, inſiſt upon the* Conſuls *accepting the* Terentian *Law. And don't venture your Lives, till they have ſworn to do it. Who knows but the Danger, which ſeems to threaten us ſo much, may be a falſe Terror raiſed by the* Patricians, *to divert the paſſing of the Law which frightens them? Who knows but they may have brought ſome Foreigners into the Capitol, who are their own Friends? Let us preſs the paſſing of the Law. When theſe Aggreſſors find that it is paſſed, we ſhall ſee them retire more privately than they came. However, the paſſing the* Terentian *Law, ought at leaſt to be the Reward of the Dangers, to which they would have you expoſe your ſelves.*

THESE Words, how ſenſeleſs ſoever, were ſufficient to impoſe upon the People. Neither the Commands of the *Conſuls*, nor the extream Neceſſities of *Rome*, could prevail upon them to take Arms. The Conſul *Claudius* was of the Temper of his Family: He was deſperate in his Reſolutions. He adviſed the Senate to neglect the People, and attack the Citadel themſelves. *The Citizens*, ſaid he, *would ſell you their Services too dear. The* Patricians *alone, attended by their Clients, and ſome Voluntiers, are ſufficient to drive away the raſh* Herdonius. *Beſides, we may borrow Succours of the* Latins *and the* Hernici. *Our Slaves themſelves, if we ſet them at Liberty, will lend us their Hands. In ſhort, any other Soldiers are better for us, than refractory Citizens, who refuſe their Country their Aſſiſtance, in its utmoſt Danger.* But *Valerius*, who was more moderate and more popular than his Collegue, repreſented to the Senate, that in ſuch Circumſtances, nothing was more dangerous than to provoke the People; that they ought to exert their Violence againſt the Enemy only; and with the Citizens uſe Gentleneſs and Perſuaſion. The Senate was of the ſame Opinion with the wiſe *Poplicola*. He withdrew from the Senate, and appeared before the People: And his Preſence and Diſcourſe had all the Effect he expected from it. *What*, ſaid he to the *Tribunes*, *do you join with* Herdonius *to deſtroy the Republick? What, ſhall the* Sabine *be able to get that Aſſiſtance from you, which even our Slaves have denied him? Are you dreaming of making Laws, when the Enemy is upon us, and is beating down our Temples, and the Places of our Aſſemblies? As for you*, Romans, *if you are not much affected with the Plunder of your Houſes, and the Deſtruction of your Houſhold Gods, yet at leaſt ſhew ſome Concern, for the Affront which is offered to the tutelary Gods of your Country.* Jupiter Capitolinus *is in the Hands of our Enemies.* Minerva *and* Juno *are inveſted by them. A Handful of Slaves have put themſelves in Poſſeſſion of your moſt venerable Sanctuaries; and will loſe Time in* Comitia? *O* Romulus, *the Founder of this Empire! who didſt thy ſelf repulſe this ſame Capitol, when invaded by theſe* Sabines, *inſpire thy Children with thy Courage! Shew them the Way by which thou again enteredſt the Citadel which thou hadſt expelled! The* Conſul Valerius *is going to tread in thy Steps. To Arms, to Arms*, Romans! *Whoever hinders any one from following me, I will treat him as an Enemy. As for you*, Tribunes, *turn your Arms againſt me, ſince you refuſe to turn them againſt* Herdonius. *I will give you the ſame Treatment, which the Head of my Family formerly gave our Kings.*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 641.

Livy B. 3. c. 17.

THESE Words at leaſt hindered the Law from being paſſed. It is true, *Valerius* could not attempt to take the *Capitol* that Day: The approach of the Night hindered him. However, that made the *Tribunes* fly, who were afraid of ſome unlucky Blow in the Dark. So that *Valerius* being then Maſter of the Aſſembly, he went among the Citizens, ſhewed them the Danger *Rome* was in, and convinced them that domeſtick Quarrels ought to ceaſe, at the ſight of a common Enemy.

IN

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII.
L. Valerius Popliocola, and C. Claudius Conſuls.

The *Conſuls* were buſy all Night, in taking Meaſures to preſerve *Rome* from a general Invaſion. The one took care to keep good Order within, and the other went out of the City, and ſent out Spies, to diſcover whether any Enemies or foreign Troops were near. At break of Day a Sight appeared which put *Rome* into a Conſternation. Some Battalions were ſeen advancing towards it at a Diſtance. Theſe were taken at firſt for the *Æqui* and *Volſci;* but the Fright was ſoon over. It was *Lucius Mamilius* who was drawing near with ſome Troops, which he had raiſed in haſte at *Tuſculum.* This faithful *Dictator*, that is, Governor of his City, had been informed of the Danger of the *Romans* the ſame Night. Inſtantly therefore, and without waiting for the Order of the Senate, he ſet out from *Tuſculum*, and came to offer the *Conſuls* his perſonal Aſſiſtance, and his Troops. Upon this *Rome* took Courage. The People were aſſembled early in the Morning. The Levies were made with more Eaſe, than had been imagined, and two Armies were raiſed, one to ſerve under the Conſul *Valerius*, and the other under *Claudius*. It fell by Lot to *Valerius* to attack the *Capitol*, and to *Claudius* to cover the City, and guard it againſt the Approaches of the Enemy. Then *Valerius*, being ſatisfied with the Peoples Behaviour, promiſed them, that during his *Conſulate*, he would make uſe of all his Intereſt to favour the Pretenſions of the *Tribunes*, as to the paſſing of the *Terentian* Law. Theſe Promiſes encouraged the *Plebeians*; but they ſoon vaniſhed, upon the *Conſul*'s Death.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 642. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 18.

The Army, which was to ſcale the *Capitol*, was drawn up in Battalia, in the *Forum Romanum*. *Valerius* had taken the *Tuſculan* Legion with him, and the faithful *Mamilius* marched by his ſide. The *Roman* Troops followed the *Conſul*, without any Oppoſition from the *Tribunes*. The Attack was difficult. It was neceſſary to climb up a Hill, made ſteep both by Art and Nature. *Herdonius* and his Troops lined the Walls of the Citadel, in order to defend it, by throwing Darts, and rolling down Stones. The *Romans* firſt ſlung from the Tops of the Houſes, which were near the *Capitol*, Bottles full of boiling Oil, and burning *Bitumen*. This was to drive the Enemy from the Ramparts. Then they made themſelves Ways up the Rock with Pick-axes, and ſupported their ſtaggering Feet, with Faſcines made of Vine-Branches, which they threw into the moſt ſlippery Places. The *Roman* Army was more numerous than the *Sabine*'s Troop; but what ſignified Number, when they were forced to craul up, three and three, through Defiles, which were every where defended by Towers and Ramparts, from whence they were overpowered with the Stones and Darts, which were ſhowered down on all ſides on thoſe who made the Attack? Experience in War and Stratagem were here of no Uſe. The Darts of the *Romans* loſt their Strength before they reached the Top, whilſt thoſe of the Beſieged, being thrown downwards, loſt nothing of their Force. Nevertheleſs the Aſſailants were not diſcouraged. They perſevered Day and Night in cutting out Ways for themſelves in the Rock, and in getting Ground by little and little. Till at length, after three Days Fatigue, the *Romans* were near enough to fight the Enemy, and ſcale the Wall. Then the Enemy's Darts and Vigor failed all at once. They had been kept Day and Night at Work, without any Intermiſſion. So that the Rampart was carried; but the *Sabines* found Strength in deſpair, and defended themſelves with the ſame Valour, when engaged Man to Man, as when at a Diſtance. It is certain the Conſul *Valerius* loſt his Life, in the firſt Battel that was fought at the Entrance of the *Capitol*. Some ſay he was killed with a Stone, before the Porch of the Temple of *Jupiter*. However that were, after he had received ſeveral Blows, he ſtill puſhed the Enemy from Poſt to Poſt, till ſuch time as he loſt his Life and his Triumph together. *Volumnius* who ſaw him die, ordered his Body to be covered, and took his Place. He had been *Conſul*, and ſignalized himſelf in Battel. And the *Roman* Soldiers, who did not perceive that *Valerius* was wanting, were Conquerors, before they miſſed their Commander. As for *Herdonius*, he fought like a Man deſperate, and ſold his Life very dear. Being robuſt and of a tall Stature, he made a terrible Slaughter of the *Romans*, and was overcome only by Numbers. The greateſt part of his Slaves or Clients, either ſtabbed themſelves, or threw themſelves down headlong from the Top of the *Capitol*. The reſt who were taken, were treated according to their Condition, and their Puniſhment was proportioned to their Fortune. After this the *Romans* were wholly employed in purifying [34] the Temple of *Jupiter*, and making a magnificent Funeral

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

Livy B. 3. *Ib. Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 643.

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII.
C. Claudius Conſul.

[34] To bring armed Men into the Temples of the Gods, was an impious Prophanation of them. This *Tully* reproaches *Antony* with, who had poſted ſome Soldiers in the Temple of *Concord*. That of *Jupiter*

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C. Claudius Conſul.

Funeral for the brave *Valerius*. In order to its being done with the greater Pomp the People voluntarily contributed to the Expence of it, and every one threw his Piece of Money 35 into the dead Man's Houſe. Thus Neceſſity re-eſtabliſhed the Affairs of *Rome*, which Diſcord had put into a very bad Condition.

§. VIII. Nevertheless, the Citizens continued no longer quiet, than while the Siege of the *Capitol* laſted. They were no ſooner recovered from their Fright, but the *Tribunes* met again to purſue their Game. They required *Claudius*, the ſurviving *Conſul*, to perform his Collegue's Promiſe. *The* Manes *of* Valerius, ſaid they, *are burthened with it; and it is your Buſineſs to eaſe them of ſo heavy a Load.* But *Claudius* long evaded the Demand of the *Tribunes*. Sometimes his Pretence was the Funeral of his Collegue, and the Purification of the Temples; ſometimes he amuſed the People with Sports and Shews. And when all his other Pretences failed him, he had recourſe to that of electing a ſecond *Conſul*, to ſupply the Place of the deceaſed. The *Conſuls* were always choſen by the *Comitia* aſſembled *by Centuries*, and the Nobility almoſt always determined the Election. The Senators therefore ſought to have a Man elected, who would make Head againſt the *Tribunes*, and oppoſe their *Terentian* Law. They all pitched upon *Quintius Cincinnatus* the Father of *Cæſo*. His Virtue made him worthy of the *Conſulate*; but his private Reſentments made him an implacable Enemy to the *Tribunes*. The eighteen Centuries of *Roman* Knights, and the twenty four Centuries of the firſt Claſs, unanimouſly named *Cincinnatus* for *Conſul*; and they of themſelves made a Majority, ſo that there was no Occaſion for the inferior Claſſes to give their Suffrages. The People were in a Conſternation at this Choice; but the Senate ſent a Deputation to bring the new *Conſul* with Pomp, from the Hut he had lived in ever ſince the Baniſhment of his Son. And it was not without Difficulty that they could force him from it. It was Sowing-time. *Alas*, ſaid he, *my little Field will not be ſowed! And we ſhall therefore miſerably periſh by Famine.* Nevertheleſs he left the Care of his domeſtick Affairs to his Wife, and ſet out for *Rome*. The *Tribunes* were confounded to ſee at the Head of Affairs, a Man of known Probity, and Steadineſs, adored by the *Patricians*, and a perſonal Enemy to their College. And to compleat their Dread, *Cincinnatus* had three Sons left, who were ſcarce inferior to their Brother *Cæſo*, in Valour and Eloquence, and excelled him in Prudence and good Conduct. *Quintius* entered on his Office in the Month of *December*. But the new *Conſul* was no leſs earneſt in reforming the Senate, than in putting a Stop to the Sallies of the People. This appeared by his firſt Harangues.

C. Claudius and Quintius Cincinnatus, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 19.

IT is owing to your Indulgence, ſaid he to the Senators, *that the ſame* Tribunes *keep themſelves ſo long in their Office, and let looſe their Tongues in publick with the ſame Liberty, as in a Houſe of Licentiouſneſs. Ever ſince the Exile of my Son, theſe* Tribunes, *who have continued ſuch contrary to the Law, have with him baniſhed Modeſty and Moderation from* Rome. *They live here as independent as Kings, and maintain Diſcord in the City by their Babbling. Not to mention any of them but the ſeditious* Virginius, *has not he deſerved Death more then* Herdonius *the* Sabine? *The one was a declared Enemy, who made War upon us like a brave Man. The other a ſecret Enemy, who thought to have deſtroyed us by refuſing us the Aſſiſtance of the People whom he governs, and whom he diſarmed. And give me leave to ſay,* Claudius, *that you, and your deceaſed Collegue conquered our Enemies in the* Capitol, *before you ſubdued our domeſtick Enemies in the* Forum. *O how ſhameful a Reproach is it for the* Romans! *The Temple of* Jupiter *was profaned before our Eyes, and* Tuſculum *came to our Succour before* Rome *had taken up Arms in her own Defence. Is this,* Tribunes, *to protect the common People? to deliver them up unarmed to be cut in pieces by the Enemy? Farther, a Company of Slaves beſets our Gods, and you leave them to be inſulted! And yet, 'tis through the favour of theſe Gods, that you think your ſelves inviolable. You are heard to ſay, that before the Year is out, you will make the* Teren-

Livy B. 3. *c.* 19.

Jupiter Capitolinus had been polluted by the Blood, which had been ſpilt, even in the Inſide of it, in the Heat of the Battel. It was therefore neceſſary to purify it according to the Rites of Paganiſm. In this Ceremony, they made uſe of Sacrifices, Holy Water, Aſperſions, and Fumigations of Sulphur, Olive-Branches, Laurel-Branches, and odoriferous Herbs, to appeaſe the Anger of the Gods.

35 *Livy* ſays every Citizen threw into *Valerius*'s Houſe, the fourth Part of an *As*, that is three Ounces of Copper made into Money. Not that *Valerius*'s Family was reduced to want, and ſtood in need of this Gratification, in order to give the Deceaſed an honourable Burial: But only the People deſigned to ſhew their Honour to the Memory of the Dead by it, and their Deſire of contributing towards the Magnificence of his Obſequies. This was a Reſpect frequently paid at *Rome*, to great Men, who had loſt their Lives in the Service of their Country.

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C. Claudius and Quintius Cincinnatus, Conſuls.

tian *Law paſs. If ſo, the Republick muſt find me a more eaſy and complaiſant* Conſul *than my Predeceſſor. But I aſſure you, I will take Precautions againſt your Attempts. My Collegue and I will make your Citizens march out againſt the* Æqui *and* Volſci. *'Tis ſtrange, but ſo it is; the Gods favour us more when we are at War, than when we are in Peace. How great would have been our Danger from thoſe Nations, had they known the* Capitol *was inveſted! Happy is it for us, that we only conjecture this, inſtead of knowing it by Experience!*

Livy B. 3. *c.* 20.

These Words filled the *Tribunes* and the People with Terror. *Claudius* did all he could to forward the Deſigns of his Collegue. He indeed confined himſelf to that; and that was enough. *Quintius* was fruitful in Expedients, and *Claudius* was inclined to ſecond them. So that the *Plebeians* were afraid, they ſhould have been forced to take the Field: And the *Tribunes*, to avoid the Blow, threatened *Quintius*, to hinder his inliſting and ſwearing any Troops. To which the brave Conſul replied with Boldneſs, *There is no Occaſion for bringing the People under new Engagements. The Oaths they took to* Valerius, *whoſe Place I ſupply, are of force as to me, during the whole time of my Office. The* Romans *will be perjured, if they refuſe to follow me.* To this the *Tribunes* replied with an inſulting Air; *When the People engaged themſelves to ſerve a Year under* Valerius, *you was then but a private Man, a Countryman. What Obligations then have they laid themſelves under to you?* But theſe Anſwers of the *Tribunes* ſeemed, even to the Perſons moſt nearly concerned, more ſubtle than ſolid. The Fear of the Gods had then great Power over the Hearts of the People: And the *Conſul* was ſenſible of the Superiority, which the Sacredneſs of Oaths gave him over the Multitude. So that he commanded the *Roman* Forces to appear the next Day at *Regillum*. And all the *Tribunes* were able to do, was only to delay the Departure of the Army, for ſome Days. In the mean time the Conſul *Quintius* cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that the [36] *Augurs* were already upon the Banks of the Lake *Regillus*, in order to conſecrate a Place there by their Auſpices, where *Comitia* were to be held; that there all the Laws the *Tribunes* had hitherto made, were to be abrogated; that as theſe *Comitia* would be held out of the City, the *Conſuls* [37] would be Maſters of all Deliberations in them; that there could be no Appeal made to the *Tribunes* there, becauſe the *Conſuls* were abſolute in the Field, and their Decrees not liable to be called in Queſtion; and in ſhort, that if the *Tribunes* went out of *Rome*, they muſt be themſelves ſubject to the Juriſdiction of the *Conſuls*. Theſe Reports alarmed the *Tribunes*, and the Diſcourſes of the skilful *Conſul* frightened them yet more. He every where declared, that in the preſent Situation of Affairs, it was neceſſary to have a *Dictator*, whoſe Power ſhould not be curbed by perpetual Oppoſitions. So that theſe Stories, artfully ſpread abroad, ſtruck the *Tribunes* with Terror. They thought themſelves undone. The Senators did not ſit in the uſual [38] Place; *Quintius* aſſembled them in the *Capitol*. The *Tribunes* therefore came thither, followed by a Crowd of People: And their Conſternation was viſible in their Faces. So that theſe Men who were formerly ſo haughty, now refuſed no Submiſſions. They addreſſed themſelves, as humble Petitioners, ſometimes to the *Conſuls*,

36 The *Augural* Office was in ſuch high Eſteem at *Rome*, that the *Romans* determined nothing, either in Peace or War, without having firſt conſulted the *Augurs*, who made their Report, according to the Nature of the Omens they had obſerved. If they judged, that the Execution of any Enterprize, or the holding the *Comitia*, or the Publication of any Law, ought to be deferred, they made uſe of theſe two Words, *alio die*, i. e. *to another Day*. If the Omen was favourable, they concluded for the Affair in Hand, by pronouncing theſe Words, *addixit avis Cornix*, or *Corvus fecit rectum*, ſignifying thereby, that the Bird, whoſe flying or ſinging they had obſerved, promiſed good Succeſs. *Cicer. l. de Divin.*

37 Among the Laws made by *Valerius Poplicola*, in the 245th Year of *Rome*, that which gave the Citizens of *Rome* Leave to appeal from the *Conſuls* to the People was inviolably obſerved; as well as that which gave the Commonalty the right of electing Magiſtrates. But theſe two Laws were interrupted during the Government of the *Decemviri*. However, they were received in the Year 306, when *Lucius Valerius* and *Marcus Horatius* were *Conſuls*; and in the Year 454, in the *Conſulate* of *Marcus Valerius*, and *Quintus Apuleius Panſa*. But tho' the Power of the *Conſuls* was in ſeveral things ſubject to the Suffrages of the People, within the City; yet it was not ſo, when they were out of *Rome*, and at the Head of Armies. Their Authority was then abſolute, and there lay no Appeal from their Deciſions. *Tully B.* 3. *de Leg.* quotes two Laws upon this Subject, which ran thus. *Ad populum provocatio eſto. Militiæ, ab eo qui imperabit provocatio ne eſto.*

38 The Senate uſually choſe to hold their Aſſemblies in ſome Temple, as thoſe of *Vulcan*, *Concord*, or *Jupiter Stator*; or at leaſt in ſome Place conſecrated by the *Augurs*, as that called *Curia Hoſtilia*, and another which was near the Gate *Capena*. Without this Conſecration, the Decrees of the Senate were thought null.

and ſometimes to the *Senators*; but *Quintius* was inflexible, till after they had promiſed, to be more ſubmiſſive to the Senate for the future. At laſt, the *Conſul*, upon their Requeſt, pronounced a Decree, dictated by the Senate; which imported, *That the* Terentian *Law ſhould no more be brought into diſpute all that Year; and on the other Hand, that the Citizens ſhould not take the Field again that Year.* To which it was added, *That it was contrary to the publick Good, for either* Conſuls *or* Tribunes *to be continued in their Office, beyond their Year.* Thus did the Steadineſs and Moderation of *Quintius* re-eſtabliſh Tranquillity in the Republick. And he made uſe of theſe Intervals of Peace, to take from the *Tribunes* all their Pretences for inſiſting on the *Terentian* Law; and from the People, their Pretences for deſiring it. He applied himſelf wholly to hearing the Cauſes of private Perſons. Domeſtick Confuſions had long ſuſpended the Determination of civil Diſputes; and the People had been unwilling to ſubmit the Differences which aroſe among the Citizens, to the arbitrary Deciſions of the *Conſuls*. But now *Quintius* was upon his Tribunal from Morning till Night, ready to hear the Grievances of all Parties. The Suitors, who had recourſe to him, were received in a gracious manner, and Judgment was immediately given on the Spot, and that with ſuch Equity and Exactneſs, as to give entire Satisfaction. By this means, the People were brought even to adore the wiſe *Quintius*. They were heard to ſay, that the Demand of the *Tribunes* would be uſeleſs, if all the *Conſuls* were like him. In ſhort, *Quintius* ſhewed there was no Neceſſity for the *Terentian* Law.

Year of *ROME* CCXCIII. C. Claudius and Quintius Cincinnatus Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 645.

In the mean time the *Tribunes* were not negligent of their own Intereſts. They found means, by their Intrigues, to get themſelves continued in their Office, in ſpight of the Decree of the Senate. At this the *Patricians* appeared uneaſy. This was diſconcerting the Meaſures they had taken, to ſecure themſelves againſt the Plots of the *Tribunes*. Had they gained their Point, of getting the *Tribunes* changed every Year, they would have had leſs to fear from the inveterate Perſecutions of their College. The Nobility therefore had but one way of guarding againſt the Attempts they feared would be made the next Year: And this was, to continue likewiſe the wiſe *Quintius* in the *Conſulate*, who was both the Scourge of the *Tribunes*, and the Idol of the People. The *Patricians* were as much Maſters of the Election of the *Conſuls*, as the People were of that of their own *Tribunes*. The only Difficulty was, how to bring this rigid Obſerver of the Laws to comply with their being broken, tho' in his own Favour. Upon the firſt Propoſal of it that was made him, he ſpoke with more Vigour and Spirit, than he had done throughout his whole *Conſulate*. *I am now no longer ſurprized*, Conſcript Fathers, ſaid he to the Senate, *at the little Power you have over the People. Your Levities and Changes make you contemptible in their Eyes, and authorize their Diſobedience to your Decrees. You enact, that no annual Magiſtrate ſhall continue in his Office beyond his Year, and becauſe the People have deſpiſed your Laws, you likewiſe would, by way of Emulation, break them too. You are in this even more blameable than the People, and your Conduct contradicts the Equity of your Judgments. To imitate the Example of thoſe who break your Laws, is to declare thoſe Laws frivolous; it is even to authorize Licentiouſneſs. No, no, I will not walk in the Steps of the* Tribunes. *Let them perpetuate themſelves in their Offices! For my part, I abſolutely refuſe to keep mine. And let but my Collegue ſupport me in this Reſolution, and I ſhall be more indebted to him, for preſerving me from a ſecond* Conſulate, *than for procuring me the firſt.*

Livy B. 3. c. 21.

Words ſo full of Reaſon, and ſo diſintereſted, could not but gain the Applauſe of the Senate: All were ſatisfied, that this Conduct was truly wiſe. So that they unanimouſly reſolved, *That no body ſhould name* Quintius *for* Conſul, *and that if any Votes were given for him, they ſhould go for nothing.* This great Man, after he had once born the Office of *Conſul* with Glory, and refuſed with more Glory to bear it a ſecond time, retired from the City, to live in Tranquillity in his Cottage. Nevertheleſs, before he went, he preſided in the *Comitia*, in which *Q. Fabius Vibulanus* was made *Conſul* a third time, and *L. Cornelius*, 39 ſurnamed *Maluginenſis*, was made his Collegue.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. Ibid.

39 *Diodorus* gives *Lucius Cornelius* the Surname of *Curetinus*. There is nothing left of *Cornelius*'s Surname, in the *Faſti Capitolini*, but the two Letters U S. We are inclined to believe that this *Conſul* was ſurnamed *Coſſus*, in thoſe *Faſti*; at leaſt, it's certain this Surname belonged to the *Cornelian* Family.

Year of ROME CCXCIV.

Q. Fabius Virulanus and L. Cornelius Maluginensis, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 22. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 647.

§. IX. Under the new *Conſuls*, the Pretenſions of the *Tribunes*, and inteſtine Commotions revived together. *Virginius*, being made *Tribune* a third Year, ſtill hotly proſecuted the paſſing the *Terentian* Law. But the News, which came to *Rome* of the ſudden Motion of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, ſuſpended his Purſuits. The *Romans* were informed by their Allies, that the Enemies of the Republick, having a little recovered themſelves from their late Loſſes, were entered into the Country of the *Antiates*; that the treacherous City of *Antium* had delivered it ſelf up to the *Volſci*; and that even the *Romans*, who made a Colony in it, ſuffered themſelves to be drawn into the Revolt of the antient Inhabitants. This was too deſperate a Diſeaſe, not to require a ſpeedy Remedy: But it was then the Policy of the *Tribunes*, to take Advantage of the publick Neceſſities, by making them ſerviceable to their own Scheme. They could not without Difficulty be brought to conſent, that Troops ſhould be raiſed at *Rome*, ſoon enough to prevent the Irruptions of [40] the Enemy. The *Conſuls* choſe the military Expeditions they were to undertake, by Lot. It fell to *Fabius*, to go to the Country of the *Antiates* to drive out the *Volſci* from thence; and to *Cornelius*, to continue with his Army in the *Roman* Territory, to defend it againſt the Incurſions and Pillage of the *Æqui*. It is probable the greateſt part of *Cornelius*'s Soldiers were *Roman* Citizens. At leaſt, *Fabius*, his Collegue's Army, was reckoned to conſiſt of two thirds of Allies, and only one third of *Roman* Forces: Which was an unuſual Proportion, ſince the *Conſular* Armies had for a long time conſiſted of [41] half *Romans*, and half Allies. *Fabius* marched out of *Rome*, and firſt encamped near the Gate *Capena*; where he reviewed his Army, and found it to be made up equally of *Latins*, *Hernici*, and *Romans*. From thence he marched towards *Antium*, and poſted himſelf pretty near the Gate of the City, within reach of the Enemy. The *Volſci* kept cloſe in their Entrenchments, expecting to be joined by the *Æqui*, who were to come ſoon and increaſe their Army. *Fabius* did not defer beſieging the Camp of the *Volſci*. He divided his Army into three [42] Bodies, according to the Nations of which it conſiſted, and placed himſelf at the Head of his *Romans* in the Center, between the *Latins* and the *Hernici*. He commanded the two Wings to be very watchful of the Signal both for fighting and retreating, that they might all act jointly and uniformly. As for his Horſe *Fabius* did not poſt them, as uſual, in the two Wings, but in the third Line, as well of the Center, as of the Wings. In this fine order the *Roman* Army advanced towards the Entrenchments of the *Volſci*; who immediately left their Ramparts. They were inveſted and threatened on all ſides: And it was the more eaſy to attack the Fortifications of a Camp, which was full of Terror. Almoſt all the *Volſci* were drawn up, upon one Spot of the Ground which they had taken Poſſeſſion of. But the *Conſul* drove them from thence, and their Flight was followed by a general Slaughter. The *Roman* Cavalry, which had not acted in the Siege, becauſe only the two firſt Lines had been employed in the Aſſault, had its Share in the Victory. They purſued the flying Enemy, and covered the Plain with Dead. The Plunder was a great Booty to the *Roman* Army, who were ſcarce able to carry away the Spoils of the Enemy. And the *Volſci* had been deſtroyed at that time, if a neighbouring Foreſt had not given a Retreat to the Remains of their routed Forces.

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

Livy B. 3. *c.* 23. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 646.

But though the *Romans* were victorious on one ſide, the *Æqui* had the Advantage on the other. Marching out of their Country, to return to pillaging, as uſual, they had entered into the Territory of the *Latins*; and had by Night ſurprized the City of *Tuſculum*. The Enemies of *Rome* were enraged againſt theſe faithful *Latins*, who alone of all her Allies had brought her any Succours after the taking of the *Capitol*. Hence came the inhuman Treatment the *Æqui* gave the People of *Tuſculum*, of whom they made a terrible Slaughter. The Women and Children eſpecially, who could not eſcape, all periſhed by the Sword, or were

40 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that the Senate, being alarmed at the Storm which threatened the Republick, had made a Decree, in which they declared all thoſe *Romans* and Allies Enemies to their Country, who ſhould refuſe to march againſt the Enemy.

41 The Cavalry of the Allies was, in *Polybius*'s Time, double to that of the *Romans*. The Infantry of both was equal.

42 *Polybius* ſays the *Conſuls* who commanded the *Roman* Army, reſerved for themſelves the fifth part of the Foot, and the third of the Horſe, of the Troops of the Allies. They had a right to chooſe them. With theſe choſen Men the *Roman* Generals formed a Body, which was at their Diſpoſal, either to begin the Attack, or to reinforce the Legions, as there was Occaſion. The reſt were divided into two Bodies, which were placed on the two Flanks to ſupport the Legions.

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Q. Fabius Vibulanus, and L. Cornelius Maluginensis, Conſuls.

reduced to Slavery. As for the Men, a great Number of them ſaved themſelves by flight, and came to *Rome* to tell their Misfortunes. The Republick was bound in Honour and Gratitude to fly to the Aſſiſtance of the unhappy *Tuſculans*; but, which is almoſt incredible, the *Tribunes* refuſed the Conſul *Cornelius* any new Levies, till ſuch time as the *Terentian* Law had been accepted. Their Obſtinacy, on this Head, got the better of all the Principles of the *Roman* Virtue. *Fabius* therefore applied himſelf to deliver a City, which could not be abandoned by the *Romans* without Ingratitude. He haſtened thither with all the Diligence of one Friend, who is ſenſible of the Dangers of another. It muſt be granted, that the *Roman* Magnanimity was then in a manner confined to the *Patricians*. The *Conſul* left the Purſuit of his Victory, which he had gained over the *Volſci* in the Neighbourhood of *Antium*; and without other Proviſions, than a little Food, which the Soldiers picked up in haſte, he came and appeared before *Tuſculum*. It was left to *Cornelius* to take care to ſend Convoys of Proviſion to his Collegue's Army.

FABIUS's Deſign was to attack the Walls of *Tuſculum*, and the Camp of the *Æqui*, at the ſame time. He therefore divided his Army into two Parts. One half he gave the *Tuſculans*, to aſſiſt them in recovering their City; and with the other he haſtened to inveſt the *Æqui* in their Entrenchments. But theſe, finding themſelves too weak to hold out againſt the *Conſul*, inſtantly decamped, and ran to join the *Volſci* in the Defiles of the Hill *Algidus*. So that *Fabius* returned to the Siege of *Tuſculum*, with all his Forces. The City was very ſtrong, not only by Situation, but alſo by the Works the *Tuſculans* had raiſed about it, and the numerous Garriſon the *Æqui* had left in it; inſomuch that *Fabius*'s Attempts to take it by Force were in vain, and he therefore reſolved to ſtarve it out. Accordingly it was reduced to great Extremity, in a few Days: And the *Æqui* demanded a Capitulation. The Conqueror admitted them to Terms, and promiſed them their Lives, upon the publick Faith; but he left the *Tuſculans* the Pleaſure of making them all paſs under the 43 Yoke, naked and unarmed. In the mean time *Fabius*, though better pleaſed with reſtoring his Allies their City, than with his former Victory, yet did not defer purſuing the Enemy, in the By-roads of *Algidus*. He began his March in the Evening, after the Sun was down, and continuing it all Night, came in ſight of the united *Æqui* and *Volſci*, by break of Day. *Columa*, now *Colonna*, was the Place where he came up with the Enemy. He found them lying down in a Plain, in Confuſion, and without Ditches or Entrenchments. They were upon their own Lands, and were under no Apprehenſions from the *Romans*. So that *Fabius* took Advantage of their Security. He made the firſt Attack in Perſon, at the Head of his Cavalry. His Infantry followed him, and made the Hill ring with their Shouts. Such of the Enemy as were yet aſleep were cut to pieces; thoſe who made any Reſiſtance, were overcome, and if ſome Hiſtorians may be believed, they all, to a Man, were left dead upon the Place. But others contend, that they took a great Number of Priſoners, and recovered thoſe, whom the *Æqui* had taken from the *Tuſculans*, at the Surprize of their City. After this, *Fabius* penetrates, with the ſame Expedition, into the Heart of the Territory of the *Volſci*: And they all fled for Refuge to *Ecetræ* their *Capitol*. At leaſt their Lands were left expoſed to the Plunder of the *Romans*, and their Soldiers; who took the Advantage of it, and were rich for a great while.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 647. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 23.

*Livy B.*3. *Ibid. Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *Ibid.*

THE *Conſul Cornelius* likewiſe had his Turn. He had continued unactive, whilſt he had Reaſon to be under any Apprehenſions about the *Roman* Territory. But as

43 It was cuſtomary with the *Romans*, to humble a conquered Enemy, and treat them with Ignominy, by making them *paſs under the Yoke*. They gave this Name to a ſort of Gallows, conſiſting of two Stakes, ſet perpendicular into the Ground, and a third laid croſs them. Sometimes, they ſtuck two Pikes into the Ground, and laid a third croſs them, without farther Ceremony. Such of the Enemy as had ſurrendered to the Conqueror, were obliged to paſs under this *Yoke*, after which they recovered their Liberty, and had leave to return into their own Country. Such as had been taken in Arms, were either puniſhed with Death, or reduced to Slavery, and put up to publick Sale: Which was called *ſub corona venire*, becauſe, according to *Aulus Gellius B.* 7. *c.* 4. and according to *Cato*, in a Book he had written upon the Art of War, the Enemies taken in War were put to ſale, with *a Crown* upon their Heads, probably by way of Deriſion. *Aulus Gellius*'s Words are theſe. *Sicuti antiquitus mancipia, jure belli capta, coronis induta veniebant, & idcirco dicebantur ſub corona venire; namque ut ea corona ſignum erat captivorum venalium, ita pileus impoſitus demonſtrabat, ejuſmodi ſervos venundari, quorum nomine emptor venditori nihil præſtabat, vel quod milites cuſtodiæ cauſâ, captivorum venalium greges circumſtarent: Eaque circumſtatio militum corona appellata ſit ſed id magis verum eſt quod ſupradictum.*

Year of *ROME* CCXCI.

Q. Fabius Vibulanus, and L. Cornelius Maluginensis, Conſuls.

ſoon as *Fabius*'s Victories had ſecured it, his Collegue wholly applied himſelf to the Purſuit of Glory, and the doing Service to his Country. He turned his Arms to the Conqueſt of treacherous *Antium*, and came to finiſh *Fabius*'s Scheme. Upon his Entrance into the Country of the *Antiates*, he found there an Army of *Æqui* and *Volſci*, which waited for him. But one ſingle Battel put them to flight and diſperſed them. After this, *Cornelius*, who encamped within reach of the City, expected the Citizens to march out, and give him a ſecond Battel. But Fear kept them within their Walls. *Cornelius* therefore now thought of nothing but waſting all the Country round the Place; when all on a ſudden, the *Antiates* opened their Gates, and came out in Confuſion to engage him. They were however inſtantly repulſed by the *Roman* Troops, almoſt without coming to any Engagement, and driven back fighting, till they came within their 44 Ramparts. And *Cornelius* took the Advantage of their Conſternation. He immediately ordered their Walls to be ſcaled, and their Gates broke open with the *Ram*, without giving them time to breathe. Upon this the Beſieged made but a little Reſiſtance, *Antium* was retaken, and once more brought into Subjection to the Republick. The Spoils were divided between the publick Treaſury, and the *Roman* Soldiers. The Gold, Silver, and Braſs, which were found there, were carried to *Rome*, and put into the Hands of the *Queſtors*, as well as the Slaves, who were ſold for the Benefit of the Republick. The Proviſions, Moveables, and other Utenſils of the Citizens, were given up to the Plunder of the Troops. The *Conſul* made the Nobility of the Place, and the moſt conſiderable Inhabitants of the City, Examples of Severity. They had been the Authors of the Revolt, and were therefore carried by his Order into the Market-place, and firſt whipped with Rods for a great while, and then beheaded by the *Lictors*. The *Æqui* found themſelves ſo much weakened by ſo many Loſſes, that their only Refuge was to have Recourſe to the Clemency of the *Romans*. Upon which, the Senate granted them a Peace, on the ſame Conditions, on which it had formerly been granted to the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. They were left in Poſſeſſion of their own Cities, Lands, and Laws; but under the Dominion of *Rome*. They were likewiſe exempted from paying any Tribute, and put under no Obligations to the Republick, but that of aſſiſting her with their Troops, whenever the Senate ſhould call for them. This warlike and turbulent Nation, would from that time have been thought by the *Romans* a conquered People, if the natural Inconſtancy of the *Æqui* had not ſoon after broke their Union with them.

But whilſt the *Conſuls* were employed Abroad, in gaining Battels, taking Cities, and keeping the Enemy within Bounds, the College of the *Tribunes* at Home ſtill continued to murmur loudly againſt them. According to them, *Fabius* and *Cornelius* kept their Troops ſo long out of the City only to obſtruct the paſſing of the *Terentian* Law. *If all the Citizens, who are in the Armies, were at* Rome, *the Law*, ſaid they, *would have been already accepted in lawful* Comitia. *We will therefore proceed*, added they, *and go on to paſs the Law before the Armies return.* *Lucretius*, who was then Governor of *Rome*, was forced to make uſe of all his Intereſt, to prevent the *Tribunes* from putting their Deſigns haſtily in Execution. A freſh Accident had juſt then increaſed the Diſcontents of the *Tribunes*. The *Queſtors* for the preſent Year were two *Patricians* of great Probity. They diſcovered that *Volſcius* had born falſe Witneſs, in the Affair of *Cæſo Quinctius*, and had been ſuborned by *Virginius* to deſtroy the young *Patrician*. The Proofs they had of his bearing falſe Witneſs were unqueſtionable. It was certain, that the Brother of *Volſcius*, whom the *Tribunes* ſaid, *Cæſo* had killed with his own Hand, in one of the Streets of *Rome*, before he was recovered from his Sickneſs, had not ſtirred out of his Bed, from the

44 Thus far *Livy* agrees exactly with *Dion. Hal.* as to the Defeat of the *Volſci* and *Æqui*, by *Fabius*, before *Antium*; the Revolt of that City from the *Romans*; the taking of *Tuſculum* by the *Æqui*; and the retaking it again by the ſame *Conſul*, who reſtored it to the *Tuſculans*. But the *Latin* Author ſeems to queſtion whether *Lucius Cornelius* had any part in this War, or even in the taking of *Antium*, the Honour of which is given to *Cornelius* by the *Greek* Hiſtorian. *Livy* ſays he found no mention of this Fact in the antient Annals, which furniſhed him with his Materials. *Lucium Cornelium bellum id geſſiſſe, oppidumque cepiſſe, certum affirmare, quia nulla apud vetuſtiores ſcriptores ejus rei mentio eſt, non auſim.* It is probable *Livy* had not ſeen the Memoirs, *Dion. Hal.* made uſe of. Beſides the relation of the *Greek* Hiſtorian is confirmed by the *Faſti Capitolini*. They tell us that both *Conſuls* obtained the Honours of a Triumph. *Livy* himſelf does not deny it; but is forced to acknowledge it ſome Lines after. This plainly ſhews the Inconſiſtency of the Story, and the Contradiction of its Author.

time that he was ſeized with that Sickneſs, but languiſhed till he died of it. It was likewiſe demonſtrated that *Cæſo* was in the Army at the time that he was accuſed of committing this Murder in *Rome*, and that he had not left the Army the whole Campaign. The Queſtion at preſent, was not indeed, whether *Cæſo* ſhould be recalled from his Baniſhment; for it appears that he was dead, when the *Queſtors* undertook to juſtify him. *Volſcius* was then one of the *Tribunes*, and his nine Collegues were his Friends and his Defenders. Nevertheleſs the two *Queſtors* had the Courage to cite him to appear before the People. But *Volſcius* finding they had ſuch very convincing Proofs of his Crime, was ſuſpicious of the Succeſs of his Cauſe, and refuſed to appear, though a *Tribune*, and protected: And the *Tribunes* his Defenders proteſted againſt holding any Aſſembly of the *Comitia* by the *Queſtors*, till the Affair of the *Terentian* Law was concluded. Theſe Conteſts, which were ſpun out, were continued till the *Conſuls* returned. The Senate went out to meet them without the Gates of the City, and they both entered triumphantly into *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CCXCIV.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, and L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, Conſuls.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 648. and *Faſti Capitol.*

No *Conſuls*, for a great while paſt, had more juſtly deſerved the Honours of a Triumph. They had both won Battels, taken Cities, and had forced a turbulent Nation to ſubmit to the Dominion of *Rome*. Their Adminiſtration had not been diſturbed by very many Commotions at Home, for ſo tempeſtuous a Seaſon. For the remaining part of their Year, neither the *Queſtors* ſaid any thing of condemning *Volſcius*, nor the *Tribunes* of their *Terentian* Law. The latter had a Deſign in view, which more nearly concerned them; which was to get themſelves continued *Tribunes* a fourth, Year. It was probably in this quiet Interval, that the *Conſuls* finiſhed the *Cenſus* of the People, which had been begun the Year before, by their Predeceſſors, and been interrupted by the taking of the *Capitol*. They reckoned up 132419 Citizens of *Rome*, excluſive of the Women, the Children under Age to bear Arms, the Slaves, and the meaneſt of the Artificers. This was the tenth *Luſtrum*, ſince *Servius Tullius* firſt eſtabliſhed them.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 24.

§. X. THE illuſtrious *Conſuls* of the laſt Year left *C. Nautius* and *L. Minutius* 45, who ſucceeded them, two Affairs to finiſh, which diſturbed the beginning of their Adminiſtration. The *Tribunes* were always hotly bent upon their *Terentian* Law; and the Nobility purſued the Proſecution of *Volſcius*, who ſeems to have purchaſed the *Tribunate*, with the falſe Witneſs he gave againſt *Cæſo Quinctius*. *Volſcius*, as well as his Collegues, were ſtill continued in their Offices by an illegal Election. The whole College of *Tribunes* therefore made uſe of all their Intereſt, both to paſs the Law, and divert the Condemnation of *Volſcius*. As to the latter Article, the *Queſtors* for the Year were Men of Weight enough to carry it againſt the *Tribunes*. *T. Quintius* was then *Queſtor*, after having been three times *Conſul*, and was related to the unfortunate *Cæſo*. His Relation to him authorized his revenging the Calumny thrown upon his Couſin, and his clearing the *Manes* of the Dead from the Aſſaſſination, with which he had been charged. The *Tribunes* had no Refuge left, but to demand that *Comitia* might firſt be *held* for the paſſing the *Terentian* Law, before they ſuffered any to be held, to try *Volſcius*. And the Compromiſe was this, that they ſhould ſubmit their Law to the Examination of the *Conſuls* for two Months, that they might give the People their Opinions of it, that is, ſhew them the Inconveniencies which would attend it. After which, the *Tribunes* ſhould be permitted to make their Report of it to the *Centuries* in their Turn, and they, on their ſide, promiſed that they would then conſent that *Volſcius*'s Cauſe ſhould be determined by the Suffrages of the People. The *Conſuls* thought, by this means, to have gained two Months Tranquillity, but it was ſoon interrupted by foreign Wars. The *Æqui* were too reſtleſs and too proud, to continue long in a peaceable Subjection to *Rome*. The Treaty they had made the laſt Year became burthenſome to them. They therefore found out an Evaſion to break it, with ſome ſhew of Juſtice. They had not included the Allies of *Rome*, in the Conventions they had made with the *Romans*, nor had they engaged themſelves not to make War with them. This indeed was a meer Shift; for to diſturb the Peace of the Allies of any Nation, whom it is obliged to defend, is in reality declaring War againſt that Nation

Year of *ROME* CCXCV.
C. NAUTIUS, and L. MINUTIUS, Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 25.

45 *Diodorus* gives *Lucius Minutius* the Surname of *Carutianus*. That of *Augurinus* was common in the *Minutian* Family. The ſame Author, and the *Faſti Capitolini* give *Caius Nautius* the Surname of *Rutilus*. The *Faſti Siculi* make *Nautius* and *Atratinus* Conſuls for this Year 295.

itſelf.

Year of *ROME* CCXCV.

C. Nautius and L. Minutius, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 649. and *Livy B.* 3. *Ibid.*

itſelf. But the *Æqui* had no Regard to theſe Conſiderations. They placed a Lord of their own Country over them, whoſe Name was *Cluilius* or *Clælius*. He was a rich Man, who had uſurped a ſort of ſovereign Authority, in his Republick; and had a great deal of Activity, joined with great Ingenuity. He made a ſudden Irruption into the Country of the *Latins*, and penetrated into the Territory of *Tuſculum*, by *Labicum*. From thence he retired near *Algidus* loaded with Spoil, and there encamped. The People of *Rome* were ſurprized at this Attempt of the *Æqui*, and the Breach of their Promiſes. Yet ſtill they treated them as Allies. Before they would declare War with them, they ſent them a Deputation of three Men, who were illuſtrious, both for their Exploits and their Triumphs. Theſe were *Fabius*, the *Conſul* for the laſt Year, *P. Volumnius*, and *A. Poſthumius*. The Envoys demanded of *Cluilius* Satisfaction for his Irruption into the Territory of the *Tuſculans*, ſo ſoon after a Treaty had been concluded with *Rome*. *You can complain*, ſaid they, *of no Act of Hoſtility committed againſt you, by our Allies. Reſtore therefore the Slaves you have taken from them; make them Reparation for the Miſchief you have done them by your Incurſions; and withdraw your Army far from their Lands.* *Cluilius* long deferred giving the *Romans* any Anſwer, and pretended Variety of Buſineſs prevented him. But at laſt he gave them another Audience, and with an haughty Air, ſaid: *It is ſurprizing*, Romans, *that you ſhould revenge your own Injuries with ſo much Fury; and yet not ſuffer other People, who are injured, to revenge the Miſchiefs that are done them by their Enemies, by force of Arms. Have we engaged ourſelves, by any Treaty with you, to ſpare the* Tuſculans? *If we have done any Miſchief upon your Lands, we are ready to give you Satisfaction; but if you only demand that Reparation be made for what the* Tuſculans *have ſuffered, this Oak may anſwer you for me:* Pointing to a great Oak which ſtood by him, and which ſpreading its Shade round the Place, ſerved for the General's Tent. *Yes*, boldly replied one of the *Roman* Deputies, *this ſacred Oak, and all the Gods in Heaven will be Witneſſes and revenge us of your Perjuries. Our Arms, and the Protection of the deſpiſed Gods, will ſoon make you repent of them.* No ſooner were the Envoys returned to *Rome*, but the Senate ordered three Armies to be raiſed, one to defend the City, a ſecond to march againſt *Cluilius*, and the third to go and lay waſte the Country of the *Æqui*. Then the *Tribunes* had recourſe to their uſual Intrigues. They oppoſed the inliſting of the People, for fear the paſſing their *Terentian* Law ſhould be deferred, till the Armies and *Conſuls* returned. But a freſh Danger, which threatened the Republick, made the People themſelves neglect the Oppoſitions of their *Tribunes*. At the ſame time that the *Æqui* had declared themſelves againſt the *Tuſculans*, ſome Cantons of *Sabines* had conſpired to come and plunder the Territory of *Rome*. They entered it with Confidence, and penetrated as far as to the City [46] of *Fidena*, which was but forty *Stadia* diſtant from *Rome*. The Fear of theſe new Enemies made an Impreſſion on the Minds of the People, and the Citizens themſelves demanded that two Armies ſhould be raiſed. One was committed to the Command of the *Conſul Nautius*, and was appointed to march againſt the *Sabines*. His Collegue *Minutius* was appointed to march with the other, to revenge the Wrongs of the *Tuſculans*, and puniſh the *Æqui*. *Nautius* executed his Commiſſion happily. He came and encamped at *Eretum*, and by little Skirmiſhes, and Incurſions by Night, without attempting a general Action, made Repriſals upon the *Sabines*, for the Plunder they had taken in the *Roman* Territory. As to the *Æqui*, the *Romans* ſhewed them all the Regard, which Clemency inſpires, in favour of Allies. They ſent ſome *Feciales* to them to declare War with them, if they refuſed to give the *Tuſculans* Satisfaction. At laſt, *Minutius* ſet out from *Rome*, and came and encamped near *Algidus*, in ſight of *Cluilius*. Here this *Conſul*, who was a good Citizen, but a bad Officer, immediately diſgraced himſelf by his timorous and irreſolute Conduct. Inſtead of attacking the Enemy boldly, he kept himſelf hid in his Entrenchments, and his Fear increaſed the Confidence of the *Æqui*. *Cluilius* judged, by the Poſture of the *Roman* Army, that he might deceive this unex-

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 648.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 26.

46 Thus we ought to read the *Roman* MS. and *Lapus*'s Verſion, according to the *Greek* Text of *Dion. Hal.* Some, inſtead of *Fidena*, read with ſome MSS. *as far as Dyna.* But beſides that we no where find any Footſteps of this pretended City, *that* here ſpoken of, is a City of the *Sabines*, about forty *Stadia* diſtant from *Rome*. This Diſtance agrees with *Fidena*, and gives room to ſuppoſe, that the Copyiſts have taken ſome of the Syllables of the Word *Fidena*, and made another City of them, under the Name of *Dyna*.

perienced General by a Stratagem of War. He therefore decamped, with Deſign to make the *Roman* Army follow him, and lead it into a Valley ſurrounded by Hills on all ſides. As for himſelf, he marched out of it with his Troops, through a Paſs which he kept guarded, and forced the *Romans*, in ſpight of themſelves, to encamp in the Place where they were ſhut in. There the *Roman* Troops ſaw themſelves without Forrage for their Cavalry, and unable, without the utmoſt Difficulty, to get any Convoys of Proviſion. The Enemy had ſeized all the Paſſages which lead to the Valley. Then the *Æqui* attempted to attack the *Roman* Camp; but the *Conſul* bravely repelled Force with Force. But he had not the ſame Succeſs when he attempted to break his Way through the Defiles of which the *Æqui* had made themſelves Maſters. The *Romans* were always repulſed in their Attacks, and forced to continue in their Camp. The *Conſul* was in the utmoſt Danger, when five Horſe, who eſcaped out of the inveſted Camp, came and brought the News to *Rome*. In the mean time *Cluilius*, to make the Eſcape of the *Romans* yet more difficult, dug a Ditch, and raiſed Forts round about them. He expected to take them Priſoners at Diſcretion, and to force them by Hunger to lay down their Arms. The Report of *Minutius*'s Danger threw the *Romans* into a Conſternation. They were as much frighted, as if *Rome* it ſelf had been beſieged. They therefore haſtened to recal *Nautius* from *Sabinia*; but he ſeemed too weak a Man to bear the Weight of the preſent State of Affairs. So that they were a great while conſidering what to do; and at laſt thought no Expedient better, than that of creating a *Dictator*.

Year of *ROME* CCXCV. C. NAUTIUS and L. MINUTIUS, Conſuls.

§. XI. THE famous *Quintius Cincinnatus*, whoſe Retreat ſeemed to have made him forgotten, was without Delay nominated to the Dictatorſhip. Poverty did not then ſtop up the Way to great Honours; it was not ſo much Pomp, as ſolid and known Merit, which led to them. In the mean time *T. Quintius* the *Queſtor* was diſpatched in haſte with ſome Troops, to obſerve the Situation of the Enemy, and give an Account of it. Then a Meſſage was ſent to fetch *Cincinnatus* from his Cottage, beyond *the Tyber*, over againſt the Place, which has ſince ſerved for a [47] Port to the City. The Train of Attendants that was ſent to him, was numerous. Four and twenty *Lictors* with their *Axes* and *Faſces* went before the *Roman* Deputies, and this Train was followed by a good Number of led Horſes for the War.

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AN Officer brought him the purple Habit, made after the Faſhion of thoſe worn by the Kings, which was now only worn by *Dictators*, as a Mark of their ſovereign Authority. The laborious *Quintius* was then at Work in his Field [48] with his Wife *Racilia*. As he had undreſſed himſelf to be the more fit for Work, as ſoon as he ſaw a Company coming towards him, he ſent *Racilia* to fetch his Robe out of his Hut, that he might receive the Deputation in a decent manner. And when he had got his City-habit on, *How go Affairs*, ſaid he to the Envoys, ſtill keeping his Spade in his Hand? *Rome*, replied they, *being in the utmoſt Danger ſtands in need of a* Dictator, *and has pitched upon you to be the Man. You are the only Refuge your Country has.* At theſe Words he ſighed, as formerly, when he was made *Conſul*, and was ſorry to be again obliged to leave his Field uncultivated. Nevertheleſs he obeyed the Orders of the Senate, and after he had cleaned himſelf, took the Habit of his new Dignity. A Boat lay ready to carry him to *Rome* down *the Tyber:* And when he landed his three Sons were upon the Bank of the River, and lent him their Hands to help him aſhore. His Friends and Relations waited for him on the Strand, and the beſt part of the Senate came to meet him. He entered *Rome*, preceded by the *Lictors*, and attended by a Multitude of the Nobility; and was conducted to his Houſe with the Acclamations of the People. But it muſt be owned, that the Multitude were afraid, a Man of an auſtere Virtue, when inveſted with the ſupream Authority, would make many Alterations in the Manners and Cuſtoms of the City.

47 This Port of *Rome* was made near the Bridge *Sublicius*. *Dion. Hal.* aſſures us it was built by King *Ancus Martius*. Hither the Barks laden with Wine from *Hetruria* and *Campania*, came to unload. So that the Gate, which ſtood on that ſide of the City, was called *Porta Vinaria*. It had likewiſe the Name of *Porta Navalis*, from the *Latin* Word *Navalia*; which was the Name given to the Port we ſpeak of. This Gate was likewiſe afterwards called *Porta Portuenſis*, becauſe it led towards the *Port* of *Oſtia*.

48 This Field contained but four Acres. In *Livy*'s time, it was a Meadow called *Prata Quintia*, i. e. *Quintius*'s *Meadows*. *Eutropius* ſpeaks of it, *B.* 1. This Meadow lay at a ſmall Diſtance from *Rome*, *in agro Vaticano*, according to *Pliny B.* 18. between the Place where at preſent lies the Vineyard of *Medicis*, or *la Vigna di Madama*, the Caſtle of *St. Angelo*, and *the Gate of the People*. This Field is known at *Rome*, by the Name of *Di Prati*.

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QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

NEVERTHELESS, the Harangue the *Dictator* made to the People, removed all their Fears, and filled them with Courage and Confidence. The Night approaching, he only ordered that a good Guard ſhould be kept upon the Ramparts. The next Day, as ſoon as it was Light, *Quintius Cincinnatus* aſſembled the *Comitia*, and in them choſe himſelf a General of Horſe, as was uſual with *Dictators*. His Choice fell upon a Man as poor and as brave as himſelf. Who was [49] *L. Tarquitius*, a Man born of a *Patrician* Family, but not a very famous one. He had to this time never ſerved but on Foot, and his Poverty had concealed his Merit. The *Dictator* had obſerved his Valour and good Conduct, in the Campaigns *Tarquitius* had made under him, and his Eſteem for him led him to do him Juſtice. The firſt Order the *Dictator* made, was that all the Tribunals, and all the Shops in *Rome*, ſhould be ſhut up. Then he commanded all the Youth in the City and Country to take Arms, and aſſembled the Troops of the Allies. And now the Army was ſoon got ready, becauſe the *Tribunes* dared not oppoſe the Will of the *Dictator*.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 651.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 27.

THEN *Quintius* ordered his Soldiers to be in the *Campus Martius*, before Sun-ſet, and every Man to bring with him five Days Proviſion, and twelve Stakes for Palliſades. He ordered the Veterans to ſerve as Bakers, and bake the Bread for the young Men; and gave the latter Leave to cut their Stakes wherever they found them. Accordingly the Troops appeared at the *Rendezvous*, ready to march, and to fight. The *Dictator* put himſelf at the Head of the Foot, *Tarquitius* commanded the Horſe, and they marched with incredible Expedition. *Quintius* was perpetually telling his Troops, that the Victory depended upon their Expedition, and that it was of the utmoſt Conſequence for them to come up with the *Æqui* before Day. The Words *March, March, Advance, Advance*, were communicated from Legion to Legion, and from Cohort to Cohort. The Soldiers repeated them, to encourage one another, and to pleaſe their Commanders. And indeed every Moment was precious. The Buſineſs was to deliver a *Conſular* Army, which was likely to be deſtroyed, if they were negligent. Their March therefore was ſo quick, and the Vigour of the Soldiers ſo great, that they came near *Algidus* about Midnight.

THE firſt Precaution the *Dictator* took, was to poſſeſs himſelf of the Eminencies which ſurrounded the *Æqui*, to prevent their receiving any Succours. Then he rode round their Entrenchments, in order to diſcover the Situation of them, as far as the Night would give him leave. And laſtly, he ordered all the Baggage to be put together in one Place. Theſe Preparations were followed by a March, very like that from *Rome* to *Algidus*. The Troops filed off quite round the Entrenchments the *Æqui* had made, in the ſame order in which they came, to ſurround *Minutius's* Camp. So that the Enemies were themſelves inveſted, and to compleat their Misfortune, they had two *Roman* Armies to fight with, one before them, in the middle of the Valley where the *Conſul* was ſhut up, the other behind them, upon the Eminencies, where the *Dictator* had poſted himſelf.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

QUINTIUS made known his Arrival to the *Conſul*, by his Troops making a great Shout all at once. The Sound of it ſpread it ſelf through the Valley, and reached the inveſted Camp. Upon this, the *Conſular* Army thought that Succours were arrived, and expreſſed as much Joy at it, as the *Æqui* did Terror. *Minutius* judged by the Shouts of the *Romans*, not only that a *Roman* Army was come to his Defence, but alſo that they were already engaged with the Enemy. He therefore called his Troops to Arms, and without tarrying for the Light, began the Battel with another Shout, which was heard in the *Dictator's* Army. The *Æqui* firſt turned their Arms againſt *Quintius* to hinder his ſurrounding them, but they were called back to aſſiſt their Troops, which the *Conſul*, marching out of his Camp, had already repulſed with Vigour, in order to make himſelf a Way through the Army which inveſted him. The *Dictator* therefore took the Opportunity of this Time to finiſh his Contravallation. The Stakes the Soldiers had brought were of great uſe to him. They ſerved for building ſeveral little Forts, at different Diſtances, whereby the *Æqui* were ſo ſhut in, as to have no Way left to eſcape.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 28.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

[49] In other Editions of *Livy*, we read *Lucius Tarquinius* inſtead of *L. Tarquitius*. But this is a Miſtake of the Copyiſts. The Family of the *Tarquins* was proſcribed at *Rome*. It appears likewiſe that the Branch of King *Tarquin the Proud* was abſolutely extinct. Beſides, *Livy's* adding that *Tarquinius* was of a *Patrician* Family, would have been abſolutely uſeleſs, if he was ſpeaking of a *Tarquin*.

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QUINTIUS CINCINMATUS, Dictator.

CLUILIUS then ſaw himſelf in the ſame Extremities, to which he had reduced the *Conſul Minutius*. He wanted Proviſions, and had two *Roman* Armies to engage with. His Enemies did not give him a Moment's time to breathe, and his Troops were not able to ſupport two Attacks at the ſame Time. It was therefore 50 abſolutely neceſſary to ſubmit, and have recourſe to humble Supplications. Then the *Conſul* and the *Dictator* took a Pleaſure in humbling the proud *Cluilius*. They ſent him backwards and forwards from one to the other, and firſt made Sport of him, before they inflicted a more ſevere Puniſhment upon him. At length, the *Dictator* gave the Envoys of the *Æqui* a hearing; who asked nothing of the *Romans* but Peace and Life. *No*, replied the Dictator, *I don't thirſt after your Blood, but I muſt puniſh your Perfidiouſneſs. Let* Cluilius, *and the chief Commanders of your Troops, and Heads of the Revolt, be brought hither in Chains. I will give the reſt of the Army leave to return into their own Countries, with Impunity. Only, you ſhall all paſs* under the Yoke, *to imprint it more ſtrongly on your Memory, that the* Æqui *are a Nation conquered by the* Romans.

THE *Yoke* was then a ſort of Door-caſe, made by three Lances, two of which were fixed into the Ground like Side-poſts, and the third laid over them like a Lintel. A People, which had paſſed *under the Yoke*, was thought ſubdued. The *Dictator* would likewiſe have the City of *Corbio*, which then belonged to the *Æqui*, plundered, by way of Reprizal for the Plunder of *Tuſculum*; only ſparing the Lives and Liberty of the Citizens who were Freemen. All theſe Articles were accepted. *Cluilius* and his Accomplices in the Revolt were delivered up to the *Dictator*, and the *Æqui* marched out of their Camp, *under the Roman Yoke*, ſtriped and diſarmed. *Quintius* diſtributed the Spoil they had taken in the Enemy's Camp, and out of the City of *Corbio*, only among the Soldiers of his own Army. The *Dictator* thought the *Conſul Minutius*, and his Legions, did not deſerve to ſhare the Spoil of the *Æqui* with his Troops. *Daſtardly Soldiers!* ſays he to them, *you were almoſt become a Prey to your Enemies; and it is not therefore juſt that you ſhould have any Share of their Riches. As for you*, Minutius, adds he, *you have hitherto behaved your ſelf unworthy of the* Conſulate, *learn therefore to merit it by new Services. Study the Trade of War in an inferior Rank, and barely as a Lieutenant-General in my Army, before you pretend again to command in chief.*

THE Equity of the *Dictator* was applauded, and the *Conſul* was obedient: He laid down his Office. *Minutius* and his Army were ſo far from thinking themſelves ill-uſed by the *Dictator*, that they preſented him 51 with a Crown of Gold of a Pound Weight, and called him their Deliverer. So impartially juſt were the *Romans* at that

50 *Dion. Hal.* differs a little from *Livy*, in his Account of the Circumſtances of this Battel. *Cluilius*, ſays the *Greek* Hiſtorian, was perſonally brave. Far from being ſurprized at the Approaches of the *Roman* Army, he received it with Steadineſs. The Action was ſharp on both ſides, and the Victory was long diſputed. But the *Romans* underſtood ſo well how to diſtribute their Cavalry and Infantry, as occaſion offered, and came ſo ſeaſonably to the Aſſiſtance of their Troops, wherever the Enemy ſeemed to have the Aſcendant, that they at laſt tired out *Cluilius*'s Army, which was entirely defeated. The General of the *Æqui* choſe, in this Extremity, to fly to his Camp, in order to ſell his Life the dearer. But the *Dictator*, who purſued him without Intermiſſion, left him no Way to eſcape, by means of the high Palliſades he had planted all round the Enemy's Camp, and of an Entrenchment he made, and fortified with ſeveral Towers, at proper Diſtances. And he at the ſame time gave Orders to *Minutius*, to extend his Army behind the *Æqui*, and ſtop all the Paſſes, whilſt he himſelf ſhould continue to tire out *Cluilius* with the moſt vigorous Attacks.

51 *Aurelius Victor* ſays, *Cincinnatus* received a *Corona Obſidionalis*, at the Hands of *Minutius*, who gave it him in the Name of the whole Army. This was one of the Marks of Diſtinction that could be given a Soldier. This military Reward was not given by the General to private Men. The right of giving it belonged to the whole Army, who generally ordered it for him, who had forced the Enemy to raiſe *a Siege*, or had delivered Troops which were ſo poſted, that it was difficult for them to eſcape. This Crown was made of Herbs or Graſs gathered upon the

Year of *ROME* CCXCV.

QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

that time! *Fabius* the Governor of the City assembled the Senate: Who, as soon as they received the News of so important a Victory, decreed the *Dictator* a Triumph. No General had ever more justly deserved it; and the new Magnificence with which it was adorned, seems to have been a Reward due to *Quintius*'s Modesty, who was always averse to Ostentation. It was appointed that when he entered *Rome*, the two Armies, namely that of *Minutius* and his own, should march before him. The General of the Enemy's Army [52], and the other Officers of the *Æqui* walked before his Chariot in Chains, two and two, with such *Yokes* as were put upon Oxen about their Necks. Which was doubtless to shew, that the triumphant Victor had been taken from the Plough. Tables were spread before all the Houses in the Streets of *Rome*, and covered with Refreshments for the victorious Soldiers. *Quintius*'s Chariot was followed by People who sung triumphal Songs, and by Buffoons [53], who diverted the Spectators with their Drollery. On this glorious Day, the *Dictator* made *L. Mamilius* a Citizen of *Rome*, and rewarded him for his Fidelity, in having formerly run to defend the *Capitol*.

Flor. B. 1. c. 11. Orosius B. 21. c. 12. Livy B. 3. c. 29.

THOUGH *Quintius Cincinnatus* had finished his Expedition in sixteen Days, and had yet near six Months [54] to come, before his *Dictatorship* expired, he had Thoughts of laying it down immediately. His beloved Solitude, and his Husbandry, called him into the Country. But his Friends persuaded him to continue in his Office for some Days, to finish the Prosecution against *Volscius*, and to do Justice to the Memory of his Son *Cæso*. The *Curiæ* were therefore assembled, by his supream Authority, and the *Tribunes* durst not oppose it. *Volscius* was condemned by the free Suffrages of the People, to suffer [55] according to the Law of Retaliation. He had by a false Calumny forced *Cæso Quinctius* to banish himself: And he was now, in his Turn, condemned to

the Ground which the General had by his Valour brought again under the Dominion of its first Masters. But *Quintius*'s was of Gold. It was most commonly made of nothing but *Grass*, and was therefore called *Corona Graminea*. It differed from the *Corona Civica* in this, that the former was the Reward of him, who had saved a City or an Army; whereas the latter was given to him, who had saved only the Life of one of his Fellow-Citizens. *Aulus Gellius* speaks of the *Corona Obsidionalis*, in his fifth Book, thus: *Obsidionalis est, quam ii, qui liberati sunt obsidione, dant ei Duci qui liberavit.* *Pliny* mentions it, *B.* 22. *Graminea nunquam nisi in suprema desperatione contigit. Nulli, nisi ab universo exercitu servato decreta. Cæteras Imperatores dedere, hanc solam miles imperatori.* The same Author declares how honourable this Reward was, in these Words: *Gemmatæ* [coronæ] *& aureæ, vallares, murales, rostratæ, civicæ, triumphales, post hanc fuere, suntque cunctæ magno intervallo.* The *Corona Obsidionalis* was almost of the Form it is here represented.

52 It was customary for the Victor to be preceded, in the triumphal Procession, by Kings, the principal Commanders of the Enemy's Army, and the Prisoners of War, all loaded with Chains. And it was not uncommon, for the most guilty Persons, who had been the Authors of the War or the Revolt, to be carried to Prison in order to be put to death, whilst the triumphant General was passing from the *Forum* to the *Capitol*; as we learn from *Josephus*, *B.* 7. and from *Strabo B.* 12. The former adds, that the Victor suspended his offering up the Victims to the Honour of *Jupiter*, till such time as News was brought him, that the Prisoners condemned to die were executed. *Livy* says, that in order to increase the State of *Quintius*'s Triumph, the Standards and Ensigns were carried before him. His Troops, loaded with the Spoils of the Enemy, followed the triumphal Pomp. According to the *Capitoline Marbles*, the *Dictator* triumphed on the *Ides*, that is the 13th Day, of *September*.

53 In these publick Rejoicings the Soldiers often mixed with their Songs satyrical Reflections, even upon the General himself. We shall meet with more than one Instance of this licentious Custom, in the Course of this History. It is hard to trace so extravagant a Custom up to its Origin. Indeed, if *Bacchus*, as *Pliny* assures us, was the Author of the first Triumph, the Rise of this Custom is to be sought for in him. The first Footsteps we find of this Licentiousness of the Tongue, are in the Festivals celebrated to the Honour of this God. It is well known, that in the Triumph, which *Alexander* decreed himself, in Imitation of that of *Bacchus*, the common Soldiers gave themselves the Liberty of passing severe Jokes upon the triumphing Victor. But it is nevertheless more probable, that the Liberty which was always given the People by the *Romans* in the Celebration of their Sports, and of some particular Festivals, gave Birth to this Abuse. Their *Saturnalia* were Times of Licence for the Servants with respect to their Masters. In like manner, the Women Servants had the Liberty of reflecting, in the most bitter manner, on their Mistresses, in the *Matronalia*. The Sports of the *Circus* had their Buffoons, in the pompous Procession from the *Capitol*. Men disguised in ridiculous Habits, often turned the most venerable Things into ridicule. This Buffoonery took place even in their funeral Processions. Persons who were hired to play the Buffoon, wore a Mask, which was like the Deceased, and mimicked him in his Gesture, in his Manner, and in whatever was most remarkable about him.

54 The *Roman* Laws had limited the time of the *Dictatorship* to six Months. When this Term was expired, the *Dictator* quitted the Marks of his Dignity, and returned the Republick the Power it had entrusted him with. *Dictatorem majores nostri dixerunt, & imperium illi, non ultra sextum mensem dederunt.* *Tully B.* 3. *de Legib.* This Precaution was necessary to prevent the Projects of an ambitious Magistrate. Sometimes, in Cases of great Necessity, the *Dictator* was continued for six Months longer.

55 The *Lex Talionis*, or *Law of Retaliation*, enacted, that the Punishment should be equal to the Offence. This Law, which is founded upon natural Principles, and is commanded in the *Old Testament*, was introduced among the *Greeks* by *Solon*. From them it passed to the *Romans*, who made it one of the Laws of the twelve Tables. Nevertheless

to Baniſhment, and the Place of his Exile was *Lavinium*. After this, the *Dictator* deferred no longer to quit the Purple. He gave the People an Account of his Adminiſtration in an Harangue, wherein he did not ſay ſo much of his Services, as of his Zeal for the publick Good. In vain did the Senate offer him a vaſt Tract of Ground, in the Country he had conquered. In vain did the *Romans* labour to make him accept of a certain Number of Slaves, which he had taken from the Enemy, and to take a Proportion of their Spoils. The virtuous *Quintius*, who ſo highly deſerved great Riches, was afraid he ſhould be corrupted by them. He left *Rome* for his little Field, where he was more glorious in his Poverty, than the richeſt *Romans* in the midſt of their Wealth.

Year of *ROME* CCXCV. QUINTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

THE Abdication of the *Dictator*, revived the *Tribunes* Earneſtneſs for paſſing the *Terentian* Law. They again made ſome Attempts towards it; but there were then two *Roman* Armies in the Field, and the People were not numerous enough to determine the Diſpute. The *Conſul Nautius* had indeed turned his Arms againſt the *Sabines*; and given them Battel near *Eretum*, where he came off Conqueror, after he had plundered all their Country. *Fabius* [56] on the other Hand, was taken up with purſuing the *Dictator*'s Victory, and keeping the *Æqui* to their Duty, whilſt Superſtition was all the Buſineſs at *Rome*. Some Wolves had gone up to the *Capitol*, and been driven from thence by Dogs. The People therefore to avert the Omen, offered expiatory Sacrifices, in the Temple of *Jupiter*.

§. XII. IN the mean time *Rome* changed her *Conſuls*. The *Centuries* nominated [57] *C. Horatius Pulvillus*, and *Q. Minutius Augurinus*. This laſt was of the ſame Family with the depoſed *Conſul*. The People alſo choſe their *Tribunes*, and in ſpight of the Decrees of the Senate, *Virginius* and his Collegues were continued a fifth Time. What is moſt ſurprizing is, that they recalled *Volſcius* from his Baniſhment, and reinſtated him in his Office. The Boldneſs of the *Tribunes* was then carried to exceſs. Peace Abroad gave room for their Attempts at Home, and the *Terentian* Law, had long furniſhed them with Pretences for new Broils. The People were all ready to be in a Flame, when the News of the retaking of *Corbio* by the *Æqui*, came very ſeaſonably, to put a Stop, for ſome time, to the Animoſity of the two Parties. The *Æqui*, tho' they had all *paſſed under the Yoke*, yet preſumed to make War. Their Humiliation had increaſed their Audaciouſneſs, and the Clemency of the *Romans*, made them not leſs Enemies to their Republick. It has been obſerved already that *Corbio* became ſubject this laſt Year to the *Romans*, who had put a Gariſon into it. It is probable, the *Æqui*, to whom the antient Inhabitants were ſtill well affected, were by their Treachery introduced into the Place by Night, where they maſſacred the *Romans* in their Sleep. Nor was this all. Becauſe they durſt not penetrate into the *Roman* Territory, they turned their Revenge againſt the Allies of the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* CCXCVI. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, and Q. MINUTIUS AUGURINUS, Conſuls. *Faſti Capitol.* *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 30.

Dion. Hal. *B.* 10. *p.* 652.

THESE antient Enemies of *Rome* took *Ortona*, a City of *Latium*, by Aſſault, and ſacked it. And not content with having plundered the City, they killed all the Men who were capable of bearing Arms, and carried the old Men, Women, and Children into Slavery. And the whole Expedition was finiſhed with ſuch Diſpatch, that the Enemy was already retired into their own Country, before the *Latins* were in a Condition to defend themſelves. This Inſult enraged the *Romans* againſt a ſubjugated Nation; but another Enemy obliged them to divide their Forces. The *Sabines* entering upon the *Roman* Lands, on their ſide, had made themſelves Maſters of all the Country from *Cruſtuminum* to *Fidena*. To remedy therefore ſo many Evils, the *Conſuls*, by the Advice of the Senate, ordered two Armies to be raiſed. But they found the *Tribunes* chicaning with them in the ſame manner as they had done with the former *Conſuls*. They oppoſed the inliſting Men till the *Terentian* Law was accepted. It is incredible, with what Fury the two Parties fell upon one another with reciprocal Invectives, both

theleſs this Law of Retaliation was thought unreaſonable, in ſome Caſes, wherein this Equality of Puniſhment could not always be inflicted, without violating the Rules of Equity. Then the *Prætor* permitted the Perſon injured, to make an Eſtimate of the Injury or Damage which had been done him; ſaving to the Judge a Power to moderate that Valuation, if it was exceſſively great. Retaliation, underſtood in this laſt Senſe, was called *Equivalent Retaliation*. We ſhall ſoon ſpeak of it, when we come to treat of the twelve Tables.

56 After *Minutius*'s Abdication, *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*, who had performed the Office of Governor of *Rome*, in the *Dictator*'s Abſence, ſeems to have been ſubſtituted in his Place. At leaſt *Livy* gives us Reaſon to think ſo. *Minutio Fabius Quintus Succeſſor in Algidum miſſus.*

57 *Diodorus Siculus* is miſtaken, in making *Lucius Poſthumius* one of the *Conſuls* for this Year. The ſame Author, as well as *Caſſiodorus*, gives *Horatius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, inſtead of that of *Caius*. Againſt them we have the Authorities of the *Faſti Capitolini*, and *Dion. Hal.*

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C. Horatius Pulvillus, and Q. Minutius Augurinus, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 30.

in the Harangues made to the People, and in the Senate. The *Conſuls* were not ſtaggered by the Fury of the *Tribunes*, nor the *Tribunes* brought to any Compliance by the Approach of the Enemy. In the mean time the Republick began to be in imminent Danger: And then the *Tribunes* affected Moderation. But they contrived to take a new Advantage of the publick Diſtreſs. Their Project was to demand that the Number of their College ſhould be doubled; and that inſtead of five, ten *Tribunes* ſhould be created. The Reaſon of this was, that they had in vain attempted to get a neceſſary Law paſſed for five Years together; and that the Reaſon why the Senate rendered their Attempts fruitleſs, was only becauſe there were not *Tribunes* enough, to be a match for three hundred Senators. In ſhort they reſolved not to conſent to the levying of the Troops, till the Senate ſhould have at leaſt conſented, to the increaſing the Number of the *Tribunes*.

It muſt be granted, that if the *Patricians* had among them the greateſt Share of true *Roman* Wiſdom, accompanied with Greatneſs of Soul; the *Plebeian* Faction, on the other Hand, aſſiſted by the *Tribunes*, was more artful, and generally ſpeaking took more effectual Means to gain their Ends. In the preſent Inſtance the Senate was over-reached by the People; whoſe Power was exceedingly increaſed by augmenting the Number of their *Tribunes*. In ſhort, the Senators had better have accepted the *Terentian* Law, at that time, than ſuffered the College of *Tribunes* to get ſuch an Aſcendant, as would make them Maſters of Affairs ever after, and put them in a Condition to exact the paſſing of the Law they requeſted, whenever they pleaſed. The Steps the *Tribunes* took to obtain this Addition to their College were theſe. It has been obſerved that the *Æqui* and the *Sabines* committed Hoſtilities in the moſt cruel manner, both in the *Roman* Territories, and thoſe of the Allies of the Republick, with Impunity. *Rome* ſeemed deaf to the Complaints of her own Subjects in the Country, and to the repeated Cries of the *Latins*. The Enemies over-run the moſt fruitful Plains, as if they had been a Deſert, without meeting with any Reſiſtance. On the other hand, the *Tribunes* rejoiced at it, and thought of nothing but turning it to their own Advantage. Compaſſion was no where to be found, but in the Breaſts of the *Patricians*. Till at laſt the Obſtinacy of the People in oppoſing the Levies, and the Neceſſity of raiſing an Army, were at the ſame time ſo great, that the *Conſuls* thought themſelves obliged to ſummon an extraordinary Aſſembly of the Senate to deliberate about the preſent Troubles. And *Quintius Cincinnatus* was called from his Solitude to aſſiſt at it. He, as having been *Dictator*, firſt gave his Opinion: The Rectitude of whoſe Intentions, and whoſe Capacity for publick Buſineſs, were well known. *Conſcript Fathers*, ſaid he to the Senate, *it is equally dangerous for you, either to grant the People the Law they propoſe, or to leave our Lands, and thoſe of our Allies, defenceleſs. To conſent to this Law, is to deſtroy the Authority of the* Conſuls; *it is even degrading the* Patricians. *To give up our Lands to be plundered by the Enemy, is to loſe our Credit among the Nations, which are our Friends; and to increaſe the Pride of thoſe who are jealous of us. What Method then can we find out to prevent theſe two Evils at the ſame Time?* Conſcript Fathers, *the preſent Wounds of the State are not to be cured but by violent Remedies. Conſult your own Hearts, what ſay they? Have you Courage enough to take it upon your ſelves to deliver our Lands, and to raiſe an Army of* Patricians *alone, for the good of our Country? If you dare do it, let the People and their* Tribunes *continue idle! Let us with our own Forces only, aſſiſted by our Clients, and perhaps ſome of the wiſeſt of the Citizens, undertake to repulſe the Enemy. Happy ſhall we be, if we die in defence of the common Cauſe, and yet more ſo, if we reap the Fruits of a Victory, without ſuffering the Commonalty to have any Share in it! Let us overlook them, and march againſt the Enemy our ſelves. I am not afraid to expoſe my ſelf to the ſame Dangers with you; Nor can I imagine that the moſt antient Senators will refuſe their Services to preſerve the publick Liberty.*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 653.

The Advice of the illuſtrious *Quintius* was received with Applauſe. All the *Patricians*, the oldeſt not excepted, promiſed to take the Field, and incorporate themſelves into the Legions like common Citizens. And indeed the Number of the Nobles was almoſt equal to that of the People; they, when joined with their Clients, were capable of making a formidable Army. The *Conſul Horatius* was entruſted with putting this Deſign in Execution. But before he engaged in ſo uncommon an Undertaking, he thought himſelf obliged to inform the People of it.

Horatius

Year of *ROME* CCXCVI.

C. Horatius Pulvilius, and Q. Minutius Auguri-nus, Conſuls.

Horatius declared the Reſolution of the Senate, to the *Curiæ* aſſembled; and asked whether they were willing to join with the *Patricians* in their Deſigns. *Virginius*, who ſpoke for the *Tribunes*, refuſed, in the Name of the People, to ſerve in the Army, till the *Terentian* Law was accepted. Upon this, the *Conſul* addreſſed himſelf to him perſonally in this manner. *Great Glory indeed it is for you,* Virginius, *and your Collegues, to have divided the People and the Senate! Shall our Conqueſts and thoſe of our Anceſtors be by that means brought to nought? No,* Virginius, *no. We alone will our ſelves preſerve the Fruits of the Sweat and Blood of ſo many illuſtrious* Romans. *Perhaps the Gods, who have ſo often bleſſed this State with their Aſſiſtance, will yet protect it. At leaſt we ſhall find a glorious Death, in endeavouring to ſave it. As for you, keep your ſelves ſhut up like Women, within theſe Walls, and betray the common Intereſt, by ſeeking your own Safety! But what am I ſaying? Will your Inactivity ſecure you? Can you poſſibly avoid loſing, either the Glory of the Enterprize if we conquer, or Life and Liberty, if we are conquered? No, all our Misfortunes will rebound upon you. Vain hope, to think to eſcape the Enemy, when the whole Body of the* Patricians *is cut in pieces by them. You will then ſee your ſelves made Slaves by thoſe, whom you have made* paſs under the Yoke; *whoſe Cities you have ſacked; and whoſe Spoils you have ſo often turned into Trophies. Where will you then find Commanders to reſiſt and overcome them? Have not all the Generals the Republick has yet had, been taken out of the* Patricians? *Theſe, inconſiderate People, are the Misfortunes into which you are going to plunge your ſelves! But why do I apply my ſelf to the Multitude, whoſe only Fault is being too credulous? It is you,* Virginius, *it is you,* Tribunes, *who are the Cauſes of all our Misfortunes. Your inſatiable Deſires draw the People on to their Ruin againſt their Will. But let them run headlong into Deſtruction; whilſt we obtain certain Glory, either by ſaving our Country, without their Aſſiſtance, or by periſhing in attempting to ſave it! As for you, go on with your Schemes for making Laws, when you ſhould be fighting, and continue in an idle Indolence, which may prove fatal to you!*

Scarce had *Horatius* ended his Diſcourſe, when the deep Sighs of the oldeſt and moſt venerable Senators, who came to the Aſſembly with the *Conſuls*, were heard by the People, who began to be moved; when *Horatius* went on in this manner, addreſſing himſelf to thoſe wiſe old Men. *Venerable Fathers of your Country, be not afflicted! You have yet ſome true Sons of* Æneas *left among the Nobility of* Rome, *who will carry their Fathers upon their Shoulders, to reſcue them from the Sword, and the Flames.* When the People, moved at this Sight, and the *Conſul*'s Words, began to ſhew their Concern, the artful *Virginius* took this Opportunity to diſcover the Deſign he had in view. *No,* ſays he, *we don't pretend to obſtruct the publick Good. If it be neceſſary to ſuſpend our Purſuits, as to the* Terentian *Law, we are ready to ſacrifice our Intereſts to the common Neceſſity. We have only one Favour to ask, which may perhaps put an end to our Deſires of obtaining a Law to reſtrain the arbitrary Proceedings of the* Conſuls. *Double the Number of the* Tribunes, *and the People will readily conſent to enter into military Service. But if your Contempt, or your Suſpicions, make you give us another Refuſal, in an Affair of ſo little Importance; then accuſe your ſelves only of the Misfortunes you ſhall bring upon the Republick.*

This unexpected Requeſt of the *Tribunes* divided the Senate. Very few of them foreſaw the Conſequences of it. *Quintius Cincinnatus* himſelf declared for it. Perhaps his Love for his Country, and the Neceſſity of repulſing the Enemy, might blind him. Or he might be of Opinion, that when the College of the *Tribunes* was increaſed, it would be the more eaſy to ſow Diviſions among them, and their Number would prove fatal to them. The Authority of ſo wiſe a *Patrician*, engaged a Majority for his ſide of the Queſtion. But *Appius Claudius* was of a different Opinion. He ſeems to have derived from his Fathers an implacable Hatred to the People, and the *Tribunes*. He might likewiſe be perhaps governed only by the hereditary Maxim of his Family, *that all the Requeſts of the* Tribunes *ought to be ſuſpected*, without ſeeing into all the fatal Conſequences that might attend the granting them this Requeſt. He therefore remonſtrated to the Senate, that by increaſing the College of the *Tribunes*, they would increaſe their Inſolence; that they would not fail of abuſing the Readineſs of *The Fathers*, in complying with their Demands; that they would not ſtop there; and that one Favour granted would only be a Step towards asking many more. But it was the Fate of the *Claudii* not to be believed, even when their Remonſtrances were of moſt Advantage to the Republick. *Quintius*'s Opinion took

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Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 657.

took place; and the Senate made a Decree, whereby they gave the People leave to chooſe ten *Tribunes* for themſelves annually; provided they would not continue them above one Year in their Office. The *Centuries* confirmed the Decree with their Suffrages, and then it became a Law. And the People did not delay making uſe of this new Conceſſion. The *Tribes* were aſſembled, and they choſe two *Tribunes* out of each of the five firſt Claſſes; for as to the ſixth, it was too contemptible to have any Magiſtrates taken out of it.

§. XIII. When the *Tribunes* were ſatisfied, there was no longer any Oppoſition made to the legal Enrolments. Two Armies were immediately raiſed. The firſt fell by Lot to the *Conſul Minutius*, to be led againſt the *Sabines:* the ſecond was committed to the Conduct of *Horatius*, who was to march with it againſt the *Æqui*. *Minutius* upon his Entrance into *Sabinia* found no Enemies. They were retired into their Cities, and had left their Territory open to the Plunder of the *Romans*. But *Horatius* made a more glorious Campaign. He came up with the *Æqui* near *Algidus*, and gave them Battel. Who being routed, after a conſiderable Loſs, left the Conqueror Maſter of the Country. He retook *Corbio* and *Ortona* from them, and reſtored the latter to the *Latins*. But he puniſhed the Inhabitants of *Corbio* with Severity. He razed the City, and it is now difficult to ſay exactly where it ſtood.

Year of *ROME* CCXCVII.
M. Valerius Lactucinus, and Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus, Conſuls.
Livy B. 3. and *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *Ibid.*
Livy B. 3. *c.* 31.

The *Conſuls* after this led back their Armies to *Rome*, only to chooſe their Succeſſors. The Choice of the *Centuries* fell upon [58] *M. Valerius Lactucinus* and *Sp. Virginius Tricoſtus:* And theſe two weak *Conſuls* ſuffered the *Tribunes* to take great Advantages. They, being now grown ſtrong by their Number, aſſumed a Superiority over the *Conſuls*, which ſoon turned to their Deſtruction. The preſent Circumſtances of Affairs favoured their Attempts. There was now no War Abroad, and a Scarcity at Home. This was therefore the critical Time for the People to weaken the *Patrician* Party. Nothing was now ſaid about the *Terentian* Law, which they thought would eaſily be brought to bear at a proper time. All Efforts were now [59] made to gain Ground upon the Senate and the *Conſuls*. But whatever ſome Hiſtorians may ſay of it, it is not probable, that the ſame *Tribunes* were continued in their Office, notwithſtanding the laſt Law. At leaſt the *Tribune Virginius* will not appear to act any part in the ſucceeding Affairs. One *Icilius* took his Place, and was put at the Head of the College of the *Tribunes*. *Icilius* was an expert, enterprizing Man, and had Eloquence enough to raiſe great Commotions. He undertook to make the Senate aſſemble at the Pleaſure of the *Tribunes*; and to force the Senators to appear, upon their Orders, at the Place appointed for their Deliberations. Hitherto [60] the *Conſuls* only had the right of aſſembling them: And by that means they ſhifted off the Propoſals of the *Tribunes*, and found out an hundred Pretences to defer the aſſembling of the Senators. The Method he took was to offer the *Conſuls* a Petition in favour of the People. He deſired that a large uninhabited piece of Ground on the Hill *Aventinus* might be given to the poor Citizens, to build them Houſes there. As populous as *Rome* was, there was yet a great deal of waſte Ground in it: It was not

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 657, 658.

58 *Marcus Valerius* is ſurnamed *Lactuca* by *Diodorus Siculus*. The *Faſti Capitolini* give him both the Surnames of *Maximus* and *Lactucinus*. The latter was, according to *Pliny B.* 19. affected by ſome of the *Valerian* Family. The *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian* give theſe two *Conſuls* the Surnames of *Maximus*, and *Cælimontanus*.

59 If we may believe *Livy*, the *Tribunes* for the Year 296. were continued for the Year 297. in contempt of the Regulation made both by Senate and People, that the ſame *Tribunes* ſhould not be continued above one Year. But what makes *Livy*'s Teſtimony in this Caſe ſuſpected, is, that *Dion. Hal.* who is generally very exact in his Account of Facts of this Nature, ſays nothing of this Continuance. He even ſeems to inſinuate the contrary, when he ſays, that *the* Tribunes *for this laſt Year uſurped the right of aſſembling the Senate*. To ſpeak in this manner, is to ſuppoſe, that the *Tribunes* for the former Year were different from theſe.

60 It is true, the right of aſſembling the Senate belonged only to the *Conſuls*, and a *Fortiori* to the *Dictator*; with this Proviſo, that in the Abſence, or for want of theſe chief Magiſtrates, the *Prætors*, the Governor of *Rome*, the *Interrex*, and after them the *Tribunes of the People*, had the ſame Prerogative; as we learn from *Varro*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 14. *c.* 7. The *Decemviri*, the *Military Tribunes*, and the *Triumviri*, who were inveſted with the Power of the *Conſuls*, could likewiſe aſſemble the Senators at their Pleaſure. The General of the Horſe, who was the ſecond Perſon after the *Dictator*, had alſo the ſame Authority in *Rome*, when this firſt Magiſtrate was engaged Abroad. *Livy B.* 8. gives us an Inſtance of it. *Magiſter equitum clam ex caſtris & patre auctore M. Fabio, vocato Senatu*, &c. In order to have the Aſſembly a lawful one, it was neceſſary it ſhould be called by the unanimous Conſent of both *Conſuls*, or at leaſt without any Oppoſition from either of them. This *Appian* declares, *B.* 2. *de Bello Civili. Neque enim Senatus haberi poterat, ſine voluntate & autoritate utriuſque Conſulis.*

every

every where full of Buildings. Before they could take Poſſeſſion of the Ground, it was neceſſary that the Senate ſhould agree to the *Tribunes* Requeſt; but the *Conſuls* were not inclined to aſſemble it. They delayed the Affair, juſt as *Icilius* foreſaw they would. He therefore ſent to require the *Conſuls*, by an Officer of his College, to aſſemble the Senate without delay. The Boldneſs of the *Tribune*, his Summons, and the manner in which he preſumed to ſend it, by an inferior Officer, were equally ſhocking to the *Conſuls*: So that they uſed the Officer ill; but the *Tribunes* made Repriſals, in their Turn, upon one of the *Conſul's Lictors*, whom they ſeized. They threatened him with nothing leſs than getting him condemned by the People, to be thrown down headlong from the Top of the *Capitol*. Never were the *Conſuls* more ſenſible of their Weakneſs. In order to deliver the Man out of the People's Hands, they endeavoured to ſow Diviſion among the *Tribunes*. It was formerly enough to make any of the Decrees of that Body ineffectual, if one only oppoſed it. But latterly, eſpecially ſince the *Tribunes* had been increaſed in Number, the Members of the College had agreed, that Affairs ſhould be determined among them by a Plurality of Voices. This they thought an important Article, to hinder the *Patricians* from corrupting any one of their Collegues, in order to bring their Deliberations to nothing. As ſoon as they entered upon their Office, they ſwore upon the Altars, to keep this Regulation inviolate. The *Conſuls* therefore had no Hopes of ſaving their *Lictor* any other Way, than by getting the moſt antient Senators to intercede with the *Tribunes*. And their Officer was releaſed after long Debates in the Senate between the *Fathers* and the *Tribunes*. But *Icilius* then proved to the Aſſembly, that the *Tribunes* had a right of aſſembling the Senate, when they pleaſed; and by his Eloquence and Intereſt, he gained a Point ſo contrary to the Dignity of the *Conſcript Fathers*. Nay the *Tribune* did more. He forced the Senators to paſs four Laws, which he had drawn up, in relation to this new piece of Ground, which was going to be inhabited. The firſt was thus expreſſed. *Every private Perſon, who ſhall once legally get a Place in it, ſhall be maintained in the Poſſeſſion of it.* The ſecond ran thus, *Whoever ſhall have uſurped any Ground from the Publick, ſhall be obliged to reſtore it.* The third was this: *When any Building ſhall be finiſhed by the Undertaker, Appraiſers ſhall be appointed to ſet a*[61] *Value upon it.* And the fourth enacted, *That all the Ground which belonged to the Publick, and was not built upon, ſhould be diſtributed among the People* gratis. This Law, or rather theſe four[62] Laws, which were called *The Icilian Law*, was paſſed in as ſolemn *Comitia*, as thoſe in which the *Conſuls* were elected. It was engraven on a Pillar of Braſs, which was ſet up in the Preſence of the *Pontifices*, *Augurs*, and ſome Sacrificers, in the Temple of *Diana*, on the Hill *Aventinus*. But if the *Icilian* Law paſſed in a manner without Oppoſition, it was in hopes that the People, who had been long refuſed Lands Abroad, would now be content with having Room to build themſelves Houſes in the City. Nevertheleſs theſe Hopes were vain; this Precaution ſerved only to revive the next Year the Peoples Earneſtneſs to have a Share in the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands. However, the reſt of the Year was ſpent only in building Houſes. The richeſt built whole Houſes for themſelves. The reſt joined ſeveral together, in the Expence of theſe new Buildings, and ſome had the Ground-Floors, others the upper Stories.

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§. XIV. THE Authority of the *Conſuls* had received a great Wound, which was felt by *T. Romilius*, and[63] *C. Veturius*, the *Conſuls* for the ſucceeding Year. It was then the Fate of the Republick not to enjoy any Tranquillity at *Rome*, but whilſt the Enemy was at the Gates of it. All Intervals of Peace Abroad, were remarkable for publick Diſturbances at Home. *L. Icilius* and his Collegues had juſt been continued in their Office as *Tribunes*. The People either had no Regard for the Decree of the Se-

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61 That is, that they who had built on a piece of Ground, uſurped either by the Violence or Fraud of another, ſhould have their Expences paid them, according to the Arbitration and Eſtimate of experienced Workmen.

62 Theſe four Laws ran thus. 1. *Privati homines bono jure parta poſſidento.* 2. *Per vim aut fraudem ædificia ex publico occupata reſtituonto.* 3. *Ex arbitrorum ſententia precium ædificationis reddonto.* 4. *Quæ publica ſunt, ea ſine precio, plebi dividonto.*

63 *Diodorus* gives *T. Romilius* the Surname of *Vaticanus*, and *C. Veturius* that of *Cicurinus*. The *Faſti* of *Cuſpinian* call theſe *Conſuls Geminus* and *Vaticanus*. In the *Faſti Siculi* we read *Rocus* and *Veturius*, and in the *Faſti Capitolini*, *T. Romilius*, *T. F. T. N.* with the Surnames of *Rocus* and *Vaticanus*. This *Romilius* is the ſame *Pliny* mentions *B.* 7. This Variety in the Annals proceeds from the Multiplicity of Surnames.

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T. Romilius and C. Veturius, Conſuls. *Livy B. 3. c. 31.*

nate, which forbad theſe Continuations in Office; or elſe really thought, that the Decree was to be underſtood only of the Year in which it paſſed, and in which *Virginius* had been deprived. Theſe *Tribunes* then made more Noiſe than ever, in the Aſſemblies of the People; and revived again the Affair of the *Terentian* Law. They were heard to ſay among themſelves, that it would be a Shame for them not to execute in two Years, what *Virginius* and his Collegues had projected five Years ago; and that there would be juſt Cauſe to reproach them, that their Number had been doubled in vain. The *Conſuls* were ſenſible enough, that theſe riſing Troubles would grow to a Head, if ſome Method was not found out, to ſtop the Progreſs of them. The only Refuge was, to raiſe Armies; and give the Vivacity and Uneaſineſs of the *Romans* room to vent it ſelf Abroad. This was a wiſe Deſign, but it was imprudently executed. Inſtead of being contented with a moderate Army, which might have been raiſed without Violence; the *Conſuls* were obſtinately bent upon ſhewing Favour to none, and not admitting of any Excuſe for thoſe, who really were not able to march into the Field. The Citizens were preſſed into the Service. For *Romilius* was of an haughty Temper, and did not regulate the Sallies of it by his Strength. He impriſoned thoſe who refuſed to inliſt themſelves, and ordered their Goods to be ſeized. Whence it is eaſy to judge, that the *Tribunes* would not neglect ſo favourable an Opportunity of gaining the Affections of the People, by undertaking their Defence. They inveighed bitterly againſt the *Conſuls*, in *Comitia* aſſembled for that Purpoſe. They accuſed them of having impriſoned a great many Citizens, though they implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes:* Which was an Infraction of the Privileges of *Roman* Citizens. But theſe Complaints and Invectives did not ſtop the Fury of the *Conſuls*. They became thereby only the more implacably ſevere, in the Affair of inliſting Men. In ſhort the *Tribunes* found themſelves under a Neceſſity of making uſe of the People to repel the Violence of the *Patrician* Magiſtrates by Force: And the two Parties often came to Blows. The young Nobility fought for the *Conſuls*; and a Company of idle Fellows, of the vileſt part of the Populace, for the *Tribunes*. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if in theſe Scuffles the *Conſuls* Party had the Advantage. Which made the *Tribunes* think of an Expedient, to enlarge their Faction, and increaſe their Strength. One Day when the Country People were come into the City, the *Tribunes* aſſembled then in *Comitia*, with the reſt of the Citizens, were under no Apprehenſions of the Inſults of the young *Patricians*. *Icilius* aſcended *The Tribune*, and complained to the People of the ill Uſage the Officers of the *Tribunes* had received. He repreſented to the Aſſembly, that he and his Collegues muſt lay down their Offices and leave the People defenceleſs, if they were not protected from the Outrages of the *Conſuls*: Upon which, the Reſentment of the People made them come to violent Reſolutions. They cried out that it was neceſſary to cite the *Conſuls* to appear before the Tribunal of the *Curiæ*, to anſwer for the Diſorders they had cauſed. On the other hand, the *Conſuls*, enraged at the Inſolence of the *Tribunes*, refuſed to appear. Then the *Tribunes* brought their Complaints to the Senate: Which happened to be accidentally aſſembled that Day. Standing in the midſt of the Hall, as the *Tribunes* uſually did, when they harangued the Senate, they expoſed the ſeditious Fury of the young *Patricians*, in a long Diſcourſe. *They have*, ſaid they, *extended their Violences even to us, and have in our Perſons done Diſhonour to a Character, which both the Laws and Religion have made inviolable. If the* Conſuls *don't own themſelves to be the Authors of theſe Outrages, let them here deny it upon Oath, or if they are afraid of being perjured, let them come and clear themſelves before the People. If not, we are reſolved to aſſemble the* Tribes *together, to determine their Fate by their Suffrages.*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 659.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 660.

Upon this the *Conſuls* were obliged to make their Apology. Without diſowning that they were partly concerned in the late Troubles, they pretended the *Tribunes* had been the Aggreſſors. *It was you*, ſaid they, *who firſt preſumed to offer Violence to the chief Magiſtrates of the Republick. You, by your Officers and Ediles did your utmoſt to get them caſt into Priſon. You, in Perſon, ſurrounded by a Guard of* Plebeians, *fell upon us, to ſeize us. Have you forgot,* Tribunes, *what a Diſtance, both your Birth and the Laws make between you and us? A* Conſul *repreſents the Majeſty of a King. They are their Succeſſors, and inherit their Power. A* Tribune *is one of the common People, whoſe uſurped Authority was from the beginning confined to undertaking the Defence of*

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of the oppreſſed Plebeians *by way* [64] *of Interceſſion. What right have you to cite the* Conſuls [65] *to appear before your Tribunal? Can you bring even the loweſt of the* Patricians *before the People, without the Conſent of the Senate? You ſay you will call the* Tribes *together to condemn us by their Suffrages. Do you imagine then that the Nobility of* Rome *will tamely ſubmit to the Affront you offer its chief Magiſtrates? No, no, the Love of their Country, and their Zeal for Equity and Juſtice will make them take up Arms. You know their Valour, dread therefore their Reſentments.*

These warm Conteſts extremely embarraſſed the Senate. It was equally dangerous to provoke the *Tribunes*, or debaſe the *Conſuls*. The Sitting was therefore adjourned to another Day. In the mean time *Icilius* called an Aſſembly of the People, wherein every one had a right to give his Opinion. The moſt factious thought the People ought to leave *Rome* once more, go up to *The ſacred Hill*, take Arms, and make War upon the *Patricians*. But the more moderate were of Opinion, that it would be beſt to proceed againſt the *Conſuls* in a legal manner, and to get them condemned by Law, either to Death or Baniſhment, for having been guilty of offering outragious Violences to the ſacred Perſons of the *Tribunes*. The moſt mild Opinion of all was, that the moſt furious of the *Patricians* ought to be brought to Juſtice, without meddling with the *Conſuls*. This was the wiſeſt Advice; for if they had decreed that any painful Puniſhment ſhould be inflicted on the *Conſuls*, theſe Diviſions would have been changed into a civil War, and *Rome* would have been utterly deſtroyed by its own Citizens. At length the People contented themſelves with ſummoning the *Conſuls* to appear twenty ſeven Days after, that is, on the third Market-day.

§. XV. In the mean time the *Tribunes* conſidered better of the furious Steps they had taken. They deſiſted from the Summons given the *Conſuls*, and declared in an Aſſembly of the People, that out of regard to the moſt venerable Citizens of *Rome*, they would forgive the *Conſuls* the perſonal Injuries they had received from them; but could not be guilty of any neglect in maintaining the Intereſts of the People. *Two Laws*, ſaid they, *have long laid before the Republick. Becauſe they are favourable to you*, Romans, *therefore they are oppoſed by the Senate. The firſt* [66] *paſſed thirty Years ago; and tho' it was enacted in due Form, the* Patrician *Party has all along ſuſpended the Execution of it. It grants the People their Share in the conquered Lands. Our Conqueſts have been enlarged, but are the* Plebeians *the richer for it? The ſecond Law, in which we are nearly concerned, is the* Terentian. *But though it was ſollicited for five Years together by the* Tribune Virginius, *and ſeveral Years ſince by his Succeſſors, yet would the Senate ever ſuffer it to paſs in the* Comitia? *And yet, what can be more juſt, than to make the Deciſions of our Law-Suits uniform and conſiſtent, and to eſtabliſh Rules to be obſerved in giving Judgments, independent of the Humours of the Judges? Theſe are the two Things we are now to deliberate upon. Speak*, Romans, *declare your Opinions without Fear.*

At theſe Words, many brave *Plebeians* made loud Complaints about the Law which was called *Agraria*, becauſe it appointed the Diſtribution of the *Lands* belonging to the Publick. *We have ſpilt a great deal of our Blood*, ſaid they, *to enlarge the Demeſns of the Republick, but what are we the better for it? Money and Favour cauſe*

64 According to *Val. Maximus B.* 2. before the *Tribunes* were admitted into the Senate, they waited at the Door where they placed their *Tribunals*. Thither the Decrees of the Senate were brought to them. There they examined them carefully, and either approved of or rejected them as they thought fit; ſubſcribing the Word *Veto* for the Negative, and the Letter *T* for the Affirmative, which ſignified the Acceptance and Conſent of the *Tribunes*. Sometimes they ſuſpended the Execution of the Decrees of the Senate, till they had more maturely conſidered them. But this Cuſtom was afterwards changed, as will appear by the Sequel of our Hiſtory.

65 *The Tribunes of the People* had, ſtrictly ſpeaking, no right of citing the Magiſtrates, or even private Perſons, to appear before their *Tribunal*; but they could impriſon any Citizen, as *Aulus Gellius* ſays expreſly, B. 13. *In magiſtratu, habent alii vocationem, alii prenſionem: vocationem ut Conſules, & cæteri qui habent imperium; prenſionem ut Tribuni plebis: neque prenſionem, neque vocationem, ut Quæſtores, &c.* For this Reaſon, *Labeo Antiſtius*, who was very learned in the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Rome*, refuſed to appear before one of the *Tribunes* who had cited him by an Officer. He gave no other Reaſon for his Refuſal, but this, that the *Tribunes* could not juſtly aſſume an Authority which did not belong to their Office; that they might indeed come themſelves to his Houſe, and cauſe him to be taken up, if they thought fit; but that their Summons was null, becauſe it was not ſent by a lawful Authority. We have this Story in *Aulus Gellius B.* 1.

66 The Law here ſpoken of, is that which was made by the *Conſul Caſſius*, in the Year 267. notwithſtanding the Oppoſition of his Collegue *Virginius*. We have already ſpoken of it. This Law raiſed many Troubles then, and became one fatal Source of the Diviſions which afterwards aroſe between the *Patricians* and the People.

the

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the Reward, which is due to our long Services, to be given only to the Patricians. This was the common Complaint of all the People, but none of them represented it in stronger Terms than the incomparable *L. Sicinnius*, who was surnamed *Dentatus*. His Fame is celebrated by all the Antients, as an Hero, of an [67] unparallel'd Valour. He was then of a proper Age to procure Reverence and Respect; and his Merit, as a Soldier, gained him great Distinction among the *Plebeians*. He spoke as follows, with the plain unaffected Eloquence of a Soldier, which charmed the whole Assembly.

Silver

Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 662. Val. Max. B. 3. Aul. Gel. B. 2.

A WHOLE Day would not be sufficient for me to give you a particular Account of all the important Actions in which I have been engaged. This is the fortieth Year of my bearing Arms for the Service of my Country. Yet was I not raised to the lowest Honours in the Army till within these thirty Years. Under [68] *the* Consulate *of* Sicinnius, *in a War with the* Volsci, *the* Centurion *of my Cohort was killed in Battel, and our Colours taken. I alone resisted the Enemy. I put them to flight, and recovered our Standards. And what was my Reward? The* Consul *only gave me a Crown of Gold, and made me a* Centurion. *In another Battel, the* Tribune *of my Legion was wounded, and thrown down upon the Ground, and his Eagle taken. I flew to the* Tribune, *saved him and retook the Eagle. This Commander offered me the Place of that first Standard-bearer. I refused it, because I would not be honoured to the Prejudice of a poor Man. Then the* Consul *rewarded me. He made me the first Ensign, in the first Legion, in his Army. From that time I rose till I came to have a Command in the* Roman *Troops. Then the Reputation I had acquired, kept me in the Service, more than the Advantage I got by it. There was not one Battel, in which I did not hazard my Life. In these forty Years which I have been in the Service, I have been in an hundred and twenty Actions. I have received five and forty Wounds, all before, and not one behind. I was wounded twelve times in one Day; which was at the taking the* Capitol *from* Herdonius. *And yet all the Recompence I have had, has been military*

67 *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *Pliny B.* 7. *Solinus c.* 6. *Val. Maximus B.* 3. and above all *Aulus Gellius B.* 2. have exceedingly commended this *Roman*, whom we shall soon see *Tribune of the People*, under the *Consulate* of *Spurius Tarpeius*, and *Aulus Aternius*. What this last Author has collected out of the antient Annals of *Rome*, concerning *Sicinnius Dentatus*, is this. This Hero by his Strength and Valour merited the Surname of *The Achilles of the Romans*. Multitudes of Battels in which he fought, the Wounds and the military Honours he received, all testify the Bravery of this great Man. And besides all this, he had a part in nine Triumphs of his Generals. Antiquaries conjecture, and with Probability enough, that one *Sicinnius* caused the Medal above to be struck, as a Monument of the Glory of his Family, and the heroical Actions of *Dentatus*, one of his Ancestors. The Words Fortitudo Populi Romani, engraven round the Head on the Medal, the Palm, and the Crown, are designed to express the Exploits of *L. Sicinnius*. By the *Caduceus*, the Coiner perhaps intended to represent this *Roman*, as one who was by his Valour become the Arbiter of Death, as *Virgil* and *Horace* represent *Mercury* to have been. Or perhaps, this Symbol was designed to represent the Peace and Happiness which he procured for *Rome* by his Victories.

68 *Dentatus* was, according to *Dion. Hal.* fifty eight Years old when he harangued the People. He fought in the Year 266. when *Aquilius Tuscus* and *T. Sicinnius* were *Consuls*; for *Dentatus* is called *Licinius*, in *Val. Maximus B.* 3. in *Pliny B.* 7. in several MSS. and in *Lapus*'s Version. Now from the Year 266. to that we are now speaking of, is thirty two Years complete. Why then does *Dentatus* reckon but thirty Years from *Sicinnius* to this time? This is the Foundation of *Glarean*'s Correction, who thinks that instead of τριακοστὸν, we ought to read τριακοστὸν καὶ δέυτερον.

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Toys, which are made the Rewards of Valour, fourteen Civick Crowns, *one* Obſidional, *three* [69] Mural, *eight others for different Services, fourſcore and three* Collars, *threeſcore* Bracelets, *eighteen* [70] Lances, *and five and twenty* Sets of Furniture *for Horſes. I likewiſe got nine* [71] *other Sets from as many Enemies whom I conquered in ſingle Combat, at the Heads of the Armies. This is all my Fortune, after ſo many Fatigues, and ſo much Glory. What Share have I had of thoſe fruitful Fields, which I helped to conquer from the* Hetrurians, *the* Sabines, *the* Æqui, *the* Volſci, *and in the Country about the* Pontine *Lake? Impudent Uſurpers have poſſeſſed themſelves of them. Have the People ever conſented to give them the Property of them? If they had ſerved as long as I, yet they ought to have confined their Pretenſions to an equal Diſtribution of the conquered Lands. But by what military Exploits have they deſerved to be preferred before me? Let them appear! Let them ſhew their Wounds, or the Rewards they have received after Battel! Theſe are not doubtful Proofs of Merit. All the Glory they have, they derive from their Birth, and they owe their new Poſſeſſions to the Number of their Friends. Being* Patricians, *as our Kings were, they imitate their Tyranny. They even carry it ſo far, as to attempt to hinder our Complaints by Violence, and not permit us to ſpeak of our Misfortunes. It was a violent Act of Tyranny in them, to throw down the famous* Conſul Caſſius, *the Author of the* Agrarian *Law, headlong from the* Capitol. *It was likewiſe by another Act of the ſame kind, that they deſtroyed the* Tribune Genucius, *who would have renewed that Law, eleven Years after. And to this Day, they are as tyrannical as ever. Our* Tribunes *abuſed, their* Ediles *and their other Officers beaten, the* Plebeians *inſulted, all theſe things,* Roman People, *ſhew how little Liberty you have left! But what am I ſaying? You have enough yet, to revenge your ſelves on your Tyrants, by your own Suffrages. Let us revive, I ſay, let us revive the* Agrarian *Law! If the young* Patricians *oppoſe it, do you,* Tribunes, *let them feel all the Effects of your Power. But let us not be raſh in our Revenge. Let us keep the Puniſhment of the* Conſuls *in reſerve, till after their Depoſition. Let us at preſent content our ſelves with puniſhing the factious Youth, whom they make uſe of, to obſtruct our juſt Pretenſions.*

Thus ſpake *Sicinnius*, and in ſo numerous an Aſſembly, none durſt contradict him. The *Tribunes* appointed *Comitia* for the next Day, in which the Affair of the Law was to be determined. The *Conſuls* were alarmed at this Deſign, and aſſembled the boldeſt of the Senators together at their own Houſes, and came to a Reſolution, to try all Ways to diſturb the next Day's *Comitia*, firſt by gentle Means, and then by Force. The Methods the *Conſuls* took to put their Deſign in execution, were theſe. Early in the Morning the *Patricians* appeared in the *Forum*, attended by their Friends and Clients. They inveſted *the Tribune*, from whence the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes* were to harangue; and ſurrounded all the Palliſado, within which the People were to be. Others who were ſcattered about in the *Forum* in little Parties were to ſtop the Citizens, and hinder them from entering within the Bar of the Voting-place. Nevertheleſs there was a Mixture of both *Plebeians* and Nobility round about *the Tribune.*

The *Conſuls* and *Tribunes* had already taken their Places, when Orders were given for thoſe who had any thing to ſay againſt the Law, to declare their Sentiments. Accordingly ſome *Patricians* ſpoke, but they were not regarded. On one Hand, thoſe of their own Party encouraged them, and the *Plebeians* on the other inſulted them; and on both Sides they made ſo much Noiſe, that the Speakers were not

69 The *Mural Crown* was the Reward the General gave to him, who firſt ſcaled the Walls of a beſieged City. It was at firſt made of nothing but Leaves. *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 6. *c.* 4. that *Romulus* gave a Crown of Leaves to *Hoſtus*, who was the firſt Soldier who mounted the Walls of *Fidena*, which was then beſieged. Afterwards, this Crown was made of Gold according to *Aulus Gellius*; it was embattelled like the Walls of a City, in the manner we have repreſented it above. *Muralis eſt corona quæ donatur ab imperatore, cui primus murum ſubiit. Idcirco quaſi muri pinnis decorata eſt.* B. 5.

70 The Lance here meant, is that Lance, or rather that ſort of Pike, which the *Romans* called *Haſta pura.* It was ſo called, becauſe it was not pointed with Iron. It was often given as a Reward to thoſe Soldiers, who diſtinguiſhed themſelves in Battel. *Virgil* mentions it,

Illa vides purâ *Juvenis qui nititur* haſta. Æn. 6.

Cato calls this military Reward *Haſta donatica.*

71 *Pliny B.* 7. *Val. Maximus B.* 3. and *Solinus c.* 6. ſay that *Dentatus* was eight times victorious in theſe ſingle Combats. And at this rate he could have got but eight Sets of Furniture, for the Rewards of his eight Victories. But to make him Amends, *Val. Maximus* gives him a hundred and eighty *Collars*, and *Pliny B.* 7. above a hundred and ſixty *Bracelets.*

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heard. The *Conſuls* complained of it to the *Tribunes*, who anſwered; *This Law has been long diſcuſſed. What more can be ſaid upon it? The Peoples not hearing has been no Loſs to them.* The greateſt part of the Day was ſpent in theſe Altercations, when the People prepared to divide themſelves into their *Tribes*, to give their Suffrages. Then the young *Patricians* contained themſelves no longer. They hindered the People from uniting themſelves into Bodies according to their *Tribes*. They overturned the Baskets, wherein were thrown the Tablets on which the Votes were written, ſnatched away the Tablets, and offered Violence to the Officers, who were appointed to take them. The *Tribunes* ran into the midſt of theſe bold young Fellows to ſtop their Fury. They were allowed to paſs, without ſuffering any Diſreſpect; but at the ſame time the young *Patricians* were nevertheleſs active in diſperſing the People, and driving them from the Place of the Aſſembly. In ſhort the Nobility got the better of the Citizens, and the Law did not paſs. The *Patricians* who ſignalized themſelves moſt in theſe Troubles, were the *Sempronii*, *Poſthumii*, and the *Clælii*, all illuſtrious Names, and whoſe Families had moſt Intereſt in *Rome*. On theſe therefore the *Tribunes* thought it proper that the Puniſhment of this ſeditious Enterprize ſhould fall. The *Conſuls* were not any more cited to appear, leſt the Animoſities ſhould be increaſed by it. Only the young *Patricians* were ſummoned: And the Difficulty was to fix upon the Puniſhment which ſhould be decreed them.

It was then cuſtomary in *Rome*, to determine what Puniſhment the Accuſed deſerved, in caſe he was convicted, before his Crime was reported to the People. The *Tribunes* judged beforehand of the Law, and the People were Judges of the Fact. The *Tribunes* therefore, in an Aſſembly of ſome conſiderable Citizens, deliberated what Puniſhment they ſhould affix to the Crime of the three *Patricians*. Some [72] voted for Death, others for Baniſhment: But the grave *Sicinnius* was for the leaſt Puniſhment the Laws enjoyned, which was the Confiſcation of all their Goods [73], to the Uſe of the Temple of *Ceres*. At length the Day came for the Trial of the *Sempronii*, *Poſthumii*, and *Clælii*. The Senate gave their Conſent to it for fear the People ſhould run into greater Exceſſes, if they refuſed it. Beſides, Confiſcation was thought a reparable Misfortune. The Accuſed did not appear, and ſuffered themſelves to be condemned. So that the Judgment of the People paſſed upon them, by default: But the Body of the *Patricians* raiſed a Tax among themſelves, and redeemed the confiſcated Eſtates of their condemned Brethren. However, this Deference of the Senate for the *Tribunes*, reſtored the Republick ſome Moments Tranquillity [74].

Livy B. 3. *c.* 31. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 668.

§. XVI. But this domeſtick Peace was ſoon diſturbed by foreign Enemies. News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Æqui* were entered into the Territory of *Tuſculum*, and had ravaged the Country, and that the City was expoſed to a Siege. It was a Debt due to the

72 In a criminal Affair, wherein the Queſtion was, whether the guilty Perſon ſhould be condemned to death, the *Comitia by Tribes* had no Juriſdiction. The Cognizance of it belonged to the *Comitia by Centuries*. How then could any vote for the Death of the *Sempronii*, *Poſthumii*, and *Clælii*, who were only accuſed before the *Tribes*? In anſwer to this, it muſt be ſaid, either that the moſt Mutinous, in the Heat of their Zeal againſt the young *Patricians*, aſſumed a Right which did not belong to them; or that in caſe they had concluded for Death, the Affair would have been brought before the Tribunal of the *Centuries* when aſſembled upon the Summons of the *Tribunes*; or laſtly, that the Sentence of Death which ſhould have been pronounced by the *Tribes*, ought not to have paſſed for a formal Judgment, but only for an Obſervance of the ſacred Law, which declared all thoſe proſcribed, who ſhould offer any Violence to the Perſons of the *Tribunes*, or hinder them in the Execution of their Office. What confirms this laſt Opinion is, that the *Tribunes*, in the Aſſembly which was before held on this Subject, did in effect propoſe to regulate their Deliberations, by that ſacred Law, which guarded them againſt the Outrages of the Nobility, under Pain of Death, and Confiſcation of Goods to the uſe of the Goddeſs *Ceres*. *Si quis contra faxit, ſacer eſto, bonaque ejus Cereri dicata ſunto.*

73 That is, that the Goods of the Accuſed ſhould be conſecrated to *Ceres*. This Conſecration had its particular Form, and Ceremonies. We learn from *Tully*, *pro domo ſua*, that the *Tribune* aſcending *The Tribune* from whence Harangues were made, in the ſight of the People aſſembled, firſt veiled his Head, and then pronounced from thence, an antient Form of Conſecration, in the Preſence of one of the *Pontifices*, and before a Pan of burning Coals: And this Ceremony was accompanied with a Sacrifice to the Divinity, to whoſe uſe the Goods were confiſcated. *Tully* likewiſe ſpeaks of a Player on the Flute, who pronounced the ſame Form, with a loud Voice, jointly with the *Pontifices* and the *Tribune*. It was cuſtomary in *Rome*, to admit Muſicians to bear a part in the ſolemn Acts of Religion. *Si Tribunus plebis verbis non minus priſcis, & pene ſolemnibus, bona civis cujuſpiam conſecrarit.—An conſecratio nullum jus habet? Dedicatio eſt religioſa. Quid ergo illa tum obteſtatio Tibicinis? Quid Foculus, quid preces, quid priſca verba voluerunt?*

74 *Livy* paſſes over in Silence the Debates about the *Agrarian* Law, which incenſed the People againſt the *Patricians*, *Sicinnius Dentatus*'s Harangue, and the Decree paſſed againſt thoſe of the three *Patrician* Families, who oppoſed the Publication of the Law with moſt Vigour. The Learned, and among others *Glarean*, charge this Omiſſion on the *Latin* Hiſtorian as a Fault.

Fidelity

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Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

Fidelity of theſe good Allies, not to delay ſending them Succours. So that the Senate ordered the two *Conſuls* to march immediately to their Defence. But the *Tribunes* ſtarted the uſual Difficulties againſt raiſing an Army of Citizens. However this did not ſeem to embarraſs them. The Senate following the former Advice of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, made a Decree, that the *Patricians* with their Clients ſhould go and end the War: adding, that if any *Plebeians* would join them of their own accord, Prayers ſhould be offered up to the Gods, to be propitious to them, and to confound the Deſigns of all thoſe who ſhould deſert them. The Decree was read to the People, and many honeſt *Plebeians* inliſted themſelves, though not ſo much out of Affection to the *Conſuls*, as to the People of *Tuſculum*, they thinking it ſhameful to ſuffer them to periſh. The brave *Sicinnius* was one of the firſt who offered to join the *Conſular* Army. He put himſelf at the Head 75 of a *Cohort* of eight hundred Soldiers, all Men of Experience and Reſolution, who had already ſerved the Republick as long as the Laws required. Theſe brave Veterans, whom no Body could have forced into the Army, voluntarily put themſelves under *Sicinnius*'s Command, to gain themſelves Glory by following his Steps. This may be ſaid to have been the fineſt and beſt Troop the Republick had a great while ſeen.

The *Conſuls* marched out of *Rome* in great State, with an Army, which was pretty numerous, and well provided. But the *Æqui* did not wait for them in the Neighbourhood of *Tuſculum*; they retired to their own Frontiers, near *Algidus*. There they encamped on a ſteep Rock, and ſoon ſaw the *Romans* advance towards them, and entrench themſelves near them. The *Æqui* obſerved for ſome time the Poſture of the *Romans*, and judged that their Army was not ſtrong, becauſe they had not attempted to make any Attack. This inſpired them with Contempt for the *Conſuls*, and this Contempt begat Confidence in them. They therefore often attacked little Parties of them, as they were leading their Horſes to the Water, and fetching Neceſſaries to the Camp: And the *Conſuls*, provoked by theſe Inſults, thought it neceſſary not to delay giving Battel any longer. It was the Day *Romilius* was to command; it belonged to him to give order for the Battel, and to draw up the Troops: And it was likewiſe his Province, to appoint the Time when the Action was to begin and end. When his Army was marched out of his Camp, and was ready for the Engagement, *Sicinnius* and his Troop were left behind alone, and not poſted any where. A few Minutes before they ſounded a Charge, the General ſent for *Sicinnius* and ſpoke to him thus. *I have reſerved you for an important Expedition, upon which the entire Defeat of the Enemy depends. Whilſt we are fighting in the Plain, march you up to the Enemy's Camp by the winding Path that leads to it. Then either the Army of the* Æqui, *frighted at the Attack of their Entrenchments, will leave the Plain in Diſorder, to go and defend their Tents; or if they leave them defenceleſs, you will infallibly make your ſelves Maſters of them. The Troops the* Æqui *have left to guard them, will not be able to hold out againſt the Efforts and Valour of you and your Veterans.* *Sicinnius* ſaw the Snare; but gave the *Conſul* this reſpectful Anſwer. *I never yet declined any dangerous Enterprize out of fear; but is this, Sir, that you mention, practicable? The Rock you command me to climb up, is very ſteep on all ſides, and not acceſſible, unleſs by a narrow Way, which an Handful of Men may defend againſt a whole Army. If you are reſolved this Attack ſhall be made, enlarge my Troop, and put us in a Condition to ſhew our Bravery, without diſhonouring our ſelves by a raſh Attempt.* At theſe Words, the *Conſul* replied to *Sicinnius* with a Sneer and an inſulting Air; *This then is the brave Man, who has ſignalized himſelf in an hundred and twenty Battels, who has been forty Years in the Service, and boaſts of his Wounds and his Crowns! He draws back at the ſight of Danger, and has no Courage but in Words.* Go, Sicinnius, *go to the* Comitia, *and fight the* Patricians *with your Tongue! What you refuſe to undertake, others ſhall put in execution for you. I ſee the extreme Danger,* the brave *Plebeian* anſwered, *to which you expoſe my Honour or my Life. I have hitherto always preferred the former to the latter, and I chooſe to die. As for you, my dear fellow Soldiers,* ſays he to his Troop, *let us go wherever Ho-*

75 This was probably a choſen Body; as every firſt *Cohort* in a *Legion* was; eſpecially under the *Emperors*; and was diſtinguiſhed from the other nine, either by the Number or the Choice of the Soldiers, which were in it. Or perhaps this was a Troop of experienced Veterans, who inliſted themſelves under the Command of *Sicinnius Dentatus*, as Voluntiers.

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nour and the Command of the General call us. You will bear me Witneſs after I am dead, that I am deſtroyed only for having defended the publick Liberty.

But *Sicinnius*'s Anger did not rob him of his Preſence of Mind. The more difficult his Commiſſion was, the more cautious he thought he ought to be, in order to ſucceed in it. To go up to the Camp of the *Æqui*, he did not take the Path to which he had been directed: But went round the Rock, and found he could aſcend it through a Wood into which he marched his Troop. He accidentally met with a Peaſant belonging to the Place, who knew all the Ways in the Wood, and brought him up to an Eminence which overlooked the Enemy's Camp. From thence he had a ſight of the two Armies, which were already engaged, and neither appeared yet to have the Advantage. He likewiſe ſaw, that the Soldiers who were left to guard the Enemy's Camp, were all drawn up, on that ſide only, which was next the Plain, that they might be Witneſſes of the Battel. So that the ſide he was to attack, was left intirely unguarded. He therefore leaped over the Entrenchments without any Oppoſition, and marching into the middle of the Camp with his Troop, came and fell upon theſe Spectators, who little expected to be ſurprized. They were ſuperior in Number to *Sicinnius*'s Troop, but they thought they were fallen into the Hands of a whole Army, commanded by one of the *Conſuls*. They therefore haſtily ſlid down the Rock, without ſo much as taking their Arms. The *Romans* followed them, made a great Slaughter of them, and when they had made themſelves Maſters of the Camp, deſcended into the Plain, to bear their part in the general Battel. Upon this, the *Æqui* held out no longer againſt the *Romans*; they fled in Diſorder, and the *Conſuls* Army continued purſuing and cutting them to pieces, till Night. They loſt above ſeven thouſand Men. Then *Sicinnius* [76], being victorious both in the Enemy's Camp and in the Plain, and very proud of having turned the Enmity of his General to his Advantage, but more ſo, that he had determined the Victory for his Countrymen, went back again to the Camp he had taken with his Troop, of which he had not loſt one Man, and kept Poſſeſſion of it, as his own Conqueſt. But he did not take that Advantage of the Plunder, which he might have done. He killed the Slaves, and Horſes and other Cattle which he found in it. He ſet fire to the Tents, Arms, and Magazines of Corn, and in ſhort to all the Spoils the Enemy had brought from the Territory of *Tuſculum*. So that he marched away by break of Day the next Morning, without Baggage or any Incumbrances, and with his Troop, who adored him, returned to *Rome* long before the *Conſuls*. His Deſign was to prevent the granting the Honours of a Triumph to Men, who would have deſtroyed him; and who would have been too proud, had they conquered and triumphed, with the help only of a *Patrician* Army.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 672.

There was ſcarce any Body left in the City but *Plebeians*; who, when they ſaw *Sicinnius* approaching with his eight hundred Veterans, who made the Air ring with their Shouts of Victory, flocked round them, and conducted them with great Acclamations to the *Forum*. The *Tribunes* aſſembled the People, and ordered *Sicinnius* to relate his Adventure: Which he did in ſuch a manner, as both raiſed the Indignation of the People againſt the *Conſuls* who would have deſtroyed him, and their Compaſſion for this great Man, whom the Gods, and his own Valour had ſaved from Death. Their Murmurs againſt the Generals were ſo great and ſo juſt, that the Senate it ſelf durſt not decree *Romilius* and *Veturius* the Honours of a Triumph. As for *Sicinnius*, the People did him all the Honour he could expect from them. In the next *Comitia* they nominated him to be *Tribune*. So that the *Conſuls*, being prevented at *Rome* by *Sicinnius*, returned without Honour, and loaded with freſh Odium. Inſtead of diſtributing the Booty they had taken from the Enemy among their Soldiers, they ſold it, and put the Money into the publick Treaſury.

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§. XVII. The next Year *Rome* was governed by more popular, and leſs odious *Conſuls*; who were *Sp. Tarpeius*, and [77] *A. Æternius*. The Republick was then in no Danger

76 *Sicinnius Dentatus*'s Victory has alſo eſcaped *Livy*, who aſcribes all the Glory of the Defeat of the *Æqui* to the two *Conſuls* for the preſent Year.

77 Moſt antient Writers differ about the Names of this laſt *Conſul*. *Livy* calls him *A. Æternius*: And *Pliny B.* 7. gives him the ſame Name. In *Dion. Hal.* we read Αὖλον Τερμίνιον; in *Gellius B.* 11. *A. Thurmum*; and in *Diodorus Siculus*, Αὖλον Ἀτέρνιον Φερτίνιον. *Sigonius* has followed ſome Copies of *Caſſiodorus*, and *Solinus*, who give this *Conſul* the Names of *Aulus Aterius*; becauſe the *Aterian* Family is better known in Hiſtory than any of the others, whoſe Names are given him by the Authors juſt

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Danger of a foreign War: And the *Tribunes* therefore took hold of this Opportunity to put in execution the two Deſigns they had moſt at Heart. One was to get the *Conſuls* for the laſt Year condemned, the other to paſs the *Terentian* Law. *Sicinnius* was at the Head of the *Tribunes*, and their Speaker. He therefore took upon him [78] the Management of the Proſecution he intended to carry on againſt his Enemy *Romilius:* Whilſt the *Edile Allienus* accuſed *Veturius*. It may be obſerved, that *Sicinnius* either had, or affected to have, ſome Moderation, in the Puniſhment he got decreed againſt the Accuſed, in caſe they ſhould be convicted; it was neither [79] Baniſhment nor Death. Perhaps there was Policy in the *Tribune*'s Moderation. He thought the Slightneſs of the Puniſhment, would make the *Patricians* leſs active in defending the Accuſed. Or perhaps, the Generoſity, common with great Men, hindered *Sicinnius* from carrying his Revenge to the utmoſt Extremity, againſt his perſonal Enemy. However, the two *Conſuls* were ſummoned to appear before the People. It is true, the preſent *Conſuls* made ſome Oppoſition to the Affront that was going to be offered to two Men who were venerable for their Employments, and had been their Predeceſſors in the *Conſulate:* But the Senate had already ſuffered the *Tribunes* to aſſume a right of citing thoſe who had been *Conſuls* to appear before their *Tribunal*. On the Day appointed, the proud *Romilius* appeared, and was tried firſt. He depended on the Promiſes the *Patricians* had made him, never to permit the Suffrages of the People to be taken, in order to his Condemnation. But the wiſe *Sicinnius* had taken proper Meaſures to prevent the young Nobilities diſturbing the *Comitia*. He had gathered together all the vileſt People in the City and Country, even to the very Beggars. A Company of Vagabonds and Hirelings, who had nothing to loſe, would naturally have leſs Regard for the Nobility and Senate, than ſubſtantial Citizens. Theſe therefore the *Tribune* ſet to guard the Ends of the Streets, which came into the *Forum*. So that the People came within the Bars of the Voting-place, without Difficulty, and proceeded regularly to *Romilius*'s Trial.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 31.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 673.

SICINNIUS mounted the Place whence Harangues were made, and propoſed to the Aſſembly the two Grievances which were laid to the old *Conſul*'s Charge. The firſt was, that he had offered Violence to the *Tribunes*, and diſturbed them in the Execution of their Office. The ſecond was that he abuſed his Authority in the Army, in order to deſtroy him, and the eight hundred Veterans in his Cohort. The Witneſſes which appeared, were not only *Plebeians*, but alſo ſome venerable *Patricians*, whoſe Love of Equity made them bear Witneſs againſt the ſeditious and cruel *Romilius*. Among others, a young Man, of a *Conſular* Family, named *Sp. Virginius*, who had got himſelf a great Reputation for Valour, in the late Battel, could not refuſe depoſing what was very prejudicial to his General. *I had*, ſaid he, *a Friend in our Troops, of about my own Age, whoſe Father was in the Cohort which* Sicinnius *commanded. This Son, out of Affection to his Father, got me to deſire my Uncle, who was then Lieutenant-General in* Romilius's *Army, to intercede that his Father might not go to the Attack of the Rock. So much were People perſuaded, that it was ſending* Sicinnius *and his Troop to*

juſt now quoted. Some give him the Surname of *Fontinalis*. As to the other *Conſul*, the *Faſti Capitolini* call him *Spurius Tarpeius, M. F. M. N.* Montanaca, inſtead of Montan. Ca. that is, *Montanus Capitolinus*. We alſo find the Surname of *Capitolinus* in the *Faſti Siculi*, and thoſe of *Cuſpinian*. As to the Surname of the former *Conſul*, we thought our ſelves obliged with *Pighius*, to follow the moſt correct Copies of *Livy*, *Pliny*, and *Caſſiodorus*, which call him *A. Æternius*.

[78] *Livy B.* 3. ſays it was another *Tribune of the People*, named *C. Claudius Cicero*, who undertook the Proſecution of *Romilius*. Poſſibly *Sicinnius* and *Claudius* joined together in accuſing *Romilius*, on different Articles.

[79] We have already obſerved that the *Comitia by Tribes* could not legally inflict Death on a *Roman* Citizen. This *Tully* confirms in his Oration for *Sextius*, and his *ſecond Book of Laws*. For this Reaſon he concludes in his third Book, that *Lucius Cotta* had Reaſon to proteſt againſt *Claudius*'s Proceedings as null, who had cited *Cicero* to appear before the *Tribes* to receive Sentence of Death. It is credible that, before theſe latter times, the Popu-

lace, animated by the *Tribunes*, had in fact uſurped a right which did not belong to them. Thus *C. Gracchus*, as we learn from *Tully*, *Orat. pro Rabirio*, made an expreſs Law, about the Year of *Rome* 230, or rather revived the antient Cuſtom, that capital Caſes ſhould be brought before the *Tribunal* of the *Centuries*. *C. Gracchus*, ſays the *Roman* Orator, *legem tulit, ne de capite civium Romanorum, injuſſu veſtro, judicaretur*. *Cicero* was then pleading the Cauſe of *Rabirius* before the *Centuries*. In his Oration for *Sextius* he expreſſes himſelf thus; *Cur, cum de capite civis, & de bonis preſcriptio ferretur? Cum & ſacratis legibus & duodecim tabulis ſancitum eſſet——neque de capite, niſi comitiis centurialibus rogari. Nulla vox eſt audita Conſulum*. After which he adds, that the Laws had wiſely provided for the Safety of private Perſons, in not ſuffering their Lives to depend on the Humours of a Magiſtrate, or a mad Populace: *Atque his quidem legibus firmata in primis libertas civis Romani putatur, quod caput ejus, nec magiſtratuum libidini, nec plebis arbitrio, ſed totius populi Romani judicio, eſſet commiſſum.*

Year of ROME CCXCIX. Sp. Tarpeius and A. Æternius, Conſuls.

certain Death. Accordingly, my Uncle interceded, and was refuſed by the Conſuls. *The Son therefore followed his Father, being firmly reſolved not to abandon him, but reſolutely to die with him.* This Depoſition was full of affecting Circumſtances, and the People were moved at it. But they could not refrain from Tears, when the Father and Son appeared alſo; and ſet in a clear Light the Inhumanity of the General, who had devoted ſo many brave Men to Deſtruction, for no other Reaſon but becauſe they were *Plebeians*, and in Credit among the People. The whole Aſſembly were full of Indignation againſt the Criminal, when the *Tribune* ordered him to anſwer, and make his Defence. Nevertheleſs he did not lay aſide his haughty Air, even in this Criſis. He inſiſted upon this Maxim, which he ſaid was authorized by Cuſtom, that a *Conſul* was not accountable to any Body for his Adminiſtration. The *Tribes* therefore immediately united, to give their Suffrages, and *T. Romilius* was unanimouſly declared guilty of a wicked Attempt againſt the publick Welfare, and was fined ten thouſand *Aſſes* [80] of Braſs. A few Days after, came on the Trial of *Veturius* his Collegue. He was an Accomplice in the ſame Things with which *Romilius* had been reproached. But Hiſtory has not told us, he was more guilty; nay he even appears to have been leſs ſo, and yet his Fine was one Third larger. He paid fifteen thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs: Doubtleſs, either becauſe *Sicinnius* was ſatisfied with humbling his Enemy, and would not impoveriſh him, or elſe out of the Regard the People had to *Romilius*'s Merit, and his laſt Victory.

Livy B. 3. *Ibid. Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 674.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

§. XVIII. This firſt Act of *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* made him Maſter of the Commonalty; and the *Conſuls*, as well as Senate, were afraid of his ſuperior Genius. They had juſt had an Example before their Eyes, which might well intimidate them. Therefore *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* diſclaimed being any longer the Heads of the *Patrician* Faction, like their Predeceſſors; and ſhewed themſelves on all Occaſions Friends to the *Plebeians*. They no longer made a Secret of it. In the firſt *Comitia by Centuries*, which they aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*, they paſſed a Law, which was very advantageous to the *Tribunes*. The famous *Poplicola* had formerly made a Law, that whoever ſhould reſiſt the Magiſtrates, or diſobey them, when they were in the Exerciſe of their Office, ſhould pay a Fine of five *Oxen*, and two *Sheep*. The new *Conſuls* raiſed the Fine [81], in this Aſſembly of the People, to two *Sheep*, and thirty *Oxen*. Every *Ox* was valued at a hundred *Aſſes* of Braſs, and every *Sheep* at ten. When *Poplicola* paſſed this Law, which was called the *Valerian* Law, the meaning of the Word *Magiſtrates* was confined to the *Conſuls*, there being then no *Tribunes of the People*. But *Tarpeius* and *Æternius* gave it a more extenſive Signification; and determined, that the *Tribunes* likewiſe ſhould be included under it. This new Regulation raiſed the *Tribunes* very much, and put them almoſt upon a Level with the *Conſuls*. Yet ſtill this was not enough for the brave *Sicinnius*. He had it at Heart, to get the *Terentian* Law paſſed in his Time; or at leaſt to take care to pave the Way effectually for it. The Buſineſs was to make a Code of Laws, which the *Conſuls* ſhould be obliged to follow in their Deliberations, and which ſhould be their Rule in paſſing Judgments. *Sicinnius* perſuaded himſelf he ſhould have Intereſt enough in the Senate, to get the Votes of the *Conſcript Fathers*, and accordingly preſented a Petition to

Varro, Gellius, and *Feſtus*.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

l. s. d.
[a] 32, 5, 10, *Arbuthnot.*

l. s. d.
[b] 48, 8, 9. *Arbuthnot.*

80 If we reckon the 10000 *Aſſes* [a] according to the Weight of the *French* Farthings, the Sum will be conſiderable, and amount to 6750 *Livres*: But if we make each *As* no more than a Pound-weight of twelve Ounces, and worth no more than one *Sol*, the Fine will amount to no more than five hundred *Livres*, and *Veturius*'s [b] fifteen thouſand *Aſſes*, will, according to this way of reckoning, come to ſeven hundred and fifty *Livres*.

81 In the Editions of *Dion. Hal.* we read *two Oxen and thirty Sheep.* Δύο βόας καὶ τριάκοντα πρόβατα. *Briſſon. B.* 1. *c.* 3. *in ſelect. ex jure Ant.* gueſſes with Reaſon that there is an Error here, and that we ought to read *thirty Oxen and two Sheep.* Δύο πρόβατα καὶ τριάκοντα βόας. His Authority, is a Paſſage in *Aulus Gellius B.* 2. *c.* 1. *Mulctam, quæ appellatur ſuprema, inſtitutam, in ſingulos, duarum ovium, boum triginta; pro copia ſcilicet boum, proque ovium penuria*; that is, that the higheſt Fine did not exceed two Sheep and thirty Oxen. The Reaſon he gives for this, is, that the former ſort of Cattle were then much ſcarcer than the latter. For this Reaſon, *Timæus* in his *Greek* Hiſtory of *Rome*, and *Varro* in his *Antiquities*, derive the Name of *Italy*, from the old *Greek* Word Ιταλὸς, which ſignifies an Ox. *Aulus Gellius* adds, that by the *Aterian*, or *Æternian* Law, the Fine was changed into ten *Aſſes* of Braſs for each Sheep, and a hundred for each Ox, that is into 3020 *Aſſes* in all; becauſe it happened, that thoſe who were condemned to pay in Cattle, ſometimes gave Sheep and Oxen of a greater, and ſometimes of a leſs Value. We have obſerved in another Place, that theſe Names of *Sheep* and *Oxen* were given to pieces of Copper Money, which began to be ſtamped with the Figures of theſe Animals, in the Reign of *Servius Tullius*. *Plutarch* ſpeaking of the Fine ſet by *Poplicola*, ſays a Sheep was then worth ten *Oboli*, and an Ox, a hundred. The *Obolus* was the ſixth Part of the *Attick Drachma*, according to *Pliny B.* 21. *Drachma Attica denarii argentei habet pondus, eadem ſex obolos pondere efficit.*

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them. He could depend upon the preſent *Conſuls*, and a good Number of Senators: But *Romilius* was prejudiced againſt him, and his Opinion could not but be of great Weight. Nevertheleſs, *Sicinnius* had the Confidence to puſh on the Affair with Vigour. The firſt who gave their Opinions were pretty much divided. At length they came to *Romilius*, whoſe Age, and the Time of his Admiſſion into the Houſe, had placed him in the middle between the oldeſt and youngeſt Senators. His Opinion was expected with an impatient Curioſity, and he was heard with Attention. *You know too well*, ſays he, *my Quarrels with the* Tribunes, *and the Grounds I have to be diſſatisfied with the People, not to be convinced, that I am no Flatterer of them. And yet, ſhall I not be accuſed of Levity, if I take their Part? Why, will the World ſay, is this* Conſul, *who heretofore ſo warmly oppoſed the* Terentian *Law, become an Advocate for it? I frankly acknowledge*, Patricians, *that as long as I thought your Cauſe capable of being ſupported, I defended it at all Hazards. But now you have rendered it incapable of being maintained. You have ſacrificed your moſt zealous Defenders. You have given up my Collegue and me to a Power which you acknowledge to be ſuperior to your own. Our Buſineſs then is not to look back on what is paſſed, but to provide for the future. In the preſent State of Affairs, the wiſeſt Way is, to comply with the Times. Far be it from me to think of Revenge, or courting Favour! The publick Good is my only Aim. I judge of the future by what is paſt. What have we got by all our Conteſts with the People, but the Shame of being worſted by them? Shall we then engage in new Quarrels, only to receive freſh Affronts? Shall we again expoſe our* Conſuls *to be brought to their Trial before the People, and to be condemned by them, without any Aſſiſtance or Protection? My own Experience has made me wiſe in behalf of other Men. I therefore conclude, that we ought to grant the People their Demand, and ſend a Deputation into* Greece, *to tranſcribe the Laws of the wiſeſt Law-givers. Out of them a Code may be made, which may ſerve for a Rule to our Judges. When the Deputies are returned, the Senate may name Commiſſioners, who will be able to chooſe out of the Laws, which ſhall have been compiled, whatever will beſt ſuit with our Manners and Cuſtoms. In ſhort*, Patricians, *let it be your firſt Care to avoid any Conteſts with the People, eſpecially concerning Laws! It is, generally ſpeaking, a creditable thing to call for them, and diſreputable to reject them.*

Thus ſpake *Romilius* contrary to the Expectation of the Senate. The two *Conſuls* were of his Opinion, and were followed by a Majority of the Senators. But before the Decree was paſſed, the *Tribune Sicinnius* roſe up, and ſpake in Commendation of *Romilius*. Never was a more ſudden Reconciliation. Whence it is evident, their Quarrels aroſe only from the different Judgments they formed of what tended to the publick Good. As ſoon as they came to join in Opinion, their Hearts were immediately united. *Romilius* had not yet paid his Fine: The *Tribune* declared that he remitted it. *The Gods forbid*, replies *Romilius*, *that I ſhould defraud them of the Money which belongs to them. The Fine exacted of me, is conſecrated by the Laws to* [82] *religious Uſes. I therefore cannot detain it without Impiety.* This double Inſtance, both of Moderation and Diſintereſtedneſs, did *Romilius* more Honour, than he could have received from a Triumph. The Decree paſſed, which commanded a Deputation to be ſent, to collect the Laws of the *Grecian* Cities: And [83] *Sp. Poſthumius*, [84] *S. Sulpicius*, and *A. Manlius* were deputed to go to *Athens*, to get Copies of the Laws of [85] *Draco*, *Solon* [86],

82 Pecuniary Fines were applied to religious Uſes. The Money ariſing from them, was dedicated to ſome Divinity, either towards the Expence of the Sacrifices offered up to him, or towards the adorning or repairing his Temple.

83 Theſe three Deputies were, after their Return, made a part of the *Decemviri*, who were appointed to draw up a Body of *Roman* Laws, out of thoſe borrowed from the *Greeks*, and ſome others which were added to them.

84 *Livy* gives *Sulpicius* the *Prænomen* of *Publius*, inſtead of that of *Servius*. But it is probable only ſuch Men were choſen for this important Embaſſy, as had been *Conſuls*. And upon this Suppoſition, we muſt adhere to *Dion. Hal.* who makes *Servius Sulpicius* one of the Deputies, and not *Publius*. The firſt had been *Conſul* as well as the other two; but the *Faſti Conſulares*, don't mention any *Publius Sulpicius*, who had been *Conſul* before that time.

85 *Draco* was an *Athenian* Lawgiver. He lived in the Year 624 before Chriſt, about the 39th Olympiad. The extravagant Severity of the Laws he made, gave Occaſion to *Herodicus* to ſay, that they had been dictated by a *Dragon*, and not by a Man. And *Demades* ſaid for the ſame Reaſon, that they had been written in Blood. The Puniſhments inflicted by them, were ſo little proportioned to Crimes, that the leaſt Faults were made capital, as well as the greateſt. So that a Man who was accuſed of leading an effeminate Life, or of ſtealing a few Herbs, was puniſhed in the ſame manner, as a profeſſed Thief, or Robber upon the Highway. *Draco* anſwered thoſe, who reproached him with this

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Solon [86], and other Law-givers; and to ſtudy the Manners, and wiſe Inſtitutions of the well conſtituted Cities in *Greece*. The *Queſtors* [87] ordered ſome [88] *Triremes*, magnificently adorned, to be fitted out with Speed, in order to give the *Greeks* an advantageous Opinion of the *Roman* Republick, to which they were almoſt entirely Strangers. The Deputies ſet out, and left *Rome* in the Enjoyment of a profound Peace: Which it owed to the Wiſdom, Valour, and Probity of *Sicinnius*. Hitherto ſcarce any great Man had appeared, but of the *Patrician* Body. Now a meer *Plebeian* almoſt equalled the *Bruti*, and the *Poplicolæ*, in Glory. He won ſeveral Battels, though no General; and though but an inferior Magiſtrate, found Means to humble the *Conſuls*, and bring the Senate to Reaſon. He kept the People in order, by wiſe Meaſures; and the *Patricians* by their Fear. In ſhort he procured the *Romans* Laws, which made them as conſiderable for their Equity, as their Arms; and which are to this Day the Foundation of civil Juſtice, in all the States of *Europe*.

this unjuſt Diſproportion, that the leaſt Faults deſerved Death, and that no greater Puniſhment could be found out for the greateſt Crimes. The Death of this Law-giver, was glorious, and tragical at the ſame time. Appearing one Day in the Theatre, he was received with the Acclamations of the People, who to ſhew their Reſpect for him, according to the Cuſtoms of that time, threw ſo great a Number of Robes and Caps at him, from all Parts of the Theatre, that they beat him down, and ſuffocated him with them. After his Death, the *Athenians* did not think proper to put his Laws in execution. They were entirely aboliſhed by *Solon*; excepting thoſe which concerned Murders.

86 *Solon*, one of the ſeven wiſe Men of *Greece*, was born at *Athens*, the 639th Year before Chriſt, and the ſecond Year of the 35th Olympiad. He was *Archon*, in the time of *Tarquin the Elder*. He ſubſtituted more reaſonable Laws, in the room of thoſe *Draco* had made. But he enacted no Puniſhment againſt Parricides, as believing there were no ſuch Monſters in Nature. He uſed to ſay, that Laws were like Spiders-webs, which catched nothing but Flies. By which he meant, that the Crimes of great Men go unpuniſhed, whilſt the little ones only ſuffer the Rigour of the Law.

87 There were *Queſtors* in *Rome* from the time of *Valerius Poplicola*. Their chief Buſineſs was to keep the publick Treaſure, and to defray the publick Expences. They had the Title of *Quæſtores Urbani*, or *Quæſtores Ærarii*, to diſtinguiſh them from other *Queſtors*, whoſe Offices were different from theirs, as we ſhall obſerve in its proper Place.

88 It is not yet time to ſpeak of the antient *Triremes*. This is not the proper Place for it. We ſhall defer our Remarks upon them, to the time, when naval Affairs came to be introduced among the *Romans*. We will then endeavour to give the Reader entire Satisfaction, about this important Point of Antiquity, which has very lately been the Subject of ſeveral Debates among ſome learned Men.

THE

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK X.

§ 1. THE three hundredth Year, from the Foundation of *Rome*, was a Year of Peace. Under the new *Conſuls*, [1] *Sex. Quintilius*, and *P. Horatius*, the *Æqui* not having yet recovered themſelves from the Fright of their laſt

Year of *ROME* CCC.

SEX. QUINTILIUS and P. HORATIUS, Conſuls.

Silver

Overthrow, ſeemed willing to keep within their Limits. At Home, the *Tribunes* and People, being content with having eſtabliſhed the *Terentian* Law, waited quietly for the Return of the Deputies, with the Laws they were to bring from *Greece*. But it ſeems to have been the Fate of the *Romans*, in the firſt Ages of the Republick, not to enjoy any perfect Tranquillity. They had hitherto been always in Wars, the Proſecution of which had been continually obſtructed by domeſtick Seditions; and now, in the only Interval of Peace, they had a great while enjoyed, a Plague happened at *Rome*, and made exceeding great Havock. *Rome* was ſaid to have been like a Lake full of Mud. If it was not kept in Motion by the Winds of War, and Sedition, it threw out peſtilential Vapours, which infected the Air. However that were, *Rome* had never been viſited with a more fatal Contagion, ſince her Foundation. Almoſt all the Slaves died of it; and it ſwept away almoſt half the People. A Poiſon came from the Diſeaſed, which communicated it ſelf to thoſe who touched them, or even breathed the Air about them. The Sick were utterly deſtitute of any Relief, and the dead Bodies were left unburied. They were thrown together into the common *Sewers* and the *Tyber*, and were often caſt upon the Strand, where they lay and infected all the Air of the Neighbourhood. In ſhort, the Water of the River was ſo corrupted, that it firſt cauſed Indigeſtions, and then Diſeaſes, which carried Men off in a few Days. From the City, the Sickneſs ſpread it ſelf into the Country. The Cattle, and their Keepers were both infected. The Husbandmen died, and the Tillage of the Earth was neglected. It often happens that a Famine produces a Plague; but in the preſent Inſtance, the Plague produced a Famine. This double Scourge

Livy B. 3. *c.* 32. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 677. *St. Aug. de Civit. Dei, B.* 3. *c.* 18. *Oſorius B.* 2. *c.* 12.

[1] *Livy*, and *Caſſiodorus* in his *Chronicon*, differ from *Dion. Hal.* as to the Name of the ſecond *Conſul* for this Year. The two former call him, *P. Curiatius*, or *Curatius*. The *Greek Tables* have divided the Name and *Prænomen* of *Sextus Quintilius*; and thereby make two *Conſuls* of him. *Diodorus* alſo fell into the ſame Miſtake, when he confounded the Surname of *Tergeminus*, in the Perſon of *Sextus Quintilius*. We have followed *Dion. Hal.*'s reading, as moſt agreeable to the *Faſti Conſulares*, which make the *Conſuls* of this Year to be *Sex. Quintilius*, *Sex. Filius*, *P. Nepos*, and *Horatius P. Filius*, *P. Nepos*, *Tergeminus*. As to the Surname of *Tergeminus*, or *Trigeminus*, nothing can be concluded from thence in *Horatius*'s Favour, ſince the ſame Surname was common to both the Families of theſe two *Romans*, ſince the memorable Combat, between the three *Horatii*, and the three *Curiatii*, which ſettled the Dominion of *Rome*, over the City of *Alba*. *Guy Patin* has given us a Head, from a Medal of the *Curiatian* Family, with the Surname of *Trigeminus*. But what confirms *Dion. Hal.*'s reading, is, that antient Authors have not told us of any *Conſul*, before this time, who bore the Surname of *Curiatius* or *Curatius*. Whereas the *Horatii* were a conſiderable Family among the *Patricians* of *Rome*, from the very beginning of the Republick.

Year of *ROME* CCC. Sex. Quintilius and P. Horatius, Consuls.

made the *Romans* have Recourse to their Gods, and their [2] usual Expiations. The more pressing the Evil was, the more madly Superstitious they grew. They invented new sorts of Worship, and the prophane Writers themselves are scandalized at the illegal Practices they introduced into Religion. But as their Recourse to the Gods proved fruitless, they deserted their Temples, and shed no more Blood upon the Altars. Death spared not the most illustrious *Romans*. The *Consul Quintilius* died of the common Distemper, as did *Sp. Furius* [3], who had been nominated to succeed him. The high Priest of *Jupiter*, *Serv. Cornelius*, and the *Augur* [4] *Horatius Pulvillius*, were carried off by the Violence of the Disease. In short, four *Tribunes of the People*, and a great Number of the wisest of the Senators, were involved in the common Destruction.

The melancholy Condition to which *Rome* was now reduced, made her Enemies willing to take this Opportunity of revenging themselves upon her. The *Æqui*, who were always bent upon destroying the Republick, excited the Nations which were jealous of it, to unite together in order to compleat its Ruin. But their Designs were prevented by the same Plague, which afflicted the *Romans*. It spread itself to their Neighbours. The *Æqui*, the *Sabines*, and the *Volsci*, fell a Prey to the same Contagion. So that this fatal Year was not distinguished by any memorable Action.

Year of *ROME* CCCI. P. Sestius, and T. Menenius, Consuls. *Dion. Hal. B. 10. p. 678.*

§. II. Early the next Year, first Health, and then Plenty returned to *Rome*. *P.* [5] *Sestius*, and *T. Menenius* were then *Consuls*. The *Romans* had now nothing to fear from foreign Enemies; the Sickness had weakened them. Besides, the Plague was now entirely over, both in the City and the Country. Then the Ceremonies of Religion were renewed in their usual Course, and the Games of the *Circus* were a Recreation to the People, after suffering so many Calamities. The whole Winter was spent in Entertainments and Rejoicings, notwithstanding the dearness of Provisions. And the Scarcity entirely vanished early in the Spring, by means of the great Plenty of Necessaries which were brought to *Rome* from all Parts. Then likewise the three Deputies returned from *Greece*, who were to establish such Rules for the Administration of Justice in the Republick, as were to be always observed, and make it uniform and stable. And yet, which is almost incredible, their Return, which was so long expected with Impatience, was agreeable to no body but the *Tribunes*. They presented their Petition to the *Consuls*, desiring them to get the Senate to nominate ten Commissioners, who, as Law-givers, were to have the Care of drawing up ten

2 Strictly speaking, Expiations were to be used only for Crimes. Nevertheless these Ceremonies were become so common among the *Romans*, that they used them almost on all Occasions, whether of a publick or private Nature. The Command of an Army, the Celebration of the publick Sports and Festivals, were not to be undertaken, or the Assemblies of the People to be held, without this Superstition, which was thought a religious and necessary Precaution. The *Pagans* used likewise to have Recourse to Purifications and expiatory Sacrifices, to avert any Misfortune, or ill Omen. The preparatory Expiations, they were obliged to perform, who were admitted into the Mysteries of *Eleusis*, or prepared to consult the Oracle of *Trophonius*, were thought so many religious Acts. *Ovid* with Reason laughs at those, who washed themselves in running Water, by way of Expiation for Homicide.

Ah nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina cædis
Flumineâ tolli posse putatis aqua. Fasti B. 2.

Aspersions, Washings, Sacrifices, were all used in the solemn Purification of Cities, Countries, and Armies. Hence come the Words, *Amburbium*, *Ambarvalia*, *Armilustrium*. Marriages, Funerals, and all Undertakings of Importance, were always preceded by some Expiation, with a View to appease the Gods, and make them propitious to those who performed them.

3 *Livy* tells us indeed, that the *Consul Sextus Quintilius* died of the Plague; but he says nothing, either of *Spurius Furius*'s being chosen to succeed *Quintilius*, or of the Death of the new *Consul*, who was carried off by the Sickness, soon after his Election.

4 *Livy* says the *Augurs* chose *Caius Veturius*, who had been *Consul* the Year before, to succeed *Horatius Pulvillus* in his *Augurship*. And according to him, the little Regard the People shewed for him, by laying a pecuniary Mulct upon him, was one of the chief Motives, which determined the College to prefer him. Whence we may observe, that the College had then the right of filling up the Vacancies in their College themselves. But this Custom was altered in the Year 650. when *Domitius Ænobarbus* the *Tribune of the People*, transferred to them the right of electing the *Pontifices*, and *Augurs*, who were then but four, and all of *Patrician* Families. Their Number was not increased till the Year 654.

5 *Livy* and *Cassiodorus* give the *Consul Menenius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. *Diodorus* and *Festus* call him *Titus*. The *Fasti* of *Cuspinian* only call the *Consuls* of this Year by the Surnames of *Lanatus*, and *Vatricanus*. *Publius Sestius* is surnamed *Capitolinus* by *Diodorus* and *Festus*. The *Fasti Capitolini* run thus; *P. Sestius Q. F. V. N. Capitolinus. T. Menenius*, to whom the *Greek* Tables give the Surname of *Lanatus*, was probably the Son of him, who was *Consul* in the Year of *Rome* 276. *Dion. Hal.* calls the two *Consuls* for this Year *Lucius Menenius*, and *Publius Sestius*. We follow the *Fasti Consulares*, which give the former the *Prænomen* of *Titus*.

Year of *ROME* CCCI.

P. Sestius and T. Menenius, Conſuls.

Tables of Laws, out of the Materials which were brought from *Greece*. But the *Conſuls* did not find their Account in eſtabliſhing theſe Laws. This was a Diminution of their Authority, who were certainly more formidable, whilſt they continued to determine Cauſes in an arbitrary manner. They therefore prolonged the Affair, and pretended they were near going out of their Office. In ſhort the *Decemviri* were not put into Commiſſion, till the next *Conſuls* were choſen. The *Comitia* were therefore aſſembled before their uſual time, and [6] *Appius Claudius*, and *T. Genucius* were nominated beforehand, to ſucceed *Seſtius* and *Menenius*, as ſoon as their time ſhould expire. Theſe *Conſuls*, who were deſigned [7] for the next Year, plainly foreſaw, that the *Decemviri* muſt neceſſarily take their Places, in their Year, and become Maſters of all Power in the Republick. They therefore thought of retaining a part at leaſt of that Authority which was ready to be divided among ten Men. It then evidently appeared, that that *Roman* Conſtancy, and that Zeal of the moſt rigid *Patricians*, for the Intereſts of their own Body, were at Bottom nothing elſe but a refined Ambition. So that this *Appius Claudius*, who had hitherto valued himſelf upon his immovable Attachment to the Party of the Nobility, and who ſeemed to have derived it from the Blood of his Anceſtors, changed all at once. This new Flatterer of the People joined with the *Tribunes*, in order to get the *Decemviri* appointed. His Collegue *Genucius* followed his Example, but with more Moderation. *Claudius* publickly undertook the Defence of the popular Faction. The *Tribunes* prevailed on him, to make an Harangue in their Favour, before the general Aſſembly. He there publickly declared, that he, and his deſigned Collegue for the enſuing Year, were willing to have ten Men nominated, to draw up a Code of Laws. He likewiſe promiſed the People, that he would renounce the *Conſulſhip*, as ſoon as he ſhould ſucceed to it, in order to give the *Decemviri* full Liberty to govern the Republick themſelves, independently of any others. But *Claudius* had his private Views. He expected that, by the Favour of the *Tribunes*, he ſhould be placed at the Head of the *Decemviri*, and by that means have a more abſolute Authority, than if he had barely continued *Conſul*. He likewiſe then formed a Scheme of obtaining that tyrannical Power, which he afterwards attempted to uſurp.

The ambitious *Claudius* therefore, having a conſiderable Intereſt, as a Perſon nominated to the *Conſulſhip* for the next Year, deſired that the Senate might be aſſembled, and it was granted. His intended Collegue alſo entered into his Meaſures. They both together forced the *Conſul Seſtius* to preſide in the Senate alone, and to declare for the Creation of the *Decemviri*. His Collegue *Menenius*, who was a worthy *Patrician*, had too much Honour to bring a Stain upon his Character, by betraying the Intereſts of the Nobility. He pretended to be ſick, or perhaps really was ſo. He is ſaid to have been ſo much affected, by the Wound which was ready to be given to his Party, that he pined away with Grief. However, the Senate was aſſembled without him; but the Affair of the *Decemviri* did not paſs without ſome Oppoſition. Many Senators were for adhering to the antient Laws of their Country, without admitting of any Innovations. Nevertheleſs *Appius*, who voted firſt, carried a Majority with him. He got a Decree, that ten Men, venerable for their Age and Wiſdom, ſhould be choſen, to whom ſhould be referred the Examination of

6 *Appius Claudius* is ſurnamed *Craſſinus*, in the *Faſti Capitolini*. *Diodorus* and *Suetonius*, *in the Life of Tiberius*, give him the Surname of *Regillanus*, which was adopted by the *Claudian* Family. This *Claudius* was Grandſon to *Marcus Claudius*, as appears by the Account given of this Year's *Conſuls* in the *Faſti Capitolini*. *Ap. Claudius Ap. F. M. N. Craſſinus. T. Genucius L. F. L. N. Augurinus.* Beſides, as we learn from *Livy* that *C. Claudius* who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 293. was Uncle to *Appius Craſſinus*, and the Son of *Claudius* the *Sabine* who was *Conſul* in the Year 258. we muſt, in order to avoid derogating from the Authority of the *Faſti Capitolini*, give this laſt *Claudius*, the Grandfather of *Craſſinus*, the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*, and not that of *Appius*, which *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* give him. But this is a difficult Matter to determine one Way or the other. As to the *Prænomen* of *Claudius Craſſinus*, *Tully B. 2. de finib.* changes it into that of *Publius*, though antient Writers and the *Faſti Conſulares*, always give him the *Prænomen* of *Appius*. *Diodorus* is guilty of the ſame Miſtake: Nor is he more exact in the Name of the ſecond *Conſul*, whom he calls, Τίτον Μινούτιον, *Titus Minutius*.

7 It was an eſtabliſhed Cuſtom in *Rome*, at leaſt in the latter Ages of the Republick, to aſſemble the *Comitia*, in order to proceed to the Election of new Magiſtrates, ſome Months before they entered upon their Office. After the *Conſuls* for the next Year were appointed, the preſent *Conſul*, who preſided in the *Comitia* proclaimed them, and offered up a Prayer to the immortal Gods, beſeeching them, that the Election of the new *Conſuls* might prove happy to himſelf, and advantageous to the *Roman* People. *Ut ea res ſibi magiſtratuique ſuo, Populo, Plebique Romanæ, bene atque feliciter eveniret.* Tull. Orat. *for* Murena.

the

Year of *ROME* CCCI.

P. Sestius and T. Menenius, Conſuls.

the Laws brought from *Greece*; and that each ſhould take his Part, according to the Subject Matter of them, and reduce under proper Heads, what concerned the Rights of private Families, what related to the Government of the State, and what belonged to the Rites of Religion, and the Worſhip of the Gods. It was likewiſe decreed, that there ſhould be no Power lodged in any Hands but theirs; that the Authority of *Conſuls*, [8] *Tribunes*, *Ediles*, and *Queſtors* ſhould ceaſe; that there ſhould be no Appeal from them to any other Perſons; and in ſhort, that during their Adminiſtration they ſhould be the ſole Judges of War and Peace, and of all Matters of Juſtice.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 33.

§. III. But when theſe ten Law-givers came to be choſen, the *Tribunes* made ſome Oppoſition to it. They demanded, that a Part at leaſt of theſe new Governors ſhould be *Plebeians*. But the Senate obſtinately inſiſted on confining to their own Party the little Advantage of being the only Perſons intruſted with drawing up Laws for the Republick. Being therefore willing to put an end to the Affair, the People at laſt granted this trifling Honour to the Nobility; but nevertheleſs upon Condition, that the *Decemviri* ſhould not alter two Laws eſpecially, which were favourable to the Commonalty. The firſt was that which gave the People Ground to build upon on the Hill *Aventinus*, and which was preſerved, written in Braſs, in the Temple of *Diana*. The ſecond was that which was made on the *Mons Sacer*, whereby it was enacted, that the *Tribunes* ſhould always be the Defenders of the People; and that their Perſons ſhould, under the Protection of the Gods, be inviolable. Theſe two Articles were promiſed the *Tribunes*, and then nothing remained but to chooſe the *Decemviri*. In *Comitia* aſſembled *by Centuries* with the ſame Ceremonies, as for the Election of *Conſuls*, the *Roman* People [9] choſe by Vote the ten Legiſlators, who were to be at the ſame time the ſupreme Governors of the State. The firſt who were choſen, were *Appius Claudius*, and his Collegue *Genucius*. To them was added *Seſtius* the *Conſul*, whoſe Office was juſt expiring, and who had juſt pronounced the Decree for creating the *Decemviri*. It was natural for the People, to give [10] *Sp. Poſthumius*, [11] *Serv. Sulpitius*, and [12] *A. Manlius* a part in compiling the Laws they had collected, and brought from *Greece*, and they therefore were alſo made a part of the *Decemviri*. After them came *T. Romilius*. The People remembered, that notwithſtanding his Diſcontent, which proceeded from his Probity, he was the firſt who had voted for paſſing the *Terentian* Law: And they therefore

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 680. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 33.

Year of *ROME* CCCI.

Appius Claudius, T. Genutius, P. Seſtius, Sp. Poſthumius, Serv. Sulpitius, A. Manlius, T. Romilius, P. Horatius, C. Julius, and Sp. Veturius, Decemviri.

8 This Compliance of the People, in depriving themſelves of the Aſſiſtance of their *Tribunes*, plainly ſhews how much their Hearts were ſet upon the paſſing of the *Terentian* Law. Hitherto, even when the Republick was governed by a *Dictator*, the *Tribunes* ſtill continued to exerciſe their Offices, though all other Magiſtrates were forbidden to execute theirs. And *Plutarch*, in his *Roman Queſtions*, gives us the Reaſon of this Exception. *The Tribunes of the People*, ſays he, *were not conſidered by the* Romans, *as real Magiſtrates. They only acted as Protectors of the People againſt the Oppreſſion of the* Patricians. *Beſides*, continues he, *they were not ſuffered to aſſume the Enſigns of Magiſtracy. They did not wear the purple Robe, nor were attended by the* Lictors; *and had but one Officer at their Command, whom the* Romans *called* Viator. *His Buſineſs was to deliver their Orders, and carry their Meſſages. In a Word*, ſays the ſame Author, *the* Tribunes *did not enjoy the Honours of the* Curule Chair. *Their Seat was neither ſo much adorned, nor ſo high: And it was therefore called* Sub Sellium. We ſhall ſpeak of its Form and Uſe in another Place. Nevertheleſs *Tully* and *Livy* often give the *Tribunes of the People* the Title of Magiſtrates: Though the latter ſeems to ſay the contrary in other Places. In order to reconcile theſe different Opinions, it muſt be ſaid, that they had all the Eſſentials of Magiſtracy, by means of their Authority, and their Pre-eminence in the *Comitia*, without enjoying the Honours of it, which at firſt belonged only to the *Patricians*. Add to this, that *Tully* ſpoke in a Time, when the Senators, and the moſt noble *Romans*, had acquired the right of ſtanding Candidates for the *Tribuneſhip*.

9 The Government of the Republick was tranſferred from the *Conſuls* to the *Decemviri*, in the 302d Year of *Rome*, or from *Romulus*; according to the Computation of *Livy*, the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Eutropius*, *Solinus*, and *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*. And *Tully B.* 2. *de Finib.* fixes the Inſtitution of the *Decemviri* to this time. *Sextus Cæcilius* the *Civilian* in *Aulus Gellius B.* 2. *c.* 20. and *Oroſius*, are therefore manifeſtly miſtaken, in placing the Creation of theſe new Magiſtrates in the Year 300. Perhaps it may be the Miſtake of their Copyiſts, in tranſcribing the Numbers.

10 *Spurius Poſthumius*, who had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 287. is ſurnamed *Calvinius* only by *Diodorus*. *Dion. Hal.* is inconſiſtent with himſelf as to his *Prænomen*. When he ſpeaks of his Deputation to *Greece*, he calls him *Spurius*, and when he reckons up the *Decemviri*, he calls him *Publius Poſthumius*.

11 The *Servius Sulpicius* ſurnamed *Camerinus*, who is here ſpoken of, was *Conſul* in the 292d Year of *Rome*. So *Livy* calls him when he ſpeaks of his *Conſulate*. But here this Hiſtorian changes his *Prænomen* of *Servius*, into that of *Publius*. *Diodorus* gives him the *Prænomen* of *Caius*.

12 *Aulus Manlius* ſurnamed *Vulſo* in the *Faſti Capitolini*, is not placed among the *Decemviri* by *Diodorus*. He had been *Conſul*, and had preſided at the *Roman Cenſus*, in the Year of *Rome* 279. *Floccus* is miſtaken in placing one *Manilius* among the Deputies who were ſent to *Greece*, to make a Collection of the *Grecian* Laws.

gave him a Place among the *Decemviri*. The three others who were choſen, were Men of noble Extraction, and known Wiſdom. The firſt was one *C. Julius Iülus*, of the ſame Family from which *Julius Cæſar* afterwards deſcended. The ſecond one [13] *T. Veturius*, who had formerly been *Conſul*; and the third [14] *P. Horatius*, who was *Conſul* the laſt Year of the third Century of *Rome*.

Year of *ROME* CCCI.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

§. IV. The *Roman* People expected to enjoy great Happineſs, under this wiſe Adminiſtration. When the time came for *Appius* and *Genutius* to exerciſe the Office of *Conſuls*, they declined it, and the whole Care of the Republick fell upon the *Decemviri*. This was almoſt as remarkable a Revolution in the Government of *Rome*, as that which changed the Kings into *Conſuls*. At leaſt it's certain, that the Name of *Conſul* was now grown nigh as odious as that of *King* had formerly been. Nothing could be more gentle and moderate than the beginning of this Joint-reign of ten Men. They agreed among themſelves, that only one of their Body ſhould have the *Faſces* carried before him, for ten Days, and wear the purple Robe, as the *Dictators* did; that then all the reſt ſhould take their Turns of enjoying the ſame Honour, for the ſame Space of Time; and that he who ſhould be this Head for the time being, ſhould have the ſole right of aſſembling the Senate, preſiding in it, and confirming its Decrees. The reſt, who were not actually exerciſing their Authority, affected no Diſtinction, but that of Guards; their Habits differed little from thoſe of the other Senators. Their Buſineſs was to draw up, each his particular part of the Laws, which fell to his Lot, and to adminiſter Juſtice to the People. They appeared early in the Morning, ſitting on different *Tribunals*, in order to hear all the Cauſes which the Inhabitants of *Rome* ſhould bring before them, whether they were only between Citizen and Citizen, or between Citizens and Allies. And the Equity of theſe Judges was untainted. Such as thought themſelves injured by any of their Deciſions, were permitted to bring the ſame Cauſe to ſome other Tribunal of their Collegues: But this not by Appeal, it was only a Rehearing. In criminal Cauſes, their Judgments were perfectly juſt, but not given without ſome Regard and Deference to the Authority of the People. A Man was found murdered in the Houſe of a *Patrician* named *Seſtius*. He was doubtleſs related to one of the *Decemviri*, who bore the ſame Name. *Seſtius* was cited to appear before the *Tribunal* of *Julius Iülus*. This *Decemvir* had a right of exerciſing an abſolute Authority over the Criminal; but he declined it, and referred the Affair to the People, that they might not be entirely deprived of their antient Authority in criminal Caſes. In the *Comitia*, *Julius* himſelf became the Criminal's Accuſer, and he got him condemned. Nevertheleſs *Appius* was much more popular than any of his Collegues. He who was formerly an auſtere Magiſtrate, and difficult of Acceſs, was now become affable and complaiſant. He knew all the Citizens by their Names, received them with Reſpect, and ſaluted them with great Marks of Affection. Inſomuch, that from being the Deteſtation, he became the Idol of the People.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 33.

§. V. The firſt Year of the *Decemvirate* was not yet ended, when each of the *Decemviri* preſented to the People that part of the Laws which he had drawn up. The *Greek* Tongue was then ſcarce known at *Rome*, and the ten Law-givers could not have underſtood the Tranſcripts they had brought from *Athens*, if they had not been aſſiſted by one *Hermodorus*, who being baniſhed from *Epheſus*, his own Country, was then accidentally at *Rome*. It is ſaid, *Heraclitus*, *Hermodorus*'s Friend, wrote to him to congratulate him upon the Pains he had taken, in drawing up the *Roman* Laws. *I have, in a Dream*, ſaid he, *ſeen all the People of the Earth bowing down before theſe Laws, and worſhiping them in the* Perſian *manner*. A Dream, which if real, was ſomewhat prophetical. The *Roman* Laws extended themſelves as far as the *Roman* Empire, and ſurvived it, after its Fall.

Pliny B. 34. *c.* 3.

Strabo B. 14.

It is a Loſs to the learned World, that theſe original Laws, which were the Foundation of the *Roman* Law, have not been conveyed down to us entire, in the order

13 Authors differ from the *Faſti Capitolini*, as to the *Prænomen* of *Veturius*. Some give him that of *Spurius*, others that of *Titus*, and ſome that of *Lucius*. We have followed *Dion. Hal.* who calls him *Titus*. This was probably the Man, who according to the *Greek* Hiſtorian obtained the Honours of an *Ovation*, after he had conquered the *Æqui* and *Volſci*.

14 We don't find *Publius Horatius* in *Livy*, either among the *Conſuls* of the Year of *Rome* 300. or among the *Decemviri*. This Hiſtorian makes *Curiatius Conſul*, inſtead of him; and likewiſe places *Curiatius* among the *Decemviri*, in his room.

Year of ROME CCCII.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

Cajus in digeſt. Cujatius, Godofredus, Hottomanus, Gravina, &c.

in which they were at firſt put by the *Decemviri.* We have only ſome ſcattered pieces of this Body, which are diſperſed in ſeveral antient Writers, who have quoted theſe Laws. However, we will collect them with great Care, and by putting them together according to the Subject-Matter of them, give as true a Repreſentation of theſe famous Tables of the *Roman* Laws, as the Nature of the thing will admit of, conſidering the Confuſion, in which Antiquity has left them. Our Explanations of them will be taken from the true Interpreters of thoſe Laws, the antient and modern *Civilians.*

TABLE I.

Of Law-Suits.

I. Law.

Go immediately with the Perſon 15 *who cites you before the Judge.*

II. Law.

16 *If the Perſon you cite, refuſes to go with you before the Judge, take ſome that are preſent to be Witneſſes of it, and you ſhall have a right to compel him to appear.*

III. Law.

15 This firſt Table contains all the Laws we could collect from ſeveral antient Authors, concerning the Method of carrying on Proceſſes at Law. We have put this Table before the reſt, becauſe it is neceſſary to know what the Proceedings were before we come to Pleadings. We here give the Reader the original Terms in which this Law was drawn up; and he will obſerve in this as well as the following Laws, the old Language of the firſt *Romans*, and a Barbariſm in Expreſſion and Conſtruction, which was reverenced for its Antiquity, even in the moſt polite Ages of *Rome*. This obſolete Language was entirely laid aſide by every Body but the Lawyers, long before *Tully*'s time; and was no longer in uſe any where but at the Bar. S'IN JUS VOCAT, ATQUE EAT. The Word ATQUE here ſignifies the ſame thing as *Statim*. *Virgil* uſes it in this Senſe in his firſt *Georgick.*

Si brachia forte remiſit,
ATQUE *illum in præceps prono rapit alveus amni.*

That is, if we leave off rowing, we are *immediately* carried away with the Stream. The Senſe of the Law is, that *as ſoon as* any Perſon is cited to appear before the Judge, he ought not to delay appearing. The different Forms of this Citation are to be found in antient Authors. They were ſuch as theſe. IN JUS EAMUS. *Let us go to the Judge.* IN JUS VENI. *Come and take your Trial.* SEQUERE AD TRIBUNAL. *Follow me to the Tribunal of the Judge.* IN JUS TE VOCO. *I cite you to appear.* We find this manner of citing the Party before the Judge in ſeveral Places of *Plautus* and *Terence. Ite in jus, ne moremini, anteſtante me, atque duce.* Pænul. Act. 5. S. 8. *In jus ambula.* Ter. in Phorm. Act. 5. S. 8. *In jus, o fallax atque inficiator, Eamus*, ſays *Martial. Epig. B.* 2. What authorizes our putting this Law before all the reſt is what *Tully* tells us, in his 2d *Book of Laws*, that Children always had it in their Mouths. He tells us, that Children uſed to be taught to repeat the Laws of the twelve Tables by Heart, in their Youth; and complains that ſo wiſe a Cuſtom was then laid aſide. The young People therefore continually repeated the beginning of the twelve Tables which they had learned. Their firſt Leſſon was ſtrongly fixed in their Memories.

16 This ſecond Law is the Conſequence of the firſt; and perhaps theſe two and the third were originally all but one Law. However, it was expreſſed thus. N'IT ANTESTAMINO: IGITUR EM CAPITO. But every Word in it needs an Explanation. N'IT is the ſame as *ſi non it*, that is, *If the Perſon cited does not go before the Judge.* ANTESTAMINO anſwers to the Words *ante teſtes ſumito*, that is, *firſt take Witneſſes.* Some Perſons therefore were immediately taken to be Witneſſes of the Reſiſtance the Perſon cited made. The Ceremony uſed in taking theſe Witneſſes, had ſomewhat pleaſant in it. They were pulled a little by the Tips of the Ear, to make them remember to bear Witneſs. *Plautus* confirms this Cuſtom, in his Comedy call'd *Perſa. Tuâne ergo cauſâ, Carnifex, cuiquam mortali libero aurem ut atteram? Horace* mentions this Cuſtom in theſe Words,

——*Caſu venit obvius illi*
Adverſarius, & quo tu, Turpiſſime? magna
Exclamat voce. Et licet anteſtari? ego vero
Oppono auriculam: rapit in Jus clamor utrinque.
See B. 1. Sat. 9.

Virgil alludes to the ſame Cuſtom in his ſixth Eclogue

——*Cynthius aurem*
Vellit, & admonuit.——

The Words IGITUR EM CAPITO ſignify the ſame thing as *Deinde eum capito*, or rather, *eum ſiſtendi jus habeto.* Every body knows the Antients often uſed the Adverb *igitur*, inſtead of *deinde.* As to the Words EM CAPITO, they did not ſignify, *ſeize him by the Throat:* The contrary appears from the following Law. Their meaning was only this, *you ſhall have a right to force him to appear whether he will or no. Porphyrio* the Commentator upon *Horace*, and *Juſtus Lipſius B.* 4. *of his Epiſtolary Queſtions, and Epiſtle* 27. give us this ſecond Law in theſe Words: SI VIS VOCATIONIS FUAT, ANTESTAMINOR. NI IT AUREM CAPITO ANTESTATI. That is, *if the Perſon cited, refuſes to go before the Judge, take Witneſſes;*

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III. Law.

17 *If the Perſon cited Endeavours to eſcape from you, or puts himſelf into a Poſture of Reſiſtance, you may ſeize his Body.*

IV. Law.

18 *If the Perſon proſecuted be old, or infirm, let him be carried in a* Jumentum, *or open Carriage. But if he refuſe that, the Proſecutor ſhall not be obliged to provide him an* Arcera, *or a covered Carriage.*

V. Law.

19 *But if the Perſon cited find a Security, let him go.*

VI. Law.

20 *Only a rich Man ſhall be Security for a rich Man. But any Security ſhall be ſufficient for a poor Man.*

Law VII.

neſſes; and if he does not prepare to attend you, pull the Perſon whom you deſire to be your Witneſs by the Tip of the Ear. It is plain that here the ſecond Part is ſuperfluous, and adds nothing to the former. We have therefore kept to the firſt reading, as moſt ſimple, and beſt ſupported.

17 The third Law was expreſſed thus. SI CALVITUR, PEDEM VE STRUIT, MANUM ENDO JACITO. *Calvitur* is the ſame as, *ſi te fruſtretur*, that is, *if he would get away*, or *deceive you*. We find this old Word uſed in this Senſe in a Fragment of *Pacuvius*, and in *Plautus*. *Poſtquam calamitas plures annos arva calvitur. Plautus in Caſina* to ſignify that Sleep makes the Hands uſeleſs, expreſſes himſelf thus, *Sopor manus calvitur*. But the other Words PEDEM VE STRUIT, are more difficult. The generality of the *Civilians* interpret them thus, *if he would run away, ſi retrorſum it*. But would not it be more natural to make them ſignify, *if he ſtands firmly upon his Feet*, viz. as to defend himſelf? Beſides it is certain that the Verb *ſtruo* has the ſame Signification as στρέω, from which it is derived, according to *Voſſius*. Laſtly, the Words *manum endo jacito*, are the ſame as *manum injicito*, i. e. *ſeize his Body*. Every Body knows that *endo* in old *Latin*, ſignifies the ſame as the Prepoſition *in*. There was an Exception to this Law, as to ſuch Perſons, who were in themſelves, or by Stations, conſiderable. The Proſecutor made them fix a Day, and give Security to appear upon it, which if they failed to do, Judgment was given againſt them by Default, and they were condemned either to pay ſome Fine, or ſuffer ſome other Puniſhment, according to the Nature of the Cauſe. By vertue of this Law, not only a *Roman* Citizen, but a Foreigner likewiſe, might force his Adverſary to appear before the Judge, according to *Aulus Gellius B.* 20. *c.* 1. The Day of Appearance was either appointed by the Judge, and then it was called *dies ſtatus*; or by the Conſent of the two Parties, and then it was called *dies conditus*. If the Perſon who was cited, and had given Security, did not appear, as ſoon as the Time appointed was expired, this was called *vadimonium diſerere*. If the Judge put off the hearing to another Day, the Cauſe was then ſaid to be deferred. Hence the *Latin* Expreſſion *vadimonium differre*. This Power which the Law gave, of dragging the Perſon that refuſed to go, to the *Tribunal* of the *Conſul* or *Prætor* by Force, did not extend to the *Roman* Ladies, the Laws of Modeſty and Civility would not ſuffer their Perſons to be ſeized. Young Girls, who were yet under the Power of their Parents, could not be cited to appear in a Court of Juſtice, as *Valerius Maximus B.* 2. and *Hottoman. Leg.* 12. *Tabul.* §. *ſi Calvitur*, have obſerved.

18 The Words of this fourth Law are theſe. SI MORBUS, ÆVITAS VE, VITIUM ESCIT, QUIN JUS VOCABIT, JUMENTUM DATO. SI NOLET, ARCERAM NE STERNITO. In order to make it intelligible, we muſt obſerve, that the Lawgiver's Intention was, that no common Infirmity or old Age ÆVITAS ſhould be allowed as a ſufficient Excuſe for Non-Appearance. He requires, that in ſuch a Caſe, the Proſecutor ſhall furniſh the Proſecuted with a JUMENTUM. And this I am authorized to call a Carriage, and not a Beaſt to ride upon, by *Cecilius* the *Civilian*, who ſays as much in his Anſwer to *Favorinus* the Philoſopher, who accuſed this Law of being too ſevere. The Word *jumentum*, ſays he, antiently ſignified two Beaſts joined together to the ſame Pole. If the Perſon cited was not ſatisfied with this ſort of Cart, the Law-giver would not have the Proſecutor obliged to find him a covered one, called *Arcera*; which ſeems to be derived from the Verb *arcere*, becauſe a Covering *guards* one from the Sun, or Rain. The Words *vitium eſcit* import, that the Diſeaſe or old Age muſt be ſuch, as to be an Hindrance to the Perſon. The Word *eſcit* is here taken for *erit*, or *fuerit*. We ſhall find it uſed in this Senſe more than once, in theſe Laws. *Lucretius* uſes it, even in his time, in this Verſe,

——*inter ſummam minimamque quid eſcit?*

that is, *quid intererit?*

19 The fifth Law is thus expreſſed; SI ENSIET, QUI IN JUS VOCATUM VINDICIT, MITITO. The Words *ſi enſiet*, ſignify the ſame as *ſi autem ſit*, i. e. *But if there be any one*. I judge of it by *Philoxenus*'s *Greek* Tranſlation of this Law, who renders the *Latin en*, by the Conjunction ἂν. The Word *vindicit* is equivalent to, *qui reum vindicaverit*. By the Word *vindicare*, which comes from *vindex*, we are to underſtand, to deliver a Man from having his Body ſeized, by giving Security for him, or by promiſing to appear for him. *MiTito* is here put for *mittito*, or *emittito*, i. e. *Let him go*.

20 This Law in the old *Latin* runs thus. ASIDUO ASIDUUS ESTO. PROLETARIO, CUI QUI VOLET, VINDEX ESTO. The Expreſſion *Aſiduo vindex aſiduus eſto*, amounts to the ſame as, *divitis vindex ſit dives*. We have already obſerved that *vindex* ſignifies a Security, one that anſwers for another. As for the Word *aſſiduus*, or *aSiduus*; (for this capital Letter among the ſmall ones is equivalent to ſſ, as in the Verb *miTito* above, the capital T, is equivalent to two tt's;) the Word *aſſiduus*, I ſay, comes from the two Words *aſſem dare*, or *duere*, which ſignifies *to diſtribute Money*, which only the rich can do. Hence *Tully* remarks in his *Topicks*, *Locuples enim eſt aſſiduus, ab aſſe dando*. By the Word *Proletarius* we are to underſtand a poor Citizen, who was in the loweſt

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VII. Law.

21 *The Judge ſhall only give Judgment according to the Agreement made between the two Parties, by the Way.*

VIII. Law.

22 *If the Perſon cited has made no Agreement with his Adverſary, let the* Prætor *hear the Cauſe from Sun-riſing till Noon; and let both Parties be preſent when it is heard, whether it be in the* Forum, *or* Comitium.

IX. Law.

23 *Let the ſame* Prætor *give Judgment in the Afternoon, though but one of the Parties be preſent.*

X. Law.

24 *Let all Trials be ended at the going down of the Sun.*

XI. Law.

25 *When the Parties have pitched upon a Judge or Arbitrator by Conſent, let them give Securities, that they will appear. Let him who does not appear in Court, pay the Penalty agreed*

Claſs in the Republick. We have already obſerved in another Place that they were called *Proletarii*, from the Word *Proles*; becauſe as they paid no Taxes, the only Service they did the Republick was to ſupply it with *Children*.

21 This ſeventh Law was drawn up in theſe Words. Endo via, rem uti paicunt orato. By giving Securities, the Perſon was excuſed appearing in Court, or Judgment was avoided, if the Perſon accuſed had come to any Agreement or Treaty with the Proſecutor, as they were coming from the Place where the Citation had been ſerved upon him, to the Court. This is the meaning of this ſeventh Law. The Words *endo via* amount to the ſame thing as *in via*. The Words *rem orato* are directed to the Judge, and ſignify the ſame as *Judex oret, dicat ſententiam*, i. e. *Let the Judge pronounce Sentence*, or determine the Affair; *uti paicunt*. This Expreſſion is read differently. Some inſtead of *paicunt*, read *pacunt*, others *paxunt*. As for my ſelf, I would willingly make it *paxint*, from the antient Verb *pago, pepigi*, from whence afterwards came *paciſcor*. So that *uti paxunt* or *paxint*, amounts to the ſame as *uti pacti ſint*, i. e. *according to the Agreement of the Parties among themſelves*.

22 This Law ſhews the Time and Place for the Judge to hear the Cauſes of ſuch as had given no Security, nor made any Agreement with their Adverſaries. The Words of this eighth Law are; N'ita paicunt, in comitio, aut in foro, ab ortu ad meridiem, causam conscito cum perorant ambo præsentes. The Terms *n'ita paicunt*, are the ſame in Signification as *ni ita paciſcantur inter ſe*, i. e. *unleſs they agree among themſelves*. That other part of the Law, *in Comitio aut in Foro*, ſhew the Place where the Cauſes of private Perſons were determined. The *Comitium* was a Place which was afterwards covered in. The *Conſul*, who was called *Prætor* in theſe early Times, eſpecially when he exerciſed the Office of a Judge, uſed to come thither to give Judgment in the civil Cauſes which were brought before his Tribunal. Sometimes he ſate in other Places in the *Forum*, of which the *Comitium* was a part. By this Law, the *Conſul*, *alias* the *Prætor*, was to hear the Cauſes of private Perſons from Sun-riſing till Noon. The *Romans* had then no Clocks to meaſure Time by. They did not come in uſe among them, till after the Conqueſt of *Sicily*. Therefore the Law runs, *ab ortu ad meridiem*. As for *cauſam conſcito*, it is an equivalent Expreſſion to *cauſam cognoſcito*. So that the Verb *conſciſco* does not in this Caſe ſignify *judicato*. This will appear by the Law which follows. The Words *cum perorant ambo præſentes* leave it in doubt, whether Advocates were then made uſe of, or whether every one pleaded his own Cauſe.

23 The ninth Law was this. Postmeridiem præsenti stlitem addicito. The Caſe had been ſtated, and the Cauſe heard in the Morning. This Law requires the *Prætor*, that is, the *Conſul*, to put an end to it in the Afternoon. So that every Cauſe was pleaded, and determined between Sun-riſe and Sun-ſet. As to the Words of the Law, *ſtlitem* ſtands for *litem*, as *locus* was formerly ſpelt *ſtlocus*. The Roughneſs of the Pronunciation was afterwards ſoftened. *Addicito* ſignifies the ſame as *decidito*. As to the Word *præſenti* in the ſingular, the Law-giver's Intent was, that ſince both Parties had been heard, and been preſent in the Morning, it was enough for one of them to be preſent when Judgment was given in the Afternoon.

24 The Law ran thus. Sol occasus suprema tempestas esto. *Let no more Judgments be given after the Sun is down.* The *Athenians* confined themſelves to the ſame time, in their giving Judgment in Cauſes, according to *Stobæus*, *Serm.* 1. *Varro* ſpeaks of this Law, *B.* 5. *n.* 2. and *B.* 6. *n.* 3. Afterwards the *Prætors* regulated the Time of hearing Cauſes themſelves. Some *Civilians* ſtate this Law thus. Sole occaso, dies suprema tempestas esto. The Word *Dies* ſtands for its genitive *Diei*.

25 This Law is mutilated. We will repreſent it as we find it, and fill up its Chaſms, as learned *Civilians* have done, with the moſt probable Additions. With its *Lacunæ* it ſtands thus; Vades subvades—— *Extra quam ſi* Morbus Sonticus—— Votum, *abſentia reipublicæ ergo*, Aut status dies cum hoste *intercedat: Namſi* Quid horum fuat unum, judici, arbitrove, reove, eo die difensus esto. We now come to explain it. Firſt let us fill up the firſt *Lacuna*, with theſe Words, *Judice arbitrove addicto*, that is, *Judice arbitrove electo*; i. e. *when they ſhall have choſen a Judge or Arbitrator by common Conſent.* As the *Prætor* or the *Conſul* was not ſufficient himſelf to adminiſter Juſtice to all People, he choſe himſelf a certain Number of Aſſociates, whoſe Buſineſs was to hear and determine the Cauſes of private Perſons, whilſt the Year of his *Conſulſhip* or *Prætorſhip* laſted. Theſe Judges were nominated

agreed upon, unleſs he was hindered by ſome great Fit of Sickneſs, or by the Performance of ſome Vow, or by Buſineſs of State, or by ſome indiſpenſible Engagement with a Foreigner. If any one of theſe Impediments be made appear to the Judge, or Arbitrator, or either of the Parties, let the Hearing be put off to another Day.

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XII. LAW.

26 *Whoever ſhall not be able to bring any Witneſſes to prove his Pretenſions before the Judge, may go and make a Clamour for three Days together, before his Adverſary's Houſe.*

TABLE

nated by the chief Adminiſtrator of Juſtice, at the Deſire, and upon the joint Choice, of the two Parties: For either Party had a Right to refuſe a Judge, and his Refuſal was accepted, if founded upon lawful Objections. This mutual Agreement between the Parties, in the Choice, of a Judge, is acknowledged by *Papinian B.* 23. *ff. de Appellat.* *Tully* confirms this Cuſtom in his *Oration for Cluentius. Neminem voluerunt majores noſtri, non modo de exiſtimatione cujuſquam, ſed de pecuniaria quidem re minimâ, judicem eſſe, niſi qui inter adverſarios conveniſſet.* The Form of refuſing a Judge was this; HUNC EJERO, i. e. *I refuſe him. Tully* gives us an Inſtance of it in *Scipio*, who refuſed to be judged by *P. Mutius*, in this manner; EJERO INIQUUS EST. *B.* 2. *de Orat.* When the two Perſons concerned had agreed to accept of him whom the *Prætor* appointed, or who fell by Lot to be their Judge, he obliged himſelf by Oath to give Judgment according to the true Senſe and Meaning of the Law. But there ſometimes happened Caſes, which could not be accurately determined by the Rules of Law. In theſe Caſes the *Prætor* appointed Arbitrators, who conſulted the Dictates of natural Equity. The *Civilians* fill up the ſecond Chaſm in this Law, thus. *Vades ſubvades danunto. Vadimonii deferendi, uti pacunt, pœna eſto.* Which Expreſſions are equivalent to theſe. *Vades, aut ſubvades judicio ſiſtendi utrimque dantor, iique ſiſtere tenentor.* That is, *Let both Plaintiff and Defendant give Security, that they will appear on the Day appointed. Godfrey* gueſſes, that the *Latin* Word *Subvades* was applied to the Plaintiff's Securities, and that the Defendant's Securities were called *Vades.* The old Term *danunto* is the ſame in Signification as *danto. Plautus* makes uſe of the old Word *danunt*, inſtead of *dant.* The Party therefore, who failed appearing, was, after the time expired, condemned by Default, to pay the Sum ſtipulated between him and his Adverſary; unleſs ſome violent Fit of Sickneſs, the Diſcharge of a Vow, ſome Undertaking for which he received a Commiſſion from the Republick, or ſome Buſineſs with a Foreigner, which could not be deferred, had prevented his Appearance. This is the Senſe of the following Expreſſions: *Extra quam ſi morbus ſonticus*, &c. which is as much as to try *præterquam ſi*, or, *niſi morbus vehemens*, &c. A violent Fit of Sickneſs was called in the old Language *Morbus ſonticus*, which is as much as to ſay *morbus nocens*, i. e. *a hurtful Diſeaſe*, according to *Feſtus*'s Interpretation. *Godfrey* has filled up the following *Lacuna*, out of an Opinion (founded on the Authority of *Aulus Gellius B.* 16. *c.* 4.) that the Diſcharge of a Vow, an Affair with a Foreigner which would not admit of Delay, or for the Service of the Publick, were ſo many reaſonable Excuſes, for the Non-Appearance of either of the Parties. So that the Words, *votum, abſentia reipublicæ ergo* &c. are this *Civilian*'s own Additions. To which Reaſons, we may add others, which *Aulus Gellius* has ſpecified in the ſame Place; ſuch as the Time of Vintage, the Death of a near Relation, a Sacrifice, or a Funeral, which Duty or Decency obliged them to attend. And we ought to obſerve here, that the *Latin* Word *Hoſtis*, originally ſignified a Foreigner, or Stranger. *Plautus* uſes it in this Senſe: *Si ſtatus condictus dies intercedat cum hoſte iſto. Curcul.* The laſt Words, *ſi quid horum fuat*, &c. are interpreted thus: *Si quid horum fuerit & obvenerit judici, arbitrove, vel reo, judicii dies differtor.* In Conſequence of this laſt Article, the Sickneſs of the Judge, or of one of the Parties concerned, or any one of the other Reaſons before alledged, were ſufficient for prolonging the Time appointed for the Hearing. This is the Signification of the Word *diffenſus. Livy* and *Aulus Gellius* uſe the Expreſſion *diffindere diem* to ſignify, *to put off to another Day.*

26 The Plaintiff was often diſappointed of his Demand upon the Defendant, and the Proſecution declared null, for want of Witneſſes. In order to remove this Inconvenience, the *Decemviri* made a Law, which gave the Perſon injured Leave to go to the Door of his Houſe whom he intended to proſecute; to repeat the Subject of his Complaint with a loud Voice; and even to have Recourſe to Invectives if there was Occaſion; and to continue this for three Market-days together, becauſe the Country People came then to *Rome*, about their Buſineſs. Hence came the Cuſtom, which continues to this Day, of ſending three Summons, before Judgment is given by Default. If after theſe repeated Clamours, the Perſon cited ſtill refuſed to make Reſtitution, the Plaintiff had a right to call thoſe in the Neighbourhood who heard him, as Witneſſes, and go in with them, even by Force, into his Adverſary's Houſe, and there ſeize his own Goods wherever he found them. The Law was thus expreſſed. CUI TESTIMONIUM DEFUERIT, IS TERTIIS DIEBUS, OBPORTUM, OBVAGULATUM ITO; that is to ſay, *ei, qui teſtimoniis deſtituitur, liceat, tertiis nundinis, reum ante ædes, convitiis & clamoribus appetere.* According to *Feſtus*, *Portus* had antiently the ſame Signification as *domus*, or *ædes.* The Word *obvagulatum* is, ſays *Feſtus*, put for *quæſtionem cum convitio*, i. e. *a Demand made with great Outcries, and Invectives.* In this Senſe the *Civilians* interpret the Verb *vagulo*, which they derive from the Verb *vagio. Turneb. B.* 2. *adverſ. cap.* 26. and *Salmaſius Obſerv. ad jus Attic. & Ro. cap.* 30. ſtate this Law in a different manner. Their Interpretation of it is this. *If the Plaintiff cannot produce his Witneſſes, let him go to the Houſe of him whoſe Teſtimony he had a right to expect; and let him require him to bear Witneſs for him, with great Cries, and with injurious Reflections, if the Witneſs obſtinately perſiſts in the refuſing it.* But this Explanation does not ſeem agreeable to the meaning of the Law. *Rævard. ad leg.* 12. *Tab.* in order to prove the former Senſe to be the true one, quotes this Paſſage, where *Plautus* introduces a Cook, demanding what belonged to him, with threatning to go and cry out, and inveigh againſt

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TABLE II.
Of Robberies.

I. Law.

27 *He that is attacked by a Robber in the Night, let him not be punished if he kills him.*

II. Law.

28 *If the Robbery be committed by Day, and if the Robber be taken in the Fact, let him be beaten with Rods, and become his Slave whom he robbed. If the Robber be a Slave already, let him be beaten with Rods, and thrown down headlong from the Top of the Capitol. If he be a Child, under the Age of* Puberty, *let him be corrected, according to the* Prætor's *Discretion, and let Reparation be made to the injured Party.*

III. Law.

29 *When Robbers attack any Person with Arms, if the Person attacked has cried out, and desired the first Help he could get, he shall not be punished if he kills one of the Robbers.*

IV. Law.

Euclion, before his own Door, if he persisted in refusing to restore what he had unjustly made his own.

Ita me bene amet Laverna, te
Jam nisi reddi mihi vasa jubes,
Populo hic differam ante ædes.

This Law is adopted by *Godfrey* and the most famous *Civilians*, in the first Sense in which we have interpreted it.

27 The Words of this Law are these. Si nox furtum faxit, si im aliquis occisit, jure cæsus esto. That is, *si noctu furtum fiat, si furem aliquis occiderit*, &c. Theft was allowed among the *Lacedemonians*, as being purely Matter of Skill and Cunning, but the *Athenians* thought otherwise of it. By *Solon*'s Laws, a Man accused of having stolen fifty *Attick Drachmæ*, or about twenty five *French Livres*, was imprisoned and condemned to pay the Owner double. If the Sum stolen was above fifty *Drachmæ*, the Thief was punished with Death. A Robbery committed in the Night, or in a publick Place, as the Bath, or the Academy, was a capital Crime. Death was inflicted on Cut-purses, whom *Plautus in Trinummo* calls *Sectores zonarios*. *Plato B. 9. Of Laws*, makes it lawful to kill a Night-robber. And the Law of God permits the same thing in the 22d Chapter of *Exodus*. The *Romans* borrowed this Article from the *Greeks*, and put it into the twelve Tables. The Law-givers thought this Law necessary for the Safety of the Publick. They considered that Darkness favoured Rogues, and that every Body then run greater Risks than in the Light; and at the same time could not easily have Recourse to legal Methods of defending themselves against the Attacks of a Robber. *Godfrey* is of Opinion, that the Clause *ut tamen id cum clamore testificetur*, which we find in the *Civilians*, was added by *Tribonian*. As if no body was allowed to use Force against a Night-robber, till the Person hurt proclaimed the Violence that was offered him, by great Outcries. *Tully pro Milone, & Seneca X. Controv. c. ult.* mentions this Law, without the Restriction. Yet the Clause seems necessary to prevent Abuses.

28 This Law decrees, that Day-robbers shall be punished according to the Circumstances of the Robbery, and the Condition and Age of the Robber. It is thus expressed. Si luci furtum faxit, si im aliquis endo ipso capsit, verberator, illique cui furtum factum escit, addicitor. Servus virgis cæsus saxo dejicitor. Impubes, prætoris arbitratu, verberator, noxiamque decernito. The Interpretation of it is this. *Si interdiu furtum fecerit; si quis eum in furte deprehenderit, verberetur; illique cui furtum factum fuerit, addicatur.* What follows explains it self. The Word im was in use in the oldest *Latin*, instead of the Pronoun *eum*, as *Festus* and *Macrobius* have observed. *Ennius* makes use of it; *omnes corde patrem præbent animo que parentem circumfusi* im *capsit*. *Escit* is equivalent to *fuerit, erit*. The *Porcian* Law somewhat softened the Rigour of this afterwards; and Robbers who were not taken in the Night, or with Arms about them, were neither subject to whipping, nor Slavery. The *Prætor* only obliged them to pay four times the Value of what they had stolen.

29 Night-robbers did not fare altogether so well as Day-robbers. It was not lawful to kill the latter, unless they used offensive Arms. In this Case, the Person attacked was to beg the Assistance of the Neighbours, or of those who passed by, in a Form of Words very like this, *Porro, Quirites, vestram fidem imploro. Varro B. 5. de Ling. Lat. c. 7.* says, this manner of calling out for Help was called by the *Romans, Quiritare*. Upon which the *Civilians* start a Difficulty. They ask, whether the Robber could lawfully be killed by any body, but the Person himself who was directly attacked. *Hottoman* declares for the Affirmative, because, says he, the Law is general, and no Exception is made in it. Others are for the Negative, because the Robber could not be lawfully killed, unless on the Account of some Damage received. Now all but the

IV. Law.

30 *When upon a legal Search, any ſtolen Goods are found in an Houſe, the Robbery ſhall be puniſhed upon the Spot, as if openly and publickly committed.*

V. Law.

31 *For Robberies committed privately, the Robber ſhall be condemned to pay double the Value of the Things ſtolen.*

VI. Law.

the Perſon robbed are, upon this Foot, out of the Caſe, and were not attacked, unleſs we ſay that a Robber, with Arms in his Hand, ought to be deemed a proſcribed Aſſaſſin. This is St. *Auſtin*'s Thought, *Quæſt.* 74. *in Exod.* He expreſſes himſelf thus. *In antiquis legibus invenitur, impune occidi nocturnum furem, quo quo modo, diurnum autem ſi ſe telo defenderit. Jam enim plus eſt quam fur.* The *Civilians* ſtate the Law we are ſpeaking of thus. *Si ſe telo defenſit, Quiritato, endoque plorato, poſt deinde, ſi cæſi eſcint, ſe fraude eſto.* Which is as much as to ſay, *Si ſe telo fur defenderit, fidem Quiritium implorato. Tum ſi occiſi fuerint fures, jure cæſi ſunto.* By the Words *ſe fraude*, are to be underſtood *ſine fraude*, or *impune eſto.*

30 This Law runs thus. SI FURTUM LANCE LICIO QUE CONCEPTUM ESCIT, UTI MANIFESTUM VINDICATOR. In order thoroughly to underſtand this Law, it is neceſſary firſt to know the meaning of theſe firſt Words of it, *Si furtum lance licio que conceptum eſcit.* But different *Civilians* offer us different Conjectures upon this Subject. *Alexander ab Alexandro, B.* 6. *Genial. Dierum*, ſays, that Robbers who crept into private Houſes with a Deſign to rob them, generally carried with them ſome *Cloth Liſt*, or *Flaxen Girdle*, with which they tied together whatever they found. He adds, that they covered their Faces with a Baſon, for fear of being known. And *Oldendorpe* adopts this Opinion. He ſays the Robber made two Holes in the Baſon for his Eyes, in order thereby to frighten the People of the Houſe, and make them run away. They made uſe of this Artifice, continues the Author, that they might be at Liberty to rob as much as they pleaſed, without being obſerved by any Body. But ſo childiſh a Dream can never be told, without ſuppoſing, either that the *Romans* were mere *Dupes*, to be frighted at ſuch a Sight as this: or that there are People ſilly enough to give Credit to a Tale which has not the leaſt Shadow of Probability. *Baldwin* declares himſelf of their Opinion, who have thought that ſome Impoſtors found Means to get into Houſes, under a falſe Appearance of Religion, by diſguiſing themſelves as Sacrificers; that is, with their Robes tucked up, and tied about their Waſtes. Under this ſpecious Outſide, they are ſaid to have made ſmall Collections of Money in Families. The devout *Pagans* ſuffered themſelves to be eaſily impoſed upon, and willingly gave them ſome Pieces of Money, as thinking that they were ſet apart for the Worſhip of the Gods, or to defray the Expence of ſome Sacrifice. Theſe Thieves, add theſe Authors, collected this Money in a Baſon, which they carried with them for that Purpoſe. But this ſecond Opinion is little better founded than the former. *Alciat. B.* 1. *Parerg. c.* 8. and after him *Monſ. Pithou, B.* 1. *adverſ. Subſeciv.* ſay, that upon hearing of any Theft, the Magiſtrates of *Rome* ſent Officers, to whom they gave a Power of ſearching for the Thing ſtolen, wherever they pleaſed; that they, by vertue of this Authority, entered into any Houſes, after they had tied up their Robes with a Girdle, which, according to *Monſ. Pithou*, was the Badge or Mark of their Commiſſion. Theſe Officers were attended by a Man, who carried a Warrant, or the Inſtruments of their Authority, in a *Baſon.* If the Thing ſtolen was found in the Robber's own Houſe, then this was one of thoſe Robberies which were called, *Furta per lancem & licium concepta*, or *inventa.* If the Thing ſtolen was found on any other but the Robber, then an Action lay againſt him in whoſe Poſſeſſion it was, till ſuch time as he diſcovered the Author of the Theft. But *Feſtus* gives us yet a different Explanation, which is this. *Lance & licio dicebatur, apud antiquos, quia qui furtum ibat quærere, in domo aliena, licio cinctus intrabat, lancem que ante oculos tenebat, propter matrum familiæ, aut virginum præſentiam.* That is, that they who ſearched for ſtolen Goods went into the ſuſpected Houſes with their Robes girt about them, and with their Faces covered with a *Baſon*, out of Reſpect to the Women they might find in the Houſe. *Rævardus* and *Joſeph Scaliger* contend, that the *Romans* derived this Cuſtom of ſearching for any Thing which was loſt from the *Greeks.* Their Authorities for it, are the twelfth Book of *Plato*, and the *Scholiaſt* of *Ariſtophanes* on his Comedy of *The Clouds.* It was cuſtomary, ſay they, among the *Greeks*, for the Owner of ſtolen Goods to go into the Houſe of the Perſon he ſuſpected. But firſt he called *the Gods, the Protectors of the Laws*, to witneſs, that his Deſign was only to recover what belonged to him. Then the Maſter of the Houſe was obliged to carry him into the moſt private Places in his Houſe, even into the Womens Apartment, which he did not go into, till he had firſt covered his Face with a *Baſon.* The Perſon ſearching had no Cloaths on, but a ſort of Scarf, or piece of Linen-cloth, called in *Latin, Licium*, and was obliged to be naked to the Waſte. Without this Caution, there might have been room to ſuſpect, that his Deſign was only to lay Snares, by conveying the ſtolen Goods privately into ſome ſecret Place, in order thereby to have a convincing Proof againſt the Maſter of the Houſe. *Hottoman B.* 4. *of his Inſtitutions*, thought the Words *furtum lance licio que conceptum*, alluded to what was formerly practiſed to diſcover the Author of a Robbery. Prieſts, ſays he, were made uſe of for this Purpoſe. Theſe appeared with their Robes tied up with a Girdle, and like Sacrificers, the better to impoſe upon the People, by this religious Dreſs. They carried a Loaf with them with great Ceremony, in which they had taken care to put an Eagle's Stone. They diſtributed pieces of the Bread in a *Baſon* to thoſe who were ſuſpected. He who could not ſwallow the Piece which was given him, was thought guilty. By this he was diſcovered, and convicted. *Hottoman* quotes the Authority of *Dioſcorides*, to this Purpoſe, who gives this Stone the Virtue of diſcovering Thieves. It is probable this Trick had the ſame Fate as the famous divining Wand has had in our Days. But whatever becomes of theſe Conjectures (for I don't pretend to warrant any of them) when any Thing that was ſtolen was found in the Houſe or Hands of any Perſon, the Robbery was, according to *Juſtinian*, adjudged by the antient Law to be *Manifeſt*, and did not at all differ from what they called, *furtum lance licioque conceptum.* Then the guilty Perſon was puniſhed in the ſame manner as a Robber taken in the Fact.

31 If Thefts were committed privately, the Robber was diſcharged, only paying double the Value of

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VI. Law.

32 *Whoſoever ſhall cut down Trees, which don't belong to him, he ſhall pay 25 Aſſes of Braſs, for every Foot of Timber ſo felled.*

VII. Law.

33 *If any one comes privately, by Night, and treads down another Man's Field of Corn, or reaps his Harveſt, let him be hanged up, and put to death, as a Victim devoted to* Ceres. *But if he be a Child, under the Age of* Puberty, *let the* Prætor *order him to be corrected as he ſhall think fit, or let double Satisfaction be made for the Damage he has done.*

VIII. Law.

34 *If a Robber and the Perſon robbed agree together upon Terms of Reſtitution, no farther Action ſhall lye againſt the Robber.*

IX. Law.

35 *Preſcription ſhall never be pleaded as a Right to ſtolen Goods, nor ſhall a Foreigner have a Right to the Goods of any* Roman *Citizen, by the longeſt Poſſeſſion.*

X. Law.

36 *If any one betrays his Truſt, with reſpect to what is depoſited in his Hands, let him pay double the Value of what was ſo depoſited, to him who entruſted him with it.*

XI. Law.

37 *If any one finds any of his Goods in another Man's Poſſeſſion, who became poſſeſſed of them by a Breach of Truſt, let*

of the Thing ſtolen; this is but a ſecond Article of the former Law. SI ADORAT FURTO, QUOD NEC MANIFESTUM ESCIT, DUPLIONE DECIDITO. The Verb *adorare* had antiently the ſame Signification, according to *Feſtus*, as the Verb *agere*. The Senſe of the Words, *ſi adorat furto*, is therefore, according to *Rævard*'s Verſion, this; *ſi fur agit furto*, or *furtum*. Beſides, the Reaſon why the Laws appointed a leſs Puniſhment for Robberies committed ſecretly is, that it ſuppoſes the Robber not to be ſo impudent, as he that robs openly, and is taken in the Fact. Nevertheleſs the Perſon injured might make an Agreement with the Criminal, and remit a part of the Fine, as is evident from the eighth Law of this Table.

32 This Law runs thus. SI INJURIA ALIENAS ARBORES CÆSIT, IN SINGULAS 25 ÆRIS LUITO. The Value of theſe *Aſſes* of Braſs, which were then a Pound Weight of twelve Ounces, depends upon the Value of a Pound of Braſs at the time we are ſpeaking of. If the Reader would reduce the Value of it to our ſmall Money, the Computation cannot be difficult after what has been ſaid in ſeveral Parts of this Hiſtory. But we ought to obſerve with the *Civilians*, that the Puniſhment was greater, when the injured Perſon could make Proof, that the Author of the Miſchief made uſe of Violence, and had cut down the Trees with Deſign to ſteal them.

33 The *Latin* Words are theſe. QUI FRUGEM ARATRO QUÆSITAM FURTIM NOX PAVIT, SECUIT VE, SUSPENSUS CERERI NECATOR. IMPUBES PRÆTORIS ARBITRIO VERBERATOR, NOXIAM VE DUPLIONE DECERNITO. The old Verb *pavio* was derived from the *Greek* Verb παίω *ferio*. He that did the Miſchief was thought guilty of an impious Act againſt *Ceres*, the tutelary Goddeſs of Harveſts. And in order to make her Amends for this Affront, the Criminal was devoted to this Goddeſs, as a Victim which ought to be offered up in Sacrifice to her. Afterwards this Law was mitigated, and the Puniſhment changed into a Fine, to be fixed at the Diſcretion of the *Prætor*, and according to the Damage done.

34 SI PRO FURE DAMNUM DECISUM ESCIT, FURTI NE ADORATO, inſtead of *ne agito*. Hence Ambaſſadors were called ORATORES, *Quia mandata populi agunt*. Feſt.

35 *Tully* has given us this Law of the twelve Tables, in his *firſt Book of Offices*. It was this. FURTIVÆ REI ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO. ADVERSUS HOSTEM ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO. According to the firſt Article, no body, not even a *Roman* Citizen, could acquire any Right or Property to ſtolen Goods, by a peaceable Poſſeſſion. The *Atinian* Law, quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, is the ſame in Senſe, and almoſt ſo in Words. QUOD SUBREPTUM ERIT, EJUS REI ÆTERNA AUCTORITAS ESTO. This Law is a Confirmation of the former. By vertue of the ſecond Article, a Foreigner could never plead a right of Preſcription againſt a *Roman* Citizen, but his Property always continued the ſame, and he had ſtill a right of claiming his own at any Diſtance of Time.

36 This Law ſecures Fidelity with Regard to Depoſites. *Godfrey* has given it us in the old *Latin* Stile. SI QUID ENDO DEPOSITO, DOLO MALO FACTUM ESCIT, DUPLIONE LUITO.

37 This Law was thus expreſſed. SI VINDICIAM FALSAM TULIT PRÆTOR REI SIVE STLITIS ARBITROS TRIS DATO. EORUM ARBITRIO FRUCTI DUPLIONE DECIDITO. Which old Expreſſions are equivalent to theſe. *Si quis injuſtam poſſeſſionem ſibi abſtulit, Prætor ei rei definiendæ tres arbitros*

let the Prætor *nominate three Arbitrators to judge of it. And let the wrongful Poſſeſſor pay double the Value of what he has gained by detaining them.*

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XII. Law.

38 *If a Slave has committed a Robbery, or done any Damage, with the Privity and at the Inſtigation of his Maſter, let the Maſter deliver up the Slave to the Perſon injured, by way of Compenſation.*

TABLE III.

Of Loans, and the right of Creditors over their Debtors.

I. Law.

39 *Let him who takes more than one* per Cent. *Intereſt for Money, be condemned to pay four Times the Sum lent.*

II. Law.

40 *When any Perſon acknowledges a Debt, or is condemned to pay it, the Creditor ſhall give his Debtor thirty Days for the Payment*

bitros dato, eorumque arbitrio, malæ fidei poſſeſſor fructus in duplum præſtato, That is, *Whoſoever ſhall obtain the Poſſeſſion of litigated Goods, under a falſe Pretence, he ſhall be obliged to pay double the Produce of them, according to the Value ſet upon them by the three Arbitrators, nominated by the* Prætor. This Law is in the *Theodoſian Code*, but not in the *Juſtinian*. The latter only requires the Man who comes at the Poſſeſſion of them honeſtly, to make Reſtitution of the Produce, from the Day the Affair is brought before the Judges. Whereas the Uſurper is condemned to reſtore the whole Produce, either in Kind, or Value, from the firſt Day he became poſſeſſed of them.

38 SI SERVUS SCIENTE DOMINO, FURTUM FAXIT, NOXIAMVE NOXIT, NOXÆ DEDITO. The Words *noxiamve noxit*, are equivalent to *damnum nocuerit*, or *fecerit*. The old Word *noxia*, ſignified *a Damage done*. As for the Word *noxa*, it is taken, ſays *Feſtus*, either for the Crime it ſelf, or for the Puniſhment of it. But by the *Aquilian* Law the Slave was abſolved, on account of his State of Slavery, which obliged him to obey his Maſter's Orders. The latter alone was reſponſible, and ſuffered the Puniſhment the Laws inflicted on the Author of the Robbery, or of the Damage.

39 To prevent or ſuppreſs the Abuſes of Uſurers, the *Decemviri* enacted, that none ſhould take above one *per Cent.* for Money, under Pain of paying four Times the Sum lent. This is the Senſe of the Law, which is expreſſed in theſe Terms; SI QUIS UNCIARIO FOENORE AMPLIUS FOENERASSIT, QUADRUPLIONE LUITO. The underſtanding this Law depends upon the manner of reckoning Money, in uſe in antient *Rome*. It is neceſſary to know that the *Romans* called the Parts of any whole Sum by the Names of the Parts of the *As*, which was a Pound of Braſs made into Money, and contained twelve *Ounces*. This was the firſt and chief Rule they followed in all their Computations, even of Meaſures. The twelfth part of a *Whole*, be it what it would, was therefore called *Uncia*, as the ſixth Part of any *Whole*, or two Twelfths, was called *Sextans*, three Parts or $\frac{1}{4}$ *Quadrans*; four Parts or $\frac{1}{3}$ *Triens*; five Parts or $\frac{5}{12}$ *Quincunx*, ſix Parts or $\frac{6}{12}$, that is, one half *Semis*; ſeven Parts or $\frac{7}{12}$ *Septunx*; eight Parts, or $\frac{2}{3}$ *Bes*; nine Parts or $\frac{3}{4}$ *Dodrans*; ten Parts or $\frac{5}{6}$ *Dextans*; and eleven Parts of any *Whole*, or $\frac{11}{12}$ was called *Deunx*; all referring to the Diviſion of the *As*. This then being ſuppoſed, any Sum of a hundred, thouſand, ten thouſand, or thirty thouſand Pounds, in *Denarii*, *Seſterces*, or any larger Pieces of Money, was divided into a hundred Parts. Each hundredth Part was conſidered as a Whole, containing twelve Parts, each of which twelve Parts was called by the *Latin* Name *Uncia*. This Diviſion ſerved inſtead of a Book of Rates, to fix the Intereſt of Money by. So that at the Rate of one *per Cent.* the Debtor paid one whole hundredth Part every Year, or which amounts to the ſame in the Year, $\frac{1}{12}$ of this hundredth Part every Month. This Intereſt, which was ſo moderate, and ſo agreeable to the firſt Auſterity of the antient *Romans*, was called in *Latin*, *Fœnus Unciarium*, or *Uncia Uſura:* And from hence it grew up to the different Degrees of Intereſt, which were afterwards introduced into *Rome* with Luxury and Covetouſneſs. *Uſura Sextans* was two *per Cent.* or the 50th Penny. *Uſura Quadrans* was three *per Cent.* or about the 33d Penny. *Uſura Triens* was four *per Cent.* or the 25th Penny. *Uſura Quincunx* was five *per Cent.* or the 20th Penny. *Uſura Semis* was ſix *per Cent.* or the 16th Penny, and ſomewhat better. *Uſura Septunx* was ſeven *per Cent.* or about the 14th Penny. *Uſura Bes* was eight *per Cent.* or near the 12th Penny. *Uſura Dodrans* was nine *per Cent.* or the 11th Penny. *Uſura Dextans* was ten *per Cent.* or the 10th Penny. *Uſura Deunx* was eleven *per Cent.* or the 9th Penny. And laſtly *As* or *Uſura Centeſima*, which ſome have by Miſtake confounded with the *Fœnus Unciarium*, was the Intereſt of twelve *per Cent. per Annum*, or of one hundredth Part *per* Month, which gave it the Name of *As Uſurarius*.

40 The original Words of this Law are theſe: ÆRIS CONFESSI, REBUS QUE JURE JUDICATIS, 30 DIES JUSTI SUNTO POST DEINDE MANUS INJECTIO ESTO. IN JUS DUCITO. That is, ÆRIS

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Payment of it: After which he ſhall cauſe him to be ſeized, and brought before a Judge.

III. Law.

41 *If the Debtor refuſes to pay his Debt, and can find no Security, his Creditor may carry him Home, and either tie him by the Neck, or put Irons upon his Feet, provided the Chain does not weigh above fifteen Pounds; but it may be lighter, if he pleaſes.*

IV. Law.

42 *If the captive Debtor will live at his own Expence, let him; if not, let him who keeps him in Chains allow him a Pound of Meal a Day, or more, if he pleaſes.*

V. Law.

43 *The Creditor may keep his Debtor Priſoner for ſixty Days. If in this time the Debtor does not find Means to pay him, he that detains him ſhall bring him out before the People three Market-days, and proclaim the Sum, of which he has been defrauded.*

VI. Law.

44 *If the Debtor be inſolvent to ſeveral Creditors, let his Body be cut in pieces on the third Market-day. It may be cut into more or fewer pieces with Impunity. Or, if his Creditors conſent to it, let him be ſold to Foreigners beyond the* Tyber.

TABLE

CONFESSI *nomine*, or *ſi quis debitum confeſſus fuerit, & condemnatus jure fuerit, induciæ ei menſtruæ* 30 *dierum, ad debitum exolvendum, dantor.* Theſe thirty Days which the Judge granted the Debtor for the Payment of his Debt, were called in Terms of Law, *Dies Juſti*, as in Terms of War. Before the firſt Hoſtilities were committed in the Territory of any Enemy-City or Nation, the *Roman* People always ſuſpended Action for the Space of thirty Days. After this Time was expired, if the City or Nation, againſt which they took up Arms, did not comply with the Demands of the Republick, the Army took the Field, and entered upon Action. And the ſame Method was enjoined by the Law-giver in civil Diſputes. The *Civilians* afterwards fixed a Delay of two Months, and the *Juſtinian Code* enjoined four Months Reſpite, for the Debtor to have time to pay his Debt in.

41 NI JUDICATUM FACIT, AUT QUIPS ENDO EO IN JURE VINDICIT, SE CUM EDUCITO, VINCITO, AUT NERVO, AUT COMPEDIBUS, 15 PONDO NE MAJORE, AUT SI VOLET MINORE VINCITO. If the Debtor had not ſatisfied his Creditor in thirty Days, the latter had a right to ſeize his Body, to bring him before the *Prætor*, and to make him undergo the Puniſhments the Law inflicted, unleſs he could find a good Security to anſwer for him, as it is expreſſed in the *Latin* Text, AUT QUIPS ENDO EO, IN JURE VINDICIT, that is, *niſi quis eum in jure vindicit*. The Word *quips* is uſed inſtead of *aliquis:* And the Word *vindicit* anſwers to *vindicat*. Antient Authors give us more Inſtances than one, of changing Verbs of the firſt Conjugation, into Verbs of the third. The inſolvent Debtor was then his Creditor's Slave, and was bound to continue in this State of Slavery till he had diſcharged his Debt. For this Reaſon he was called *nexus*, and *obæratus*. This Law was formerly in force among the *Athenians*, and was aboliſhed by *Solon*.

42 This Law is a Part of the former. The twelve Tables, as we now have them, ſtate it in theſe Terms. SI VOLET SUO VIVITO, NI SUO VIVIT, QUI EUM VINCTUM HABEBIT, LIBRAS FARRIS ENDO DIES DATO: SI VOLET, PLUS DATO. It has been queſtioned whether the *Decemviri* did enjoin a Pound of Meal, at a time when the *Romans* lived ſo frugally, that they were contented with half a Pound a Day, as is ſaid of *Valerius Cato*, in *Nonnius*,

Quem tres cauliculi, ſelibra Farris,
Racemi duo, tegula ſub unâ,
Ad ſummam prope nutriunt ſenectam.

but the painful Labour the Creditor had a right to exact from his Debtor, required a better Maintenance.

43 NICUM EO PACIT, 60 DIES ENDO VINCULIS RETINETO. INTER IBI TRINIS NUNDINIS CONTINUIS IN COMITIUM PROCITATO, ÆRISQUE ÆSTIMIAM JUDICATI PRÆDICATO. This Law needs no Interpretation, we need only obſerve, that in the old *Latin* the Word *æſtimia* ſignified the ſame as the Subſtantive *æſtimatio*. We have ſpoken in another Place of this Cuſtom in *Rome*, of bringing out the Debtor in publick, after he had been detained thirty Days, and of proclaiming his Debt for three Market-days, that is, three different times within the Space of thirty Days more; after which, if no body came to be his Security, or to pay the Money for him, the Creditor might diſpoſe of him, and ſend him beyond the *Tyber*, to be ſold for a Slave.

44 This Law runs thus. AT SI PLURES ERUNT REI, TERTIIS NUNDINIS PARTES SECANTO. SI PLUS MINUS VE SECUERINT, SE FRAUDE ESTO: SI VOLENT, ULS TYBERIM PEREGRE VENUNDANTO. The Adverb ULS is uſed for *ultra*. *Varro* and *Cato* uſe it in the ſame Senſe. The Words AT SI PLURES ERUNT REI anſwer to, *at ſi plures erunt creditores*. The two contending Parties were indifferently called REI in the Language of the old Law, as we learn from *Gallus Ælius*, quoted by *Feſtus*. REUS *eſt qui cum altero litem conteſtatam habet, ſive is egit, ſive cum eo actum eſt*. Tully gives us the ſame Interpretation of the Word *Reus*. REOS *appello, non eos modo qui arguuntur, ſed omnes*

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TABLE IV.

OF THE RIGHT OF FATHERS OF FAMILIES.

I. LAW.

45 *Let a Father have a Power of Life and Death over his legitimate Children, and let him ſell them when he pleaſes.*

II. LAW.

46 *But if a Father has ſold his Son three Times, let the Son then be out of his Father's Power.*

III. LAW.

47 *If a Father has a Child born, which is monſtrouſly deformed, let him kill him immediately.*

IV. LAW.

48 *Let not a Son, whoſe Father has ſo far neglected his Education as not to teach him a Trade, be obliged to maintain his Father in Want, otherwiſe let all Sons be obliged to relieve their Fathers.*

V. LAW.

quorum de re diſputatur; ſic enim olim loquebantur. B. 2. *de Orat.* *Phavorinus* the Philoſopher, in *Aulus Gellius*, exclaims againſt the Barbarity of this Law. To which *Cecilius* the *Civilian* anſwers, that it was only ſo in Appearance; and that the Law-giver was really mild as well as wiſe in making it, ſince by this ſeeming Rigour he ſecured every Citizen's Goods, whom the Fear of Puniſhment kept within Bounds in his Expences, and diverted from borrowing upon Uſury, which is the Ruin of Families; and that this rigorous Law was never put in Execution. It was afterwards aboliſhed. The Creditors had only a right to the Debtor's Effects, in Proportion to his Debts.

45 ENDO LIBERIS JUSTIS JUS VITÆ, NECIS, VENUNDANDIQUE POTESTAS, PATRI ESTO, are the Words of the Law. This deſpotick Power of Fathers over their Children, was eſtabliſhed and authorized by *Romulus*, from the very Birth of *Rome*. The *Decemviri* confirmed it, and made it an expreſs Law; in ſo much that according to *Dion. Hal.* B. 2. a Father might impriſon his Children, cauſe them to be beaten with Rods, load them with Chains, baniſh them into the Country, and condemn them to death. But this abſolute Authority was ſo peculiar to *Roman* Citizens, that it died with the Right of Citizen-ſhip. Thus a Man who was condemned to be baniſhed, by loſing the Quality of a *Roman* Citizen, loſt all the Privileges which were annexed to it. But a Father was not ſuffered to diſown his legitimate Son, though he might diſinherit him, or ſell him for a Slave. This Law therefore cannot be ſaid to have been borrowed from the *Athenians*, ſince they had no Power of putting their Children to death, though they could turn them out of Doors, for good Reaſons, to be allowed of, by the Judges.

46 SI PATER FILIUM TER VENUMDUIT, FILIUS A PATRE LIBER ESTO, is a Continuation of the former Law. In this Caſe, a Man's Sons ſeem to have been in a worſe Condition than his Slaves; for the latter, when once freed from Slavery, enjoyed their full Liberty ever after; whereas the former were not adjudged free, and their own Maſters, till they had been ſold three times, that is, had been ſo often freed from their Dependence on their Father. This Law was ſo reſpected by the *Romans*, that a Father could not emancipate his Son till he had been thus ſold as a Slave: But in reality this was only a Sale in truſt, or a feigned Contract between the Father, and a Perſon he could confide in, or a Friend to the Family, who was called *Pater Fiduciarius*, and who reſtored the Son into his Father's Hands. After this, his Emancipation was made in due Form of Law. This rigorous Law ſeldom prevailed over natural Affection, and the more polite Ages ſo far aboliſhed the Uſe of it, that *Brutus*, in his Letter to *Atticus*, ſeems to have been ignorant of it, when he ſays, *Dominum ne parentem quidem majores noſtri voluerunt eſſe.* That it was no longer in force in *Paul* the *Civilian*'s time, he declares himſelf, *Leg.* 11. *ff. de Lib. & Poſth.* *Licet filios exhæredare, quos & occidere licebat.* Nevertheleſs Hiſtory ſometimes gives us Inſtances, even in later Times, of theſe Acts of Sovereignty which Fathers exerciſed over their Children. But we muſt obſerve here, after *Dion. Hal.* that *Numa Pompilius* had made a Law, which deprived the Father of his Power of ſelling his Son, after he had ſuffered him to marry. Which Law probably continued in Force, after the Promulgation of the twelve Tables. What *Ulpian* ſays in his *Fragments Tit.* 10. is worth our Notice. He aſſures us that, among the *Romans*, the Daughters and Grandchildren were perfectly free, after they had once gone through the Forms of being ſold, and ſet at Liberty.

47 *Tully* mentions this Law, *B.* 3. *de Legib.* As the *Civilians* have reſtored it, it runs thus. PATER AD INSIGNEM DEFORMITATEM PUERUM CITO NECATO. Only thoſe Monſters were comprehended under this Law, which had ſcarce any Appearances of human Shape. Such as were born only with ſome bodily Defects, were excepted.

48 *Pighius* gives us this Law in his *Roman Annals*, without telling us from whence he had it. He expreſſes it thus, probably in his own Way. FILIUS ARTE CARENS PATRIS INCURIA, EIDEM VITÆ NECESSARIA SUBSIDIA, NE PRÆSTATO. Either this Law is to be interpreted only of Children, who, for want

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V. Law.

49 *Let not a Baſtard be obliged to work to maintain his Father.*

TABLE V.

Of Inheritances and Guardianships.

I. Law.

50 *After the Death of a Father of a Family, let the Diſpoſition he made of his Eſtate, and his Appointment concerning the Guardianſhip of his Children, be obſerved.*

II. Law.

51 *If he dies Inteſtate, and has no Children to ſucceed him, let his neareſt Relation be his Heir; if he has no near Relation, let a Man of his own Name be his Heir.*

want of a Trade, can ſcarce maintain themſelves, and even want Neceſſaries, in which caſe the Law is uſeleſs, it being very evident, that a Son in want, is not obliged to maintain his Father, when he has not a Subſiſtence himſelf: Or elſe it extends to thoſe, who, without underſtanding any Trade, have found Means to advance themſelves by their Induſtry, and to get Money; and in this Caſe the Law ſeems to be unjuſt. A rich Son, who ſhould deſert his Father in Want, would be thought an unnatural Child. If he has not received an uſeful Education from his Father, yet he owes his Birth to him: And this Obligation only lays him under ſome indiſpenſable Duties to his Father. Probably, the Intention of the Law-givers was to force Fathers, out of Self-Intereſt, to promote the Good of the Republick, by giving their Children a good Education.

49 We have likewiſe borrowed this Law from *Pighius*. The Words of it are theſe. E MERETRICE NATUS PATREM NE ALITO. A legitimate Son is more indebted to his Father than a natural Son. The Birth of the one is a Benefit, that of the other, a Stain never to be wiped away. The *Latin* Word *Meretrix*, is generally uſed to ſignify *a Concubine, who keeps her ſelf to one Man*, and is thereby diſtinguiſhed from thoſe common Women, who proſtituted themſelves to all Comers, and were called by the *Romans*, *Proſtibulæ & Fornicariæ, quia ſub fornice proſtare ſolent*, ſays *Iſidorus* 10. According to *Nonnius* 5. *inter Meretricem & Proſtibulam hoc intereſt, quod Meretrix honeſtioris loci eſt & quæſtus; nam Meretrices* a merendo *dictæ ſunt quod copiam ſui tantummodo facerent; proſtibula quod* ante ſtabulum *ſtet, quæſtus diurni & nocturni cauſa.*

50 By vertue of this Law, a Father of a Family could give his Eſtate, by Will, to whomſoever he pleaſed, even excluſive of his own Children. But ſuch Perſons were excepted, who had been declared incapable of making a Will, and of having the Management of their own Eſtates, on Account of being bad OEconomiſts. The Words of this Law in *Latin* are theſe. PATER FAMILIAS UTI LEGASSIT, SUPER PECUNIÆ, TUTELÆVE SUÆ REI, ITA JUS ESTO. The two Genitives, *Pecuniæ* and *Tutelæ*, are put inſtead of Ablatives, after the manner of the *Greeks*. It ſtands thus in the *Pandectæ Florentinæ*. Moreover, the Word *Pecunia* is uſed in the antient Law, not only to ſignify Coin, but alſo all Goods, movable and immovable. This Law is ſomewhat like that which *Solon* enacted at *Athens*. Before his Time, the *Athenians* would not ſuffer a Father of a Family to diſappoint his Children, or neareſt Heirs of his Eſtate, for the Benefit of a Stranger: But this Law-giver did not think it was for the Good of the Publick, to limit the Heads of Families ſo much, in their right of diſpoſing of their Eſtates. He therefore enacted, that every Man who had no Children, ſhould be at Liberty to diſpoſe of his Eſtate to whomſoever he pleaſed, provided that his Will had not been extorted from him, by Intreaties, or Threatnings, or any forcible or deceitful Means; and that the Teſtator was ſound in Mind and Body when he made his Will.

51 The original Law is this. AT SI INTESTATO MORITUR; CUI SUUS HÆRES NEC ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMUS FAMILIAM HABETO. SI AGNATUS NEC ESCIT, GENTILIS FAMILIAM NANCITOR. Children are neceſſarily their Fathers Heirs by right of Birth. And this Right is ſo inalienable, that the *Romans* did not think fit to ſuffer a Child to renounce his paternal Inheritance, unleſs the Act of Renunciation was confirmed by the *Prætor*. The Father's Eſtate deſcended naturally to his Sons and Daughters after his Deceaſe, though the right of Women to the Inheritance was afterwards limited in different manners. If he died without Children, the neareſt Relations of the ſame Name in a direct Line were admitted to be his Heirs. Upon default of ſuch Relations, thoſe in a collateral Line were acknowledged to be lawful Heirs. According to *Aulus Gellius*, *Labeo* the *Civilian* declares in his *Commentaries on the twelve Tables*, that the *Veſtals* could not inherit the Eſtate of a Relation who died Inteſtate, and that the Portion, which ſhould naturally have fallen to them, was confiſcated to the Uſe of the Publick, and put into the publick Treaſury. The ſame Author adds, that the Effects of a *Veſtal*, who died Inteſtate, were diſpoſed of in the ſame manner. *Virgo Veſtalis neque hæres eſt cuiquam inteſtato, neque inteſtata quiſquam, ſed bona ejus in publicum redigi aiunt.*

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III. Law.

52 *When a Freed-Man dies Inteſtate, and without Heirs, if his Patron be alive, or has left Children, let the Effects of the Freed-Man go to the Family of his Patron.*

IV. Law.

53 *After the Death of a Debtor, his Debts ſhall be paid by his Heirs, in Proportion to the Share they have in his Inheritance. After this they may divide the reſt of his Effects, if they pleaſe, and the* Prætor *ſhall appoint three Arbitrators to make the Diviſion.*

V. Law.

54 *If a Father of a Family dies Inteſtate, and leaves an Heir under Age, let the Child's neareſt Relation be his Guardian.*

VI. Law.

55 *If any one becomes mad, or prodigal, and has no Body to take Care of him, let a Relation, or if he has none, a Man of his own Name, have the Care of his Perſon and Eſtate.*

52 *Ulpian* ſtates this Law thus. SI LIBERTUS INTESTATO MORITUR, CUI SUUS HÆRES NEC EXSTABIT, AST PATRONUS, PATRONIQUE LIBERI ESCINT, EX EA FAMILIA, IN EAM FAMILIAM ADDUCITOR. The Patron then, or on default of him, his Children, were, of common right, Heirs to the Freed-Man, in caſe he left neither Poſterity nor Heirs. But as it might happen, not only that a Freed-Man might omit mentioning him in his Will, to whom he was obliged for his Liberty; but might likewiſe formally exclude him from being his Heir, it was therefore enacted by the Law of the *Prætor*, that half of the Goods mentioned in the Will ſhould return to the Patron; who ſhould likewiſe have the ſame right, if his Freed-Man died Inteſtate, and left a lawful Wife, and an adopted Son behind him.

53 *Hottoman* has divided this Law into two Articles: But *Godfrey* unites them into one. NOMINA INTER HÆREDES PRO PORTIONIBUS HÆREDITARIIS ERCTA CITA SUNTO. CÆTERARUM FAMILIÆ RERUM ERCTO NON CITO, SI VOLENT, ERCTUM CITUM FACIUNTO. PRÆTOR AD ERCTUM CIENDUM ARBITROS TRIS DATO. Theſe are Terms which want an Explanation. By the Words, *Nomina ercta ſunto*, the Law commands, that all the Debts owed by, or due to the Deceaſed, ſhall be divided among his Heirs, in Proportion to the Share they have in his Inheritance. *Feſtus* derives the Word *ercta* from the Verb *coercere*, and *cita* from the Verb *ciere*, which *Donatus* makes to ſignify the ſame as *dividere*. He interprets this Expreſſion of *Virgil* in this Senſe. *Citæ metium in diverſa quadrigæ, diſtulerant.* The Antients uſed the Verb *erciſci*, inſtead of *partiri*. Hence, ſays *Feſtus*, come the Expreſſions, *Erctum citum*, and *Hæreditatem citam*, that is, *diviſam*, to ſignify an Inheritance divided among the Coheirs; from the old Verb *ciſcere*, to *divide*, or the *Greek* Words, χίω, χίζω *divido*: And hence likewiſe comes the old Word *exerciſcor*, i. e. *hæreditatem divido*. The Words *cæterarum familiæ rerum ercto non cito, ſi volent, erctum citum faciunto*, are equivalent to, *ex hæreditate non diviſa, hæreditatem diviſam faciunto*, i. e. *Let the reſt of his Inheritance be divided among his Heirs.* It is neceſſary to obſerve, that in this Law, as well as in the others where we have mentioned the *Latin* Word *familia*, it is uſed to ſignify *the Inheritance*, as *res familiaris*, or *hæreditas*. The laſt Words of the Law, *Prætor ad erctum ciendum arbitros tris dato*, are as much as to ſay, *ad hæreditatem dividendam Prætor arbitros tres dato.*

54 The Law runs thus. SI PATER FAMILIAS INTESTATO MORITUR, CUI IMPUBIS SUUS HÆRES ESCIT, AGNATUS PROXIMIOR TUTELAM NANCITOR. The *Decemviri* thought it but juſt, that the neareſt Relation ſhould be Guardian, ſince he had the Advantage of being next in the Succeſſion. Beſides it was evident, that he who was next Heir, was moſt concerned in Intereſt, not to let his Ward's Eſtate run to ruin. But *Solon* judged otherwiſe, when he committed to the *Archons* the Care of appointing Guardians of known Wiſdom and Probity, to take Care of the Eſtates of Minors, excluſive of their neareſt Relations. He was apprehenſive that the Life of an Infant might be in danger, under the Guardianſhip of a covetous Heir, whoſe Intereſt it was to get him diſpatched. For this Reaſon *Charondas* committed the Care of the Child's Eſtate to his Relations on the Father's ſide, and that of his Education, to his Relations on the Mother's ſide.

55 This Law was borrowed from the *Athenians*, who acted in this manner with Regard to Perſons who fell Mad, and Spendthrifts, who conſumed their Patrimonies in Debauchery. The *Decemviri* made this Cuſtom a Law, which is thus reſtored by *Godfrey*. SI FURIOSUS AUT PRODIGUS EXISTAT, AST EI CUSTOS NEC ESCIT, AGNATORUM GENTILIUMQUE IN EO PECUNIA VE EJUS POTESTAS ESTO. By vertue of this Law, a Squanderer, who was known to be ſuch, was declared incapacitated, and deprived of the Management of his Eſtate. The *Prætor* put him under the Guardianſhip of his Relations, addreſſing himſelf to him in this Form of Words, which *Paul* the *Civilian* mentions, and *Cujas* has preſerved. *Quando tua bona paterna avitaque, nequitia tua diſperdis, liberoſque tuos ad egeſtatem perducis, ob eam rem tibi ea re commercioque interdico.* Hence came the old Proverb, quoted by *Varro*, B. 1. *c.* 2. *de Re ruſtica*, and by *Columella* B. 10. c. 3. *Ad Agnatos & Gentiles. Horace* alludes to this Cuſtom in theſe Lines, *B.* 2. *Sat.* 3.

——*Interdicto huic omne adimat jus*
Prætor, & ad ſanos abeat tutela propinquos.

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TABLE VI.

Of Property and Possession.

I. Law.

56 *When a Man conveys his Eſtate to another, let the Terms of the Conveyance create the Right.*

II. Law.

57 *If a Slave, who was made free on Condition of paying a certain Sum, be afterwards ſold, let him be ſet at Liberty, if he pay the Perſon who has bought him, the Sum agreed upon.*

III. Law.

58 *Let not any piece of Merchandize, though ſold and delivered, belong to the Buyer, till he has paid for it.*

56 *Tully* and *Feſtus* mention this Law in ſeveral Places. The *Civilians* ſtate it thus: CUM NEXUM FACIET, MANCIPIUMQUE, UTI LINGUA NUNCUPASSIT, ITA JUS ESTO. In order to underſtand the Senſe and Meaning of this Law, it is neceſſary to know that *Mancipium*, in the *Civil Law*, ſignified that right of Property, or in Fee, which only *Roman* Citizens enjoyed, to all the Lands in *Italy*, and their Appurtenances. Theſe Lands were called, *Res Mancipi*, or *Mancipii*, and *Res Juris Civilis*, or *Romani*; to ſhew that they were held by a right of Property, or in Fee. But it was not ſo with Regard to the Provinces tributary to the *Roman* People; private Perſons had only the Produce or Poſſeſſion of Lands there, and not the Fee which belonged to the Republick. And therefore they were called *Res nec mancipi*. Thus *Mancipium facere*, or *Mancipatio*, ſignifies a juridical Act, whereby the Fee, or Property of Lands, or Houſes, &c. was conveyed by Sale or Ceſſion. In order to make this Act valid, certain Forms were to be obſerved, which the Antients ſignify by the Word *Nexus*, or *Nexum*. This was a Contract made between two *Roman* Citizens, whereby one conveyed to the other the Property he had in a piece of Land, or other immoveable Goods. This Conveyance was not made by a ſimple Donation, but by a pretended Sale, whereby the right of Property was aſſigned over to the Buyer. Hence the *Latin* Expreſſion, *Nexum jus nexi*. The Ceſſion was made before the *Prætor*, in the Preſence of five Witneſſes, and a *Scale-bearer*, or LIBRIPENS. Then the new Poſſeſſor pronounced this Form of Words, which *Boetius* has preſerved. *Hanc ego rem ex Jure Quiritium meam eſſe aio, eaque mihi empta eſto hoc ære æneaque libra.* After which he ſtruck the Scales with a little piece of Money, which he then gave the Seller, by Way of Purchaſe. The latter accepted it, and the accepting it compleated the Affair, which the *Prætor* ratified. *Horace* alludes to theſe Forms, in this Verſe,

Si proprium eſt quod quis libra mercatur & ære.
Ep. 2. B. 2.

This Ceremony, which continued very long in uſe, alluded to the firſt Ages of *Rome*, when all Money was weighed, before Stamps were ſet upon it, which fixed the Value of it. Antient Authors, and among others, *Ælius Gallus* as quoted by *Feſtus*, give the ſame Interpretation of the Word *Nexum*, or *Nexus*. The latter expreſſes himſelf thus. *Nexum eſt quodcumque per æs, & libram geritur, idque necti dicitur.* If the Seller did not uſe all the Formalities of the *Nexus*, he ſtill kept the Property of the Thing to himſelf, and the Purchaſer had only the Produce of it: For this Reaſon the former was called *Dominus Quiritarius*, the latter *Emptor Bonitarius*, i. e. *Purchaſer of the Produce*. The *Decemviri*, in order to make Men faithful in theſe Contracts, would have the Seller give Security to perform all he had declared in the Magiſtrate's Preſence: So that in caſe the Land, or whatever elſe it was, did not appear to be ſuch as the Seller had repreſented it to be, he was forced to indemnify the Purchaſer: Or if he did not, after an Inſpection had been made on the Spot, the Sale was held to be fraudulent, and he was condemned to pay the Double of what had been exacted of him by Way of Indemnification to the Buyer; according to the laſt Words of the Law mentioned by *Tully*, *Offic. B.* 3. SI INFICIAS IERIT, DUPLIONE DAMNATOR.

57 We find no Footſteps of this Law in the Fragments we have of the twelve Tables. Nevertheleſs *Hottoman* has made it one of the *Decemviral* Laws. *Godfrey* ſtates it thus: STATU LIBER EMPTORI DANDO LIBER ESTO: That is, Let a Slave who is declared free by the Head of a Family, on Condition of paying a certain Sum of Money, have always a right of purchaſing his Liberty, by paying the Sum ſtipulated; even though the Inheritance of his firſt Maſter be transferred to another Man.

58 REI VENDITA, TRANSQUE DATA, inſtead of *Tradita*, EMPTORI NON ADQUIRITOR, DONICUM, or *donec*, SATISFACTUM ESSET, are the Terms of this Law in *Latin*.

IV. Law.

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IV. Law.

59 *Let two Years Poſſeſſion amount to a Preſcription for Lands, and one for Moveables.*

V. Law.

60 *In litigated Caſes the Preſumption ſhall always be on the ſide of the Poſſeſſor: And in Diſputes about Liberty or Slavery, the Preſumption ſhall always be on the ſide of Liberty.*

TABLE VII.

Of Trespasses and Damages.

I. Law.

61 *If a Beaſt does any Damage in a Field, let the Maſter of the Beaſt offer to make Satisfaction, or give up his Beaſt.*

II. Law.

62 *If you find a Rafter or a Pole which belongs to you, in another Man's Houſe or Vineyard, and they are made uſe of, don't pull down the Houſe, or ruin the Vineyard; but make the Poſſeſſor pay double the Value of the Thing ſtolen; and when*

59 This Law relates only to the Lands in *Italy*, which became the Right and Property of the laſt Poſſeſſor, who had *bona fide* enjoyed the quiet Poſſeſſion of them for two Years. For Eſtates in tributary Countries, could not fall by Preſcription to the private Perſons, who had the Produce of them. The right in Fee, which the *Roman* People had to theſe Eſtates, was unalienable. The Law, with Reſpect both to Moveables and Immoveables, runs thus. USUS AUCTORITAS FUNDI, BIENNIUM, CÆTERARUM RERUM ANNUUS USUS ESTO.

60 The Law in *Latin* runs thus. SI QUI IN JURE MANU CONSERUNT, UTRISQUE SUPERSTITIBUS PRÆSENTIBUS, SECUNDUM EUM QUI POSSIDET; AST SI QUI QUEM LIBERALI CAUSA MANU ASSERAT, SECUNDUM LIBERTATEM VINDICIAS DATO. The Words *manu conſerunt*, ſtand for *apud judicem diſceptant:* An allegorical Way of ſpeaking taken from War, of which the Conflict between the two Parties is a Repreſentation. Indeed before civil Suits began, the two Parties appeared before the *Prætor*; and in his Preſence, they croſſed two Rods which they had in their Hands, as two Perſons would do in fighting. This was the Signal of the Proceedings which were to follow. *Hottoman* gueſſes from this Cuſtom, that the firſt *Romans* determined their Diſputes with the Points of their Swords. If the Diſpute was concerning any Lands, the *Prætor* went to them, and there determined for or againſt the Poſſeſſor. But as the Multitude of Affairs, which afterwards overcharged the Magiſtrate, would not ſuffer him to make theſe Excurſions, the *Civilians*, that they might not derogate from the old Cuſtoms, declared it to be ſufficient to bring a Turf from the diſputed Lands, in order to preſent it before the *Prætor*, that the Sentence might be deemed paſſed on the Lands themſelves as formerly. We have borrowed all this from *Feſtus*, *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 20. and *Alexander ab Alexandro*, *B.* 6. *c.* 10. Theſe Terms *utriſque ſuperſtitibus*, are the ſame in Signification as *duobus teſtibus*. By this Law it appears, that the Preſumption was always in favour of the Poſſeſſor. But this was not the Caſe of a Slave, who ſaid he was free; but was reclaimed by his Maſter. The Magiſtrate then always preſumed in favour of the Slave, till it was demonſtrated, that he had always continued in a State of Slavery. The Words, *Si qui quem liberali cauſa aſſerat*, are as much as to ſay, *Si quis aliquem in libertatem adſerat.*

61 SI QUADRUPES PAUPERIEM FAXIT, DOMINUS NOXIÆ ÆSTIMIAM AFFERTO: SI NOLIT, QUOD NOXIT DATO. Theſe are the Terms of this Law according to the *Civilians*. It is quoted by *Juſtinian*, and by *Ulpian*. The Word *Pauperies* here ſignifies an involuntary Damage, ſuch as is done by a ſtray Beaſt. The *Attick* Laws ſeem to have given Occaſion to this. Indeed *Solon* the Lawgiver commanded, that a Dog, which had bit any Body, ſhould be tied with a Chain four Cubits long, and given to the Perſon bit. *Democritus* condemned any animal to death that did any Miſchief, which way ſoever it was done. By a *Cretan* Law, a Swine which had damaged a Field ſown with Corn, was to have his Teeth pulled out. Immediately after this Law of the twelve Tables, we find another, the Senſe of which is interrupted by *Lacunæ* or Gaps. SI INJURIA RUPITIAS—— AST SI CASU SARCITO——QUI PECUENDO ALIENO IMPESCIT. The *Civilians* are of Opinion that this laſt Article contains the Puniſhment decreed againſt thoſe who did any Damage to another, whether premeditatedly, and with Deſign, or undeſignedly. The Words SI RUPITIAS FECERIT, are equivalent to *ſi ruperit*, i. e. *Whoever ſhall have made any Rupture*, &c. IMPESCIT ſignifies the ſame as *paſtum ducit:* i. e. *He who leads his Cattle to feed, in alienem ſegetem*, i. e. *In another Man's Corn*. This is the Senſe of the Words, QUI PECUENDO ALIENO.

62 *Cujas* expreſſes this Law, as mentioned by *Feſtus*, thus. TIGUUM JUNCTUM ÆDIBUS, VINEÆVE CONCAPES, NE SOLVITO. AST QUI JUNXIT, DUPLIONE DAMNATOR. TIGNA QUANDO QUE SARPTA,

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when the Houſe is deſtroyed, or the Pole taken out of the Vineyard, then ſeize what's your own.

III. Law.

63 *Whoever ſhall maliciouſly ſet fire to another Man's Houſe, or an Heap of Corn near his Houſe, ſhall be impriſoned, ſcourged, and burnt to death. If he did it by Accident, let him repair the Damage: And if he be a poor Man, let him be ſlightly corrected.*

IV. Law.

64 *Whoever ſhall deprive another of the uſe of a Limb, ſhall be puniſhed according to the Law of Retaliation, if the Perſon injured does not agree to accept ſome other Satisfaction.*

V. Law.

65 *If he has only diſlocated a Bone, let him pay three hundred Pounds of Braſs, if the Sufferer be a Free-Man, and a hundred and fifty if he be a Slave.*

VI. Law.

66 *For common Blows with the Fiſt, and injurious Words, the Puniſhment ſhall be twenty five Aſſes of Braſs.*

VII. Law.

67 *Whoever ſlanders another by Words, or defamatory Verſes, and injures his Reputation, ſhall be beaten with a Club.*

VIII. Law.

SARPTA, DONEC DEMPTA ERUNT, VINDICATO. The old Word *Concapes* ſignifies a Pole, which ſupports the Branches of a Vine, or rather *Concapes* is the Adjective to *Tiguum. Quod eſt capite commiſſum vineæ*, is the etymological Senſe of *Concapes*.

63 *Godfrey* has given us the Senſe of this Law, in theſe *Latin* Words. QUI ACERUM FRUMENTI AD ÆDES POSITUM DOLO SCIENS INCENSIT, VINCTUS, VERBERATUS, IGNI NECATOR. AST SI CASU NOXIAM SARCITO. SI NEC IDONEUS ESCIT, LEVIUS CASTIGATOR. He who ſhall negligently occaſion a Fire, ought to undergo ſome corporal Puniſhment if he be not able to make amends for the Damage done by it, by this juſt Rule of Law, *Qui ære nequit, corpore damnum luat.*

64 At *Athens*, he who ſtruck another was fined by the Laws, and the Fine given to the Perſon injured, if he was the Complainant; but it was given to the publick Treaſury, if a third Perſon was the Accuſer: For among the *Athenians*, it was lawful for any Perſon to proſecute for an Injury done to any other. By the ſame Laws, a Man who had wounded another was baniſhed, his Goods confiſcated, and he forbidden ever returning to his Country, upon Pain of Death. By one of *Solon*'s Laws the Law of Retaliation was very ſtrictly put in Execution upon him, who had deprived any Perſon of the ſecond Eye who had loſt one before; the Offender was condemned to loſe both his Eyes. The *Decemviri* adopted this laſt Article in the Caſe of a broken Limb, and enacted, that the Offender ſhould ſuffer as much as the Offended had done. Thus, if a Man broke another's Arm, or cut off his Hand, he was condemned to loſe Arm for Arm, and Hand for Hand; unleſs he bought off the Puniſhment he deſerved, with the Conſent of the Perſon injured. The Words of the Law are theſe. SI MEMBRUM RUPSIT NI CUM EO PACIT, TALIO ESTO. We have it in *Aulus Gellius B.* 20. and in *Feſtus.*

65 *Aulus Gellius, B.* 20. and *Juſtinian B.* 4. *Inſtit.* mention the following Law, QUI OS EX GENITALI FUDIT LIBERO CCC. SERVO CL. ÆRIS SUNTO.

66 This Law is contained in theſe Words. SI QUI INJURIAM ALTERI FAXIT, XXV ÆRIS PÆNÆ SUNTO. This ſlight Puniſhment has made *Favorinus*, as quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, laugh at this Law. Indeed ſo ſmall a Sum, in wealthy Times, could not have reſtrained the Brutality of the Aggreſſors. Witneſs that *Lucius Neratius*, mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, who ran about the Streets of *Rome*, with a Slave after him carrying a Sack of Copper-Money. His Delight was to ſtrike all that he met, and to pay them twenty five *Aſſes* a Man, according to the Law. But in After-times it was referred to the *Prætors* to judge of the Injury, and Proportion the Puniſhment to the Offence.

67 *Godfrey* ſtates this Law in this manner. SI QUI PIPULO OCCENTASSIT, CARMENVE CONDIDISSIT, QUOD INFAMIAM FAXIT, FLAGITIUMVE ALTERI, FUSTE FERITO. The *Latin* Word *Pipulum* was formerly uſed inſtead of *Convitium, a pipatu pullorum.* The ſame Law is otherwiſe expreſſed by *St. Auſtin de Civit. Dei c.* 12; after *Tully B.* 4. *de Repub.* SI QUI CARMEN OCCENTASSIT, QUOD ALTERI FLAGITIUM FAXIT, CAPITAL ESTO. Thoſe who made defamatory Libels, and thoſe who attacked the Reputation of others, were held in the utmoſt Deteſtation by the *Romans. Tully Tuſcul. B.* 4. gives us this Reaſon for it; *Judiciis enim, & magiſtratuum diſputationibus, legitimis, propoſitam vitam, non poetarum ingeniis, habere debemus; nec probrum audires niſi ea lege, ut res pendere liceat, & judicio defendere.* But this Law cannot be ſaid to be taken from the *Attick* Laws. It is well known what Liberties were allowed the Theatre of *Athens*, even againſt the Magiſtrates themſelves; and that *Ariſtophanes* made a Jeſt of openly defaming the moſt venerable Perſons in theſe theatrical Performances. Indeed, when the Inſolence of the Poets had exceeded all the Bounds of Modeſty, they were forbidden naming the Perſons who were the Subjects of their Satyrs: But the Abuſe at length grew ſo very exceſſive, that in order to root it out effectually,

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VIII. Law.

68 *Let him who has once been a Witneſs, and refuſes to bear Witneſs again, though a publick Perſon, be deemed infamous, and made incapable of bearing Witneſs any more.*

IX. Law.

69 *Let every falſe Witneſs be thrown down headlong from the* Capitol.

X. Law.

70 *Whoever ſhall wilfully kill a Free-Man, or ſhall make uſe of magical Words to hurt him, or ſhall have prepared Poiſon for him, or given it to him, ſhall be puniſhed as an Homicide.*

XI. Law.

71 *Let all* Parricides *be thrown into the River, ſowed up in a Leather-Bag, and with their Heads veiled.*

XII. Law.

72 *The Guardian who manages the Affairs of his Ward ill, ſhall be reprimanded; and if he be found to have cheated him, he ſhall reſtore double.*

effectually, theſe licentious Comedies were abſolutely baniſhed the Stage, and another ſort of Comedy ſubſtituted in their room, which was agreeable to the Rules of Decency and good Manners. This was called the new Comedy, to diſtinguiſh it from the old; and *Menander* is reckoned to have excelled moſt in this Way. Nevertheleſs *Solon* had enacted, that a Fine of five *Drachmæ*, ſhould be laid on thoſe, who publickly affronted any Perſon by defamatory Diſcourſes, either during the Times of the Sacrifices, or the Shews, or in the Preſence of the Judges and Magiſtrates. Two of theſe *Drachmæ* were aſſigned to him who had received the Injury: The other three to the publick Treaſury.

68 This Law, as mentioned by *Aulus Gellius*, and reſtored by learned *Civilians*, is thus expreſſed. QUI SE SIRIT TESTARIER, LIBRIPENSVE FUERIT, NI TESTIMONIUM FARIATUR IMPROBUS INTESTABILISQUE ESTO. The Word FARIATUR in old *Latin* was put for *Fateatur*. *Fariri* was then uſed inſtead of *Fari*, *Moriri* inſtead of *Mori*.

69 How much ſoever the *Greeks* were decried for a want of Sincerity and Fidelity, yet they enacted ſevere Puniſhments againſt falſe Witneſſes, and thoſe who ſuborned them. Beſides a conſiderable Fine which was laid upon them, the Law declared them infamous. But the *Decemviri*, in order the better to guard againſt Injuſtice in the Determination of Cauſes, ordered that they ſhould be puniſhed with Death. *Plato* decreed the ſame Puniſhment againſt him who had born falſe Witneſs three times. In After-ages indeed, Looſneſs of Manners got the better of the Auſterity of the Laws. A falſe Witneſs was only baniſhed; and at the ſame Time declared infamous. The Law of the *Decemviri* runs thus. SI FALSUM TESTIMONIUM DICASSIT, SAXO DEJICITOR.

70 This Law runs thus. SI QUIS LIBERUM HOMINEM DOLO SCIENS MORTI DUIT, QUIVE MALUM CARMEN INCANTASSIT, AUT MALUM VENENUM FAXIT, DAITVE, PARRICIDA ESTO. The *Athenians* puniſhed wilful Murder with Death. However, the Criminal was at Liberty to make his Eſcape before the Judge pronounced Sentence; but his Effects were confiſcated, and his Head proſcribed. If the Murder was involuntary, the *Attick* Laws inflicted only one Year's Baniſhment on the Murderer. By the Law of the *Decemviri*, or rather of *Numa*, which was inſerted in the twelve Tables, every *Homicide*, for the Word *Parricida* has often that Signification, was puniſhed with Death. This is the meaning of the Words PARRICIDA ESTO, which are as much as to ſay, *Capital eſto*. One or the other of theſe Forms was always uſed, in relation to the Crimes which were puniſhed with Death. The ſame Puniſhment was denounced againſt Poiſoners, Magicians, and eſpecially that ſort of Women, whom the *Romans* called *Sagas*.

71 *Valer. Maximus*, *B.* 1. and *Nonnius c.* 1. mention this Law, which runs thus. QUI PARENTEM NECASSIT, CAPUT OBNUBITO, CULEOQUE INSUTUS IN PROFLUENTEM MERGITOR. *Solon* appointed no Puniſhments againſt *Parricides*, as being of Opinion there could be no ſuch Monſters in Nature. But the *Romans* thought otherwiſe. Even from *Romulus*'s Time, according to ſome, or *Servius*'s, according to others, it was enjoined by an expreſs Law, that the Children who had ſtruck their Father or Mother, ſhould be *devoted to the Gods*, that is, any one might kill them with Impunity, and ſacrifice them as expiatory Victims, to the Vengeance of the *Pagan* Divinities. The Law of the twelve Tables condemned a *Parricide* to be thrown into the River, ſown up in a Sack, with a Dog, a Cock, a Viper, and an Ape. In this Condition he was delivered up as a Prey to the Fury of theſe Animals, and deprived of the Uſe of the Elements, as the Execration of Mankind.

72 *Godfrey* has collected the Text of this Law from ſeveral Expreſſions ſcattered about in Authors, and ſtates it thus. SI TUTOR DOLO MALO GERAT, VITUPERATO; QUANDOQUE FINITA TUTELA ESCIT, DUPLIONE LUITO. Among the *Athenians*, the Unfaithfulneſs of Guardians in the Management of the Effects of their Wards, was puniſhed by the Laws. The latter might proſecute them for five Years, after they came from under their Care, but had no Action againſt them afterwards. At *Rome* the Guardian's Effects were mortgaged to the Ward. In caſe of Unfaithfulneſs, the Guardian was declared infamous, and condemned to pay double the Damage he had done, as we learn from *Tully Offic. B.* 3. *Orat. pro Catil. & pro Roſc. Com.* In the firſt Book *de Oratore*, he calls the Sentence of a Judge againſt a Guardian for Male-Adminiſtration, *Judicium turpe*.

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XIII. Law.

73 *A Patron who ſhall have defrauded his Client, ſhall be execrable.*

TABLE VIII.

Of Estates in the Country.

I. Law.

74 *Let the Space of two Foot and an half of Ground be always left between one Houſe and another.*

II. Law.

75 *Societies may make what By-Laws they pleaſe among themſelves, provided they don't interfere with the publick Laws.*

III. Law.

76 *When two Neighbours have any Diſputes about their Bounds, the* Prætor *ſhall aſſign them three Arbitrators.*

IV. Law.

77 *When a Tree planted in a Field does Injury to an adjoining Field by its Shade, let its Branches be cut off fifteen Foot high.*

V. Law.

78 *If the Fruit of a Tree falls into a neighbouring Field, the Owner of the Tree may go and pick it up.*

VI. Law.

79 *If a Man would make a Drain, to carry off the Rain-water from his Ground to his Neighbour's, let the* Prætor *appoint three Arbitrators, to judge of the Damage the Water may do, and prevent it.*

73 *Servius* has preſerved the Words of this Law, in his *Commentary* upon this Paſſage of the ſixth *Æneid*, *Et fraus innexa Clienti*. They are theſe, PATRONUS SI CLIENTI FRAUDEM FAXIT, SACER ESTO. We have already given an Account of the Origin of *Patrons* and *Clients*, and their reciprocal Duties, in the firſt Book of this Hiſtory. It is therefore ſufficient to obſerve here, that the Law eſtabliſhed much ſuch an Union between them, as Nature has ſettled between a Father and a Son. Inſomuch, that a Patron, who accuſed, or bore Witneſs againſt his Client, was thought a Traytor, as having violated the moſt ſacred Laws of Society.

74 The Deſign of this Law was to leave a Paſſage open round the Houſe, and hinder the Communication of Fire. It runs thus. AMBITUS PARIETIS SEXTERTIUS PES ESTO.

75 This Law is thus ſtated. SODALES LEGEM QUAM VOLENT, DUM NE QUID EX PUBLICA LEGE CORRUMPANT, SIBI FERUNTO. The Word *Sodales* here ſignifies the Members of the ſame Society, or College, as that of the *Pontifices*, or *Augurs*. *Rome* had likewiſe her Communities of Artificers, and Merchants. Each of theſe different Bodies was governed by its own Cuſtoms, and had probably its own Privileges and Immunities.

76 *Tully B. 2. de Legib.* makes this one of the Laws of the twelve Tables. The *Civilians* have collected it from ſeveral Authors, and ſtate it thus. SI JURGANT AFFINES, FINIBUS REGUNDIS, ARBITROS TRIS ADDICITO.

77 This Law the *Civilians* ſtate thus. SI ARBOR IN VICINUM FUNDUM IMPENDET 15 PEDES ALTIUS SUBLUCATOR. This laſt Word SUBLUCATOR, is as much as to ſay, *Subtus lucem mittito, compeſcendo luxuriam ramorum*. The *Prætor* interpreted this Law of ſuch Trees alſo, as hindered the Light, or Proſpect of a neighbouring Houſe.

78 SI GLANS IN EMEM CADUCA SIET, DOMINO LEGERE JUS ESTO, are the *Latin* Terms of this Law. The Word *Glans* here ſignifies all ſorts of Fruits. The old Word *emem*, is ſynonymous to *eundem*, which relates to *Fundum* in the preceding Law.

79 The Words of this Law have been collected from *Pomponius*, from *Tully*'s *Topicks*, and from ſeveral *Civilians*. SI AQUA PLUVIA MANU NOCET, PRÆTOR ARCENDÆ AQUÆ ARBITROS TRIS ADDICITO, NOXÆQUE DOMINO CAVETOR.

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VII. Law.

80 *Roads ſhall be eight Foot wide, where they run ſtrait, and where they turn, ſixteen.*

VIII. Law.

81 *If a Road between two Fields be bad, the Traveller may drive through which Field he pleaſes.*

TABLE IX.

Of the common Rights of the People.

I. Law.

82 *Let not Privilege be granted to any Perſon.*

II. Law.

83 *Let both Debtors who are eſcaped out of Slavery, and Strangers who have rebelled, and returned to their Duty, be reſtored to their antient Rights, as if they had never offended.*

III. Law.

84 *It is a capital Crime for a Judge or Arbitrator to take Money, for paſſing Judgment.*

IV. Law.

85 *Let all Cauſes, relating to the Life, Liberty, or Rights of a* Roman *Citizen, be tried only in* Comitia by Centuries.

V. Law.

80 This Law, according to the *Civilians*, ran thus; VIA IN PORRECTUM 8 PEDUM, IN AMFRACTO 16 PEDUM ESTO. The Deſign of the *Decemviri*, was to provide thereby for the convenient Paſſage of all ſorts of Carriages. IN AMFRACTO, is as much as to ſay, *In flexu, in amfractu.*

81 The *Latin* Terms of this Law, are theſe: SI VIA PER AMSAGETES IMMUNITA ESCIT, QUA VOLET JUMENTUM DUCITO. The old Word *Amſagetes*, ſignified the two Fields which joined to the ſides of a Road.

82 This Law conſiſted of only theſe three Words, PRIVILEGIA NE IRROGANTO. It was borrowed from the *Athenian* Law. Indeed the *Athenians* never granted any Privileges to private Perſons, but with great Caution, and with the Conſent of the People: And the *Romans* did the ſame. It belonged only to the *Comitia by Centuries*, to except any private Perſon out of a general Law, by way of Immunity; whatever *Cujas* may ſay of it, who pretends, that theſe Favours were never granted, not even by the Conſent of the *Centuries: Cicero* is our Voucher for the contrary, when he ſpeaks thus in his 3d *Book of Laws. Cum legis hæc vis ſit, ſcitum eſt juſſum in omnes. Ferri de ſingulis, niſi Centuriatis Comitiis, noluerunt.* It is plain, that the Words *Juſſum in omnes*, or *the general Law*, are here oppoſed to *Ferri de ſingulis*, which can only be underſtood of particular Privileges. So that, to the *Latin* Text PRIVILEGIA NE IRROGANTO, we will add the Words, NISI MAXIMO COMITIATU, which we find uſed in the fourth Law of this ninth Table.

83 The Terms of this Law want an Explanation; they are theſe. NEXO SOLUTO, FORTI, SANATI SIREMPS JUS ESTO. That is to ſay, *Dimiſſo debitori ex poteſtate creditoris, item ei qui in fide conſtanter permanſit, & ei qui ſana mente ad obſequium rediit, jus idem eſto. Feſtus* gives us the Explanation of the Dative *Sanati*, when he ſays, the neighbouring Nations, who dwelled on both ſides of *Rome*, were called SANATES; as for Inſtance, the *Tiburtini*, and other People, whom *Tarquin the Elder* brought in Subjection to the Republick: *Eoſque* SANATES, adds the ſame Author, *propterea quod præter opinionem eos pacaviſſet*, SANAVISSETQUE, *nominavit. Feſtus* aſcribes this Interpretation to *Cincius B.* 2. *de Offic. Juriſc. Sitemps* is an old Adjective, ſynonymous to *Similis*, or *Reipſa.*

84 Among the *Athenians*, a Judge, who was bribed, was condemned to pay the Party injured double the Value of what he had loſt. But the *Decemviri* did not think this Puniſhment ſufficient to reſtrain the Avarice of an unjuſt Judge. They would have him puniſhed with Death. But in After-times, a Corruption of Manners, and the Avarice of the Judges at *Rome*, got the better of this ſevere Law. The *Civilians* ſtate it thus. SI JUDEX ARBITERVE JURE DATUS, OB REM DICENDAM PECUNIAM ACCEPSIT, CAPITAL ESTO.

85 The Law is this. DE CAPITE CIVIS ROMANI, NISI PER MAXIMUM COMITIATUM NE FERUNTO. *Cicero* made uſe of this Law, to diſannul the Proceedings of *Clodius*, who had conſpired his Deſtruction. By the Words, DE CAPITE CIVIS ROMANI, were underſtood, not the Life only, but the Liberty

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V. Law.

86 *Let the People appoint* Quæstors, *to take Cognizance of all capital Cases.*

VI. Law.

87 *Whoever ſhall hold ſeditious Aſſemblies in the City, by Night, ſhall be put to Death.*

VII. Law.

88 *Let him who ſhall have ſollicited a Foreigner to declare himſelf againſt* Rome, *or ſhall have delivered up a* Roman *Citizen to a Foreigner, loſe his Life.*

VIII. Law.

89 *Let only the laſt Laws the People make, be in Force.*

TABLE X.

Of Funerals, and all Ceremonies relating to the Dead.

I. Law.

90 *Let no Perſon be interred, or Body burnt, within the City.*

II. Law.

91 *Let all Luxury, and extravagant Mourning be baniſhed from Funerals. Let nothing hereafter forbidden be done at them.*

III. Law.

Liberty and Rights of a *Roman* Citizen. In Conſequence of this Law, it was criminal to kill any Perſon before Sentence of Death had been pronounced againſt him. For this Reaſon the People choſe *Queſtors*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to inform them of the Crimes which were brought before their Tribunal.

86 QUÆSTORES PARRICIDII, QUI DE REBUS CAPITALIBUS QUÆRANT, A POPULO CREANTOR, are the Words of this Law according to the *Civilians*.

87 The *Romans* were ſo ſuſpicious of nocturnal Aſſemblies, that the Senate was not ſuffered to draw up a Decree, after Sun-ſet. For this Reaſon they called the beginning of the Night, HORAM INTEMPESTAM. One part of *Catiline*'s Accuſation was, that he had tranſgreſſed this Law. It runs thus. SI QUI IN URBE COETUS NOCTURNOS AGITASSIT, CAPITAL ESTO.

88 This Law was drawn up in theſe Terms, as we find them mentioned by the Interpreters of the twelve Tables. SI QUIS PERDUELLEM CONCITASSIT, CIVEMQUE PERDUELLI TRANSDUCIT, CAPITAL ESTO. By the Word *Perduellis* was meant the Enemies of the State. The Antients uſed the Word *Duellum* inſtead of *Bellum*. *Perduellis*, ſays *Ulpian*, *eſt qui hoſtilem animum adverſus rempublicam, aut principem, gerit.*

89 The Inconſtancy and Changes of the People, the different Circumſtances and Neceſſities of Affairs, were an inexhauſtible Source of new Laws at *Rome*, which ſucceeded one another, and leſſened the Authority of the old ones. To avoid therefore the Confuſion this Oppoſition, and Multiplicity of different Laws, might occaſion in all legal Proceedings, the *Decemviri* made a Law, that in the Deciſion of criminal and civil Affairs, the Publick ſhould conform to the laſt *Plebiſcita*, or the laſt Laws paſſed in the *Comitia*, without any Regard to former ones. This is the Senſe of this *Latin* Law; QUOD POSTREMUM POPULUS JUSSIT, IN JUS RATUM ESTO.

90 *Cicero* gives us the Words of this Law. HOMINEM MORTUUM IN URBE NE SEPELITO, NEVE URITO. See what we have ſaid before, concerning the Ceremonies and Cuſtoms of Funeral-Pomps in old *Rome*.

91 The *Decemviri* borrowed this Law from *Solon*, who had ſuppreſſed the antient Pride and exceſſive Profuſeneſs of the *Athenians*, in the Ceremonies uſed at their Obſequies, by wiſe Regulations. They ſeem to have baniſhed that numerous Train of Weeping-Women, who made immoderate Outcries, and ſung thoſe Mourning-Verſes in praiſe of the Dead, which were called *Næniæ*. As the voluntary Tears they ſhed were purchaſed, theſe ſuperfluous Expences much increaſed the Charges of Funerals, and were too great a Load upon the Family. But we may obſerve nevertheleſs, that the Law of the *Decemviri* did not entirely aboliſh the Uſe, but only regulated the Exceſs, of them. *Cicero* ſtates this Law, in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*, thus; SUMPTUS ET LUCTUS A DEORUM MANIUM JURE REMOVETO. By the Gods *Manes*, the antient *Pagans* meant the infernal Gods, and the Souls of the Dead, or the *Lemures*. By the Words, JUS DEORUM MANIUM we are to underſtand the right of Burial, and the Funeral-Honours which were paid the Dead. All Ceremonies relating to the Dead, were therefore to be included in the following

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III. LAW.

92 *Let not the Wood, with which Funeral-Piles are built, be cut with a Saw.*

IV. LAW.

93 *Let the dead Body be covered with no more than three coſtly Habits, bordered with Purple; and let no more than ten Players upon the Flute be employed in celebrating the Obſequies.*

V. LAW.

94 *Let not the Women tear their Faces, or diſfigure themſelves, or make hideous Outcries.*

lowing Articles. This the *Decemviri* ſhewed by the Words, which ought to be annexed to this Law; HOC PLUS NE FACITO, i. e. *Let nothing more be done than what is preſcribed in this tenth Table.*

92 ROGUM ASCIA NE POLITO, are the *Latin* Words of this Law, which ſeems to have paſſed from the *Athenians* to the *Romans*. *Solon*, and after him *Phalereus*, forbad the Uſe of Joinery, and the Ornaments of Sculpture, in the building of Sepulchres.

93 *Cicero* gives us the Subſtance of this Law, in his ſecond Book *de Legib.* in theſe Words. TRIBUS RICINIIS AC IO TIBICINIBUS FORIS EFFERRE JUS ESTO. The Commentators have given themſelves much Trouble, to find out the Meaning of the *Latin* Word *Ricinium*. The antient Authors themſelves ſeem not to have known it, at leaſt they have not ſaid enough of it to remove our Uncertainties about it. *Feſtus* underſtands by the Word *Ricinium* a ſquare Habit. He adds, that the Interpreters of the Laws of the twelve Tables, don't diſtinguiſh it from the *Toga Virilis*, bordered with Purple, which the Women likewiſe uſed. His Words are theſe. *Ricinium omne veſtimentum quadratum. Ii qui duodecim interpretati ſunt, eſſe dixerunt virilem togam, qua mulieres utebantur, prætextam clavo purpureo.* What follows is as unintelligible as what goes before, *Unde Riciniati mimi Planipedes.* It is certain, that thoſe who are here called *Riciniati mimi Planipedes*, were the ſame with the Comedians, or Actors of Farces, who appeared upon the Stage bare-foot, or wore a ſort of flat Sandal, called *Soccus*. Hence the Word *Planipedes*. Now theſe Actors of Farces and Comedians, were dreſſed after the *Greek* manner. For this Reaſon they were called *Palliati*. So that we have here the *Ricinium*, confounded with the *Toga* of the *Romans*, and the *Pallium* of the *Greeks*, in the ſame Paſſage. Not to mention the Contradiction between the Words *Virilem Togam*, and thoſe others, *Qua Mulieres utebantur*. Which has given Reaſon to believe that this Paſſage of *Feſtus* has been corrupted. And as it would therefore ill become us to enter into theſe grammatical Diſputes, we leave the Reader to draw his own Conjectures from theſe Sources, and to judge of the various Readings the *Grammarians* have produced. Several of them explain the *Ricinium* differently. Some have very improperly taken it for an Head-dreſs, formerly called *Flammeum*, worn only by new married Women. It was according to others, the common Habit of the Women in Mourning, who attended the Funeral-Proceſſion. So that, ſay they, by the Words TRIBUS RICINIIS, *&c.* it is forbidden to have more than three Women, cloathed in this mourning Habit, at any Funeral. It is viſible, the *Flammeum* could not belong to a Funeral-Ceremony. And it is as falſe, that the Deſign of the *Decemviri* was to limit the Number of thoſe who appeared at Funerals in mourning Habits, to three. It is well known, that it would have been indecent to have appeared at a Funeral at *Rome*, out of Mourning. Now all the Relations ſeldom failed of being there, as well as the Friends and Clients of the Deceaſed. They therefore put a more reaſonable Conſtruction upon this Paſſage, who ſay, that the Deſign of theſe Law-givers was to renew an old political Law, eſtabliſhed by *Solon*. He commanded, that no more than three Robes ſhould be buried or burnt with the Corps: It being cuſtomary among the Antients, to load the Funeral-pile, or fill the Sepulchre, with rich Habits, and all the valuable Things the Deceaſed had had in his Life-time; agreeable to theſe Lines of *Virgil* in his ſixth *Æneid*,

——Tum membra thoro defleta reponunt
Purpureaſque ſuper veſtes, velamina nota
Injiciunt.

This Abuſe was introduced into *Rome*, and ſeems to have at laſt prevailed, contrary to this Law, in the Times when the *Romans* gloried in making their publick Ceremonies ſtately and ſumptuous. So that by the Words TRIBUS RICINIIS, the Law-givers probably meant thoſe ſtately Habits bordered with Purple; as *Cicero* ſhews, when he ſpeaks of this Law. *Extenuato igitur ſumptu*, TRIBUS RICINIIS, *& vinculis purpuræ, & decem tibicinibus tollit etiam lamentationem, B* 2. *de Legib.* As to the Players on Flutes the Number of whom was confined to ten, they were a particular College in *Rome*, inſtituted by *Numa*. They were employed in Feaſts, Shews, Funerals, publick Sacrifices, and in the Celebration of Feſtivals, Games, and other Solemnities. *Ovid* ſays, *Faſt. B.* 6. that the *Romans* antiently thought it honourable to have the Corps attended by a great Number of Muſicians, to celebrate the Obſequies with the more Pomp.

Temporibus Veterum Tibicinis uſus avorum
Magnus, & in magno ſemper honore fuit.
Cantabat fanis, cantabat tibia ludis,
Cantabat mœſtis tibia funeribus.
Adde quod Ædilis pompa qui funeris irent,
Artifices ſolos juſſerit eſſe decem.

But this Law did not hinder the *Romans* from joining Trumpets to Flutes in the Funerals of Great Men.

94 *Tully*, *B.* 2. *de Legib.* mentions this Law. MULIERES GENAS NE RADUNTO NE VE LESSUM, FUNERIS ERGO, HABENTO. *Solon* had aboliſhed this Cuſtom, which had been introduced into *Athens* before his Time; the Women, the better to ſhew their Grief, made it Matter of Merit to tear and diſfigure their Faces. The ſame Practice which was in uſe among the *Phœnicians*, is condemned in *Leviticus*. NE VE LESSUM, FUNERIS ERGO HABENTO, was thought ſo obſcure an Expreſſion by two antient Interpreters, *Sextus Ælius*, and *Lucius Acilius*, whom *Tully* mentions, that they believed it very difficult to be underſtood. But they conjectured, that the Word *Leſſus* ſignified a mourning Habit of a particular Shape, which was forbidden by the *Decemviri*. Another Interpreter, *viz. Lucius Ælius*, quoted by *Tully*, thinks LESSUS antiently ſignified the immoderate Outcries, and extravagant Lamentations, with which the Women made all the Neighbourhood reſound. *L. Ælius*, LESSUM *quaſi lugubrem ejulationem, ut vox ipſa ſignificat, quod eo magis judico verum eſſe, quod lex Solonis id ipſum vetat. Plautus, Trucul.* 4 uſes this Word in this Senſe. *Thetis quoque ipſa lamentando, leſſum fecit filio.*

Year of *ROME* CCCII.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

VI. Law.

95 *Let not any part of a dead Body be carried away, in order to perform other Obſequies for the Deceaſed, unleſs he died in War, or out of his own Country.*

VII. Law.

96 *Let no Slaves be embalmed after their Death; let there be no drinking round a dead Body; nor let any perfumed Liquors be poured upon it.*

VIII. Law.

97 *Let no Crowns, Feſtoons, Perfuming-Pots, or any kinds of Perfume, be carried to Funerals.*

95 The *Civilians* have given us this Law, after *Tully*, *B.* 2. *de Legib.* thus, Homini mortoo ossa ne legito, quo post funus facias, extra quam si belli, endove hostico, mortuus escit. It often happened at *Rome*, that the Friends and Relations of the Deceaſed, carried off ſome Parts of his Body, during the Celebration of the Obſequies, in order to perform another Funeral for him in private. Which multiplied Expences, and renewed uſeleſs Grief. The *Decemviri* therefore aboliſhed this Cuſtom. Nevertheleſs the Practice of interring ſtill continued at *Rome*, even with Regard to thoſe Bodies which were burnt. The Relations and Friends of the Deceaſed, reſerved a ſmall Part of his Body, a Finger for Inſtance, or ſome Bones, for this Purpoſe, and buried them with as much Ceremony, as if it had been the whole Body. By this Means the *Romans* intended to preſerve the antient Cuſtom of Burial, without which, ſays *Cicero*, the Place where the Body had been burnt, was not conſecrated by Religion. Without it, none had a juſt Title to build any Sepulchre there; and all the laſt Offices of Reſpect were not thought paid to the Deceaſed. *Nam priuſquam in os injecta gleba eſt, locus ille, ubi crematum eſt corpus, nihil habet religionis. Injectâ glebâ, tum & ille humatus eſt, & ſepulchrum vocatur, ac tum denique multa religioſa jura complectitur.* So that, properly ſpeaking, no Funerals were performed, for thoſe who had periſhed in a Shipwreck, unleſs ſome part of their Bodies were found. Nevertheleſs, the Law excepts thoſe who had died in War in a diſtant Country, or who had been devoured by ſome wild Beaſt, &c. It was lawful to make a funeral Pomp for ſuch, in Honour of their Bravery, and to erect one of thoſe Tombs for them, which the Antients called *Cænotaphia*. It was a received Opinion, according to the Superſtition of thoſe Times, that theſe empty Sepulchres, were Retreats for the wandering Souls of thoſe, who had had no Burial. This Defect was ſupplied by throwing three Handfuls of Earth upon the Tomb, and calling the Deceaſed by his Name three times. *Æneas* paid this Tribute to the Memory of young *Polydorus*.

Ergo inſtauramus Polydoro funus, & ingens
Aggeritur tumulo tellus. Stant manibus aræ.
Animamque Sepulchro
Condimus, & magna ſupremum voce ciemus.
Æneid 3.

Ovid ſpeaks of theſe Monuments, which looked like Sepulchres.

Et ſæpe in tumulis, ſine corpore, nomina legi.

But nevertheleſs, the Parents and Heirs of the Deceaſed were ſtill at Liberty to gather up his Remains, and carry them to the Place appointed for his Burial, in order to celebrate other Obſequies for him there.

96 The Cuſtom of waſhing, anointing, perfuming, and embalming dead Bodies, paſſed from the *Ægyptians* to the *Perſians* and *Greeks*. The latter tranſmitted it to the *Romans*. This was a neceſſary guard againſt Corruption, eſpecially in the ſouthern Climates, and at a time, when Bodies were kept ſeven Days before they were carried to the Funeral-Pile, according to *Servius*, who obſerves, that they were not burnt till the eighth Day, and that the ninth was ſpent in gathering up the Aſhes. The *Decemviri* forbad the Uſe of ſo much Diſtinction, on account of thoſe who died in Slavery, in order to make a Difference between Freemen, and Slaves, who were alſo buried without any preparatory Ceremonies, and ſoon after their Deaths. The *Roman* Law-givers following *Solon*'s Example, forbad the Feaſts the Relations uſed to make round about the Sepulchres, after the Funeral-Ceremony was over, and in Honour of the *Dii Manes*, or the Deceaſed. A part of the Proviſions was reſerved for the Dead, out of an Opinion, that their Souls were refreſhed with the Smell, and Steam of the Meats. Wine was never ſpared on theſe Occaſions, when every one ſtrived to celebrate the Memory and Praiſes of the Dead, in full Bowls. This burdenſome Profaneneſs was with Reaſon aboliſhed. Superſtition and Vanity had likewiſe introduced a Cuſtom in *Rome*, of throwing exquiſite Perfumes, and precious Liquors, on the Sepulchres, and Funeral-Piles. This Abuſe therefore, which led the Heirs, and Family, into immenſe Expences, was abſolutely forbidden. Only Libations of Wine on the Body were tolerated, though forbidden by *Numa*'s Law. The Law of the *Decemviri* was this. Servilis unctura, omnisque circumpotatio auferitor. Murrata potio ne inditor. The only remaining Queſtion now is, what Liquor is meant by Murrata potio. The Moderns have in vain labour'd to diſcover the Qualities of it. Some ſay it was a Mixture of different Perfumes, which made an exquiſitely rich Drink, and was ſo called from the *Greek* Word μύρον. Others take it to be a Compoſition of *Myrrhe*. Some pretend this Liquor had its Name from a precious Stone called *Murra*. And according to them, this Stone when pulverized was an Aromatick, and gave the Liquor an excellent Tincture, which was very agreeable to the Taſte and Smell. However it were, it is certain this Liquor was very dear, and therefore it was forbidden by the Laws.

97 This Law is mentioned by *Tully* *B.* 2. *de Legib.* Ne longæ coronæ, neve acerræ proferuntor. The *Decemviri* wiſely retrenched thoſe vain Ornaments likewiſe, of Crowns and Garlands, with which it was cuſtomary to adorn the Funeral-Piles, Sepulchres, and Corpſes. They only excepted the Crown, which was to be put on the Head of the Deceaſed. What the Antients called *Acerræ* were likewiſe excluded out of the Funeral-Pomps, whether they were the portable Altars on which they burnt Perfumes, or Pots deſigned for aromatick Fumigations.

Year of *ROME* CCCII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

IX. Law.

98 *If the Deceaſed has merited a Crown in the publick Games, by any Exploit of his own, or the Expertneſs of his Slaves, or the Swiftneſs of his Horſes, let his Panegyrick be made at his Funeral, and let his Relations have leave to put a Crown upon his Head, as well during the ſeven Days he remains in the Houſe, as when he is carried to be buried.*

X. Law.

99 *Let no Man have more than one Funeral made for him, or than one Bed put under him.*

XI. Law.

100 *Let no Gold be uſed in any Obſequies, unleſs the Jaw of the Deceaſed has been tied up with a Gold Thread. In that Caſe the Corps may be interred or burnt, with the Gold Thread.*

XII. Law.

101 *For the future, let no Sepulchre be built, or Funeral-Pile raiſed within ſixty Feet of any Houſe, without the Conſent of the Owner of the Houſe.*

98 This Article of the Laws relating to Funerals runs thus. QUI CORONAM PARIT IPSE, PECUNIA VE EJUS, VIRTUTIS ERGO, ARGUITOR: ET IPSI MORTUO PARENTIBUSQUE EJUS, DUM INTUS POSITUS ESCIT, FORISQUE EFFERTUR, SE FRAUDE ESTO. This was cuſtomary at *Athens*, on account of an Hero who had gained Reputation in Battel, or the publick Games. His Family ſhared the Honours which were paid him. After this Model, the *Romans* made it matter of Duty, to honour with funeral Panegyricks, the Memory of ſuch Perſons, as were famous on their own Accounts, or for their Families. The Crown put upon their Heads was a Mark of Diſtinction, which could not lawfully be refuſed, being ſhewn to their Virtue or their Blood. The *Latin* Word *Pecunia* comprehended under it, Slaves, Horſes, and every Thing in general, which was dependent on the Maſter of the Family. The Senſe of the Law therefore is, that the Dead ſhould be crowned, if in his Life-time he gained the Prize allotted to the Victors in the publick Games, or diſtinguiſhed himſelf in them, either by any Act of his own, or the Services of his Slaves, or the Swiftneſs of his Horſes. The Deceaſed had this Crown on, all the eight Days, which were, according to *Servius*, between the Day of his Deceaſe, and that on which he was carried to the Pile, or to the Place appointed for his Burial. For the Aſhes were not gathered up till the ninth Day. *Horace*, ſays *Porphyry*, one of his Commentators, confirms this Cuſtom, in theſe Verſes of the twelfth Ode, in the Book of *Epodes*,

Nec in ſepulchris pauperum prudens anus
Novemdiales diſſipare pulveres.

The *Nine Days*, ſays the Commentator, which were ſpent in lamenting the Dead, and paying the laſt Duties to him, were called *Feriæ Novennales*. Hence the *Novennal* Sacrifice, which was offered up the *ninth Day* after his Deceaſe. In relation to this, St. *Auſtin* upon *Geneſis* ſays, *Neſcio utrum inveniatur alicui ſanctorum, in ſcripturis, celebratum eſſe luctum novem dies, quod apud Latinos novendial appellant.* Nevertheleſs, *Virgil Æneid* 11. fixes the third Day for the Day of Interment;

Tertia lux cœlo gelidam dimoverat umbram
Mœrentes altum cinerem & confuſa ruebant
Oſſa focis tepidoque onerabant aggere terræ.

99 UNI PLURA FUNERA NE FACITO, NE VE PLURES LECTOS STERNITO, are the Words of this Law. When a Perſon of Diſtinction died in *Rome*, he was carried on a Funeral-Bed, either by thoſe of his own Family, or his Friends, or the Great Men of the Republick, according to his Rank in the State; eſpecially if he had ſignalized himſelf by any great Actions or important Services. The Number of theſe Beds of State ſeems to have been multiplied, before this Law was made, for the greater Pomp and Shew. And this Abuſe continued likewiſe afterwards. Inferior Perſons were carried to the Pile, or Sepulchre, upon a Bier, by Men appointed for that Purpoſe; who were called *Veſpillones*, or *Veſpæ*——*quia* veſpertino *tempore eos efferunt qui funebri pompa duci propter inopiam nequeunt*, ſays *Feſtus*.

100 NEVE AURUM ADDITO. AST SI CUI AURO DENTES VINCTI ESCINT, IM CUM ILLO SEPELIRE URERE VE, SE FRAUDE ESTO. *Cicero* mentions this Law in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*. It forbad golden Ornaments, as an indecent Prodigality in a mournful Solemnity. The *Decemviri* only excepted the String, which was generally uſed to tie up the under Jaw in its natural Situation.

101 ROGUM BUSTUMVE NOVUM ALIENOS ÆDES PROPIUS 60 PEDES, SI DOMINUS NOLET, NE ADJICITO. The *Decemviri* propoſed two Things by this Law. 1. To hinder the Fire of the Funeral-Pile from ſetting fire to the Neighbourhood. And 2dly, To guard the neighbouring Houſes from being infected by the bad Air, and Corruption, which came from the Bodies. For this Reaſon, the erecting Piles, or interring the Dead, within the City, was, generally ſpeaking, forbidden. This Privilege was ſeldom granted to any, and only as a ſingular Mark of Diſtinction. Nevertheleſs, with the Conſent of the Owner of any Houſe, the Pile or Burial-Place might be fixed within ſixty Feet of it. In this Caſe, the Place became conſecrated by an Act of Religion, and the Family of the Deceaſed gained a right of burying there ever after, in ſpight of all the Oppoſition the Proprietor of the Houſe could make.

Year of *ROME* CCCII.

Ap. Claudius, *&c.* Decemviri.

XIII. Law.

102 *Preſcription ſhall never be pleaded againſt a Man's right to his burial Place, or the Entrance to it.*

These ten Tables, (the Fragments of which we have collected in different Places, and which we have repreſented partly, as they have been conveyed down to us from Antiquity, and partly in the Form which the *Civilians* have given them, after antient Memoirs,) were received with univerſal Applauſe. The People expected them, as Oracles brought from *Greece*, which were to eſtabliſh one uniform Body of Civil Laws in the Republick. And indeed they were a Summary of the wiſe Principles of natural Equity, and of Maxims proper for the Regulation of a State. The *Decemviri* propoſed them with Confidence to the aſſembled *Curiæ*, and harangued them in this manner. *May the Gods grant, that what we now preſent you*, Romans, *may be equally agreeable and advantageous to the Republick, to you, and to your remoteſt Poſterity. Go, read the Laws we have drawn up. We have uſed all the Care and Attention that ten Men could do, equally to ſecure the Rights of Great and Small. But after all, a whole Nation muſt ſee farther than any ten private Perſons. Examine our Laws therefore in private, make them Matter of publick Converſation, confer upon them among your ſelves, and conſult with one another, what ought to be taken away from them, and what may be added to them. Nothing of all that we have drawn up ſhall have the Force of a Law, till it be received with univerſal Conſent. Be you*, Romans, *be you rather the Authors, than barely the Approvers of Laws, which are to eſtabliſh Order and Regularity, and to be the main Foundation of the Happineſs of both Senate and People.*

Livy B. 3. *c.* 34.

102 Fori bustive æterna auctoritas esto, are the Words of this Law. It was with a Right of Burial, as with the Property of Lands ſituated in tributary Provinces, or poſſeſſed by Foreigners. The *Roman* Laws would never allow Preſcription to be pleaded againſt either. A piece of Ground, when once ſet apart for the Burial of the Dead, was ſacred ever after, and could never be converted to prophane Uſes again. It was a perpetual Inheritance to the Family to whom it was once given; and Religion would never admit of any Alienation. He that dared to invade ſuch ſacred Ground, demoliſh Sepulchres, or diſturb the Aſhes of the Dead, was thought guilty of an enormous Crime; and the Proprietor had always a Power of claiming a Poſſeſſion, which belonged to him by a ſort of divine Right. This Law was founded, ſays *Tully*, upon the moſt refined Sentiments of Nature, which will not permit the Living to uſurp from the Dead the only *Aſylum* they can enjoy. *Solon* gave Sanction to this religious Regard for Sepulchres at *Athens*. So that it was not lawful to build on Burying-Ground, or live upon it, unleſs the Deceaſed had laid this Obligation upon ſome of thoſe who were mentioned in his Will. It ſometimes happened, that the Teſtator bequeathed ſomething to one of his *Freed-men*, upon Condition that he ſhould always live there, and guard his Sepulchre. This was a Duty of Gratitude and Fidelity, which the Benefactor pretty often inſiſted on. *Ulpian*, *B.* 18. gives us a Copy of a Will which had ſuch a Clauſe in it. *Cibaria per fidei commiſſum dederat, & ita adjecerat, quos liberos meos, ubi corpus poſitum fuerit, ibi eos morari jubeo, ut per abſentiam filiarum mearum, ad ſarcophagum meum memoriam quotannis celebrent.* We alſo read in the ſame Author, *B.* 71. *Titio centum relicta ſunt, ita ut a monumento non recedat.* It was not contrary to the Laws, for People to hide themſelves in the Sepulchres, as the Chriſtians did to avoid Perſecution, or for the ſake of Solitude. For this was not acting contrary to the Will of the Law-giver, who only forbad Uſurpation, and unlawful Poſſeſſion. By the ſame Law, none could bury in another's Sepulchre, without the Conſent of the Proprietor. The Burying-Grounds were always excepted in the Conveyances of Lands. To prevent all manner of Evaſion and Diſpute, this Clauſe was ſometimes added. *Si quid ſacri, vel religioſi, vel publici eſt, ejus nihil venit.* In Conſequence of which, ſays *Ulpian*, *B.* 72. *Senatusconſulto cautum erat, ne uſus ſepulchrorum permutationibus pollueretur, hoc eſt ne monumentum veniret, neque obligaretur diſtrahereturve a quoquam.* In an antient Inſcription, the Prohibition of alienating a Burial-Place is expreſly mentioned. *Hoc autem monumentum cum ædificio, neque veniet, neque donabitur, neque pignori obligabitur, ſed nec ullo modo alienabitur, ne de nomine exeat familiæ.* Leſt the conſecrated Ground ſhould be miſtaken, or confounded with the prophane, care was taken to engrave the Length and Breadth of it, as in this Inſcription,

L. ÆMILII L. F.
IN FRON. PED.
XIIX. IN. AGR.
PED. XX.

That is, L. Æmilius's *Burial-place was eighteen Foot in Front, and twenty in Length.* By the Front is meant that ſide which faced the Highway.

Before we conclude this Article, it is neceſſary to obſerve, that by the Words *Fori Buſtive* in this Law, the *Decemviri* meant, according to *Hottoman*, both the Porch or Entrance into the Sepulchre, and the Place where the Body had been burnt. *Quod autem forum, id eſt veſtibulum ſepulchri, buſtumve uſu capi vetat, tuetur jus ſepulchrorum*—*Cicero*, *B.* 2. *de Legib.*

This

Year of ROME CCCII.

AP. CLAUDIUS, *&c.* Decemviri. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 681. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 34.

THIS Diſcourſe was heard by the Aſſembly with very great Pleaſure. The *Decemviri* appeared in the Eyes of the People, like ſo many beneficent Divinities come down from Heaven, to make the *Romans* forget their former Diviſions. The *Tribunes* ſeemed no longer neceſſary to defend the Weak from the Violence of the Strong. All thought themſelves ſufficiently ſecure under the Protection of the Laws. They were firſt cut on Planks [103] of Oak; and then every one was well received by the *Decemviri*, who came to ſtart any Difficulties about them. They changed, reformed, added to, and took from them: In a Word, they were careful that every thing ſhould be agreeable to the Multitude. Among the *Decemviri*, *Appius Claudius* acted the principal Part, and was firſt in the Eſteem of the People. They conſidered him as the principal Author of the Happineſs they enjoyed. Inſomuch, that the ambitious *Decemvir* had Thoughts of making Uſe of his Popularity, as a Means to uſurp a tyrannical Power over thoſe very *Romans*, whoſe Hearts were already captivated to him. After the ten Tables had continued fixed up a pretty while in the *Forum*, that all Men might paſs their Cenſures upon them, and offer what Corrections they had to make in them, the Senate was aſſembled to deliberate about them. It is eaſy to imagine that they met with no Oppoſition there. A Decree of the Senate confirmed them, and deferred it to the People to give them the laſt Sanction. Nothing therefore was now talked on but eſtabliſhing them in *Comitia by Centuries:* Which was the very Opportunity *Appius Claudius* choſe to continue the Government of the *Decemviri* another Year, and to place himſelf at the Head of the Republick, under the Name of Chief of the *Decemviri.* He artfully cauſed a Report to be ſpread, that the Body of Laws was imperfect, and that two more Tables were yet wanting, to compoſe which, required all the Care and Authority of ten Men, like thoſe, whoſe Government had been ſo agreeable to the Republick: And this was a Seed then ſown by the induſtrious *Decemvir*, and of which he reaped the Fruits, in their Seaſon. All Minds were ſo diſpoſed as to favour *Claudius*'s Deſires. *Comitia* were appointed on the third Market-Day, for the Acceptance of the Laws. The *Decemviri* made the Aſſembly as ſolemn as poſſible. The ſeveral *Claſſes* of the *Roman* People were called together in the *Campus Martius.* The *Pontifices* and *Augurs* were preſent. Sacrifices were offered up to the Gods in the manner King *Servius Tullius* appointed; and then the People went into their ſeveral Voting-places to give their Suffrages. *Rome* had never ſeen a more regular and orderly Aſſembly; nor one more unanimous. So that the Laws, when thus legally and formally confirmed, were tranſcribed upon Pillars of Braſs, ranged in Order in the *Forum*, and were the Foundation of all judicial Determinations, as well with Regard to publick as private Affairs.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

IN the mean time, the Year appointed for the *Decemviri* to be ſupreme Governors of the Republick drew very near its Concluſion. But both Nobility and People deſired the Power of the *Decemviri* might be prolonged, though with different Views. The People diſliked the *Conſuls*, and did not lament the Loſs of their own *Tribunes.* The Liberty they had of getting the Judgment of one *Decemvir* rectified by another, was equivalent to the Protection they received from the *Tribunes.* As for the *Patricians*, they found themſelves eaſed of a Yoke which the *Tribunes* laid upon them; and their Body, inſtead of chooſing two Heads with a very limited Authority, now annually ſupplied the Republick with ten Governors, whoſe Power was ſupreme and independent. So that when it was propoſed to the Senate, to continue the Government of the *Decemviri* in *Rome* another Year, this Motion prevailed againſt that of re-eſtabliſhing the *Conſuls.* The Reaſons publickly given for this Decree, were that it was neceſſary to finiſh what was to be added to the ten Tables, and get it eſtabliſhed. The private Motives of the moſt conſiderable Senators were, that they might procure themſelves a Place among the ten Magiſtrates which were going to be elected. And

[103] The *Decemviri* divided this Collection of Laws into ten Parts, which were cut after the manner of the *Athenians*, on Tables of Wood, and not of Ivory, as *Pomponius* affirms. Yet we read in one Copy of *Florentius*, *Eboreas Tabulas.* Perhaps the Copyiſt miſtook, and read *Eboreas*, inſtead of *Roboreas.* However, it's certain Ivory was not common at *Rome.* It is asked, whence it could be brought thither, at a Time when the Commerce of the *Romans* did not extend beyond the neighbouring Countries. Beſides, the Magiſtrates firſt propoſed the ten Tables only as a Sketch, which they ſubmitted to the Cenſures of the *Roman* People. And it is not probable that ſo rare, and conſequently ſo valuable Materials, as Ivory then was at *Rome*, ſhould be uſed in a rough Draught, which was liable to Additions and Corrections.

Year of ROME CCCII.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

indeed, Men who valued themſelves for their Gravity and Diſintereſtedneſs, then ſet themſelves to work to ſollicite the *Decemvirate*. Which, if we believe two famous Hiſtorians, was purely out of Love for the publick Good, and to hinder Commiſſions of ſuch Importance from falling into bad Hands. But however that be, never were there more Candidates for any Office than for that of *Decemvir* at this time. Thoſe *Patricians* who were formerly the moſt declared Enemies of the People, and who ſcorned to canvaſs for publick Offices, were now ſeen flattering and careſſing the meaneſt of the Citizens, and debaſing, in order to raiſe themſelves. *Claudius* acted a very ſtrange Part for a Man of his Character. After he had ſhewn ſo much Contempt for Offices, he was conſumed with a ſecret Paſſion, not only for ſome Dominion in the Republick, but for being the ſole Governor of it. By his cringing and mean Behaviour you would have rather taken him for a Candidate for the *Decemvirate*, than for a *Decemvir*. He forgot the Buſineſs of his Office, to give himſelf wholly up to intrigue. He was perpetually ſeen in publick Places, in Company with thoſe old *Tribunes*, whom he knew to be agreeable to the People. By their Means he recommended himſelf to the Citizens. They were continually boaſting of him to the People, as the Source of the preſent Felicity, and the Life of the happy Government of the *Decemviri*. But *Claudius* himſelf, when asked whether he deſired to be continued *Decemvir* for the next Year, affected to diſlike it, and was continually talking of the Uneaſineſſes that attend publick Employments. Nevertheleſs his Collegues ſaw into his Deſigns, and wiſely formed their Judgment of him by his Actions, and not his Words. They perceived that he made an ill uſe of the Regard the People had for him, in order to leſſen the moſt venerable Senators in the Eſteem of the Multitude; that he excluded all Men of known Merit and Steadineſs, from ſtanding at the next Election, juſt as he pleaſed; that he even artfully defamed them; that he inſiſted only on ſome of his own Friends, Men of Genius, or Capacity; and laſtly, that he propoſed to the People to chooſe three at leaſt of the *Decemviri* out of the *Plebeians*. This made *Claudius*'s Collegues ſuſpect him of ambitious Deſigns, and Inſincerity. *It is not for nothing*, ſaid they, *that a* Patrician, *ſo full of Pride, lays himſelf under the Reſtraints of ſo humane and obliging a Behaviour. Men don't leſſen and debaſe themſelves, when they ſincerely intend to lay down an Office, which they complain of, as too heavy a Burden.* Claudius *therefore in reality intends to get himſelf continued in the* Decemvirate, *ſince he ſtill takes ſo much Pains to preſerve his Popularity.* They therefore formed a Deſign of diſappointing him. They did not indeed make uſe of open Force, but they applied themſelves to indirect Means to exclude him from the *Decemvirate*, which was the very Thing that continued him in. The *Comitia* for the Creation of the *Decemviri* drew near; and *Claudius*'s Collegues commiſſioned him, as being the youngeſt, to preſide in them. This they did by Way of Artifice; for the Preſident in theſe Aſſemblies propoſed the Perſons to the People who were fit to be choſen; and it had never yet been known, that any one had nominated himſelf. The skilful *Claudius* accepted the Offer, and turned it to the Advantage of his Ambition. He began with excluding the greateſt Men in the Republick. *Quintius Cincinnatus*, who had formerly gained himſelf ſo much Glory in his *Dictatorſhip*, and made himſelf very famous for his Triumphs, but much more ſo for his Retreat, and Contempt of Honours, was one of the Candidates; but *Claudius* did not propoſe him. Another *Quintius* ſurnamed *Capitolinus* had ſought for the Office, merely out of Love to his Country: And *Claudius* omitted him. Even his own Uncle *Caius Claudius* was rejected by the ambitious Nephew, who was afraid of having any Authority in the new College of *Decemviri*, ſuperior to his own. And at length he propoſed himſelf without Reſerve or Modeſty, and as he had made himſelf Maſter of the Suffrages of the People, he ventured to get himſelf alone continued in the *Decemvirate*, contrary to the Expectations of the Publick. The Men of Honour murmured at it; but he triumphed; and the People applauded him. Of the nine others whom he got joined with him, *Q. Fabius* was the only one who was worthy of the Dignity to which he was raiſed. He had been three times *Conſul*. The five other 104 *Patricians*,

Livy B. 3. *c.* 35.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 681.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 35.

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *Ibid.*

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

Dion. Hal. B. 10. *p.* 682.

104 Of the ten *Decemviri* who entered upon their Office this Year, *Diodorus*, or his Copyiſts, have omitted three, *viz. T. Antonius*, *Cæſo Duilius*, and *Q. Fabius*. The ſame Author has falſely ſubſtituted *Spurius Veturius*, in the room of *Spurius Oppius*. The *Faſti Capitolini* and *Livy* agree in giving *Sergius*, the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. *Diodorus* gives him that of *Caius*. *Dion. Hal.* is the only

cians, whom he got choſen, namely *M. Cornelius*, *M. Sergius*, *L. Minucius*, *T. Antonius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, were Men ſcarce known. To theſe he added three *Plebeians*, *Cæſo Duilius*, *Q. Petilius*, and *Sp. Oppius*. Names ſo little worthy to be known, that we ſhould have omitted them, had not the Rank to which they were raiſed cauſed them to be preſerved in all publick Monuments. Year of *ROME* CCCII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

Of theſe ten Sovereigns appointed, there was, properly ſpeaking, but one who was really ſo. *Appius Claudius* made himſelf ſo compleatly Maſter of his Collegues, and governed them with ſo abſolute a Sway, that it was already foreſeen he would become ſole Monarch in *Rome* the next Year. And indeed, before they began to exerciſe their Office, *Claudius* formed them after his own manner, and inſpired them with his own Sentiments. They had private Meetings among themſelves every Day, wherein they conſulted what Meaſures would be proper to perpetuate themſelves in their Office. Above all Things they thought it neceſſary, and agreed, to keep up a perfect Intelligence among one another, and all to ſpeak the ſame Language. *Appius*, as their Head, directed all their Proceedings, and told them what they were to ſay. From that time they appeared reſerved and myſterious, ſuffered few Perſons to come near them, and had no Intercourſe or Communication with any but thoſe of their own Body. Theſe evident Marks of a Cabal, united by private Intereſt under ſpecious Pretences, made the Senate and People already apprehenſive, that the *Decemviri* for the enſuing Year would behave themſelves very differently from their Predeceſſors. This Confederacy, ſaid ſome, which was firſt formed with ſeeming Views to the publick Good, is in reality nothing elſe but an Aſſociation of ambitious Men; which is the more prejudicial to the State, by how much their Union is more cloſe, and their Separation from the reſt of the Citizens more remarkable. *Livy B.* 3. c. 36.

And the *Romans* plainly appeared not to have been deceived herein, when the Ides of *May* came, and the new *Decemviri* made their firſt Appearance in publick, in the room of their Predeceſſors. The Day the Magiſtrates entered upon the Exerciſe of their Office was held ſacred by the *Romans*. It was ſolemnized by Sacrifices and other Ceremonies of Religion. And to theſe Superſtitions the People added another. They drew Prognoſticks from the Events of this Day, concerning the Year of the new Government. But how great was the Surprize of the *Romans*, when they ſaw each *Decemvir* appear in the *Forum* early in the Morning, with all the Pomp and Train of a King! Each of them had given himſelf twelve *Lictors*, who marched before him with *Axes* and *Faſces*. This Cuſtom had been aboliſhed ever ſince the Time of the *Kings*. The two *Conſuls* had only twelve *Lictors* between them; and they only armed with *Faſces*, and no *Axes*, unleſs when they marched into the Field againſt the Enemy. Theſe ſix Score Guards were therefore a terrible Sight to the City. The People prognoſticated from thence that this would be a Year of Tyranny and Injuſtice. And they were ſoon made ſenſible that their Fears were not groundleſs. It is true the *Decemviri* ſate on different Tribunals for the Adminiſtration of Juſtice, as their Predeceſſors had done; but their Sentences were all concerted by them, even before the Cauſes were heard. Proceſſes were determined by Favour, and not according to Equity and ſtrict Juſtice. Every Tribunal was ſurrounded by young *Patricians*, who were at the Devotion of the Tyrants, in order thereby to ſcreen themſelves in their Debaucheries and unjuſt Proceedings, and to eſcape with Impunity. No Remedy was to be had by appealing from one *Decemvir* to another. He who brought his Cauſe to a ſecond hearing, was worſe uſed by the ſecond Sentence, than he had been by the firſt. Beſides, there were now no *Tribunes* to whom the People might fly for Relief. Theſe Law-givers themſelves broke the Laws they had made; and theſe Revengers of arbitrary Decrees gave Sentence themſelves, merely as their Fancy led them, without Regard to any Rules. Nor were the *Decemviri* leſs cruel, than unjuſt. An inconſiderate Word, an Expreſſion of Concern at the Remembrance of the antient Liberty, a Murmur dropped in the Senate, or the *Forum*, was puniſhed by the Rods, or *Axes* of the *Lictors*. At firſt even the Lives of the moſt illuſtrious Senators were not ſpared. Not one of theſe ten Tyrants had the Year of *ROME* CCCIII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri. *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *Ibid.* *Livy B.* 3. *Ibid.* *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *p.* 683.

only Perſon who leaves this *Marcus Sergius* out of the Number of the *Decemviri*, and puts one *Marcus Servilius* in his room. *Caſſiodorus* has diſfigured the Name and *Prænomen* of *Manius Rabuleius*, whom he calls *Marcus Rubelius*. In *Diodorus* we find Κοΐντος Πόπλιος, by which he means *Q. Petilius*, who has the Surname of *Libo*, in the *Faſti Capitolini*. *Spurius Oppius* is there ſurnamed *Cornicen*, probably from the Profeſſion he was of, before he was raiſed to the *Decemvirate*.

Year of *ROME* CCCIII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

Complaiſance to refer criminal Cauſes to the Tribunal of the People. They exerciſed a ſupreme Authority without any manner of Reſerve. But they afterwards grew more moderate with Reſpect to the Nobility and Great Men. Their Fury vented it ſelf upon the People, eſpecially the meaneſt of the Citizens. All ſorts of Violence and Inhumanity were ſhewn them. They had no Means of avoiding the Perſecution, but to join in their Trains, and ſwell the Number of their Attendants. This indeed was a ſure Way to eſcape with Impunity, though they had been guilty of the greateſt Crimes. So that *Rome* was by this Means filled with Diſſoluteneſs, and there was a great Depravation of Manners among the Citizens. It was one of the Maxims of the new Tyrants not to appoint *Comitia*, or aſſemble the Senate any more. So that the wiſeſt Senators, and moſt conſiderable *Plebeians*, gave Way to the Storm, and retired into the Country for the remaining part of the Year. They hoped the Tempeſt would ceaſe, with the annual Power of the *Decemviri*. But the Surprize of the Publick was exceeding great, when they found the new Maſters of *Rome*, affecting to ſay nothing of *Comitia* for electing new Magiſtrates, when the Time came to ſpeak of it. This was demonſtrating to all Men, that the Deſign of the *Decemviri* was to perpetuate themſelves in their Office. Then the People caſt their Eyes upon the Senate, as their only Refuge. Thoſe *Plebeians* who were formerly ſo mad for the *Terentian* Law, now ſhewed they repented of having, by ſeditious Methods, demanded both new Laws, and new Legiſlators. They ſighed after the Re-eſtabliſhment of the old Adminiſtration; whilſt the *Fathers* laid all the Blame of the preſent Calamities upon the People. They hated their Tyrants; but they took an ill-natured Pleaſure in ſeeing the Populace oppreſſed, and thereby ſharing in the Misfortunes they had occaſioned. They were much delighted to ſee theſe Mutineers, watching their Looks and Motions, in order to diſcover ſome Signs or other, which might give them Hopes of recovering their Liberty. The *Patricians* maliciouſly referred the Citizens to *Claudius*, that Idol which they had ſet up over the Heads of ſo many illuſtrious Defenders of their Country. They even ſharpened their Afflictions, and made their Yoke more heavy. All this was to bring them to love *Conſuls*, whoſe Government they had deſpiſed.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 37.

In the mean time, the Ides of *May*, the Time fixed for the *Comitia by Centuries*, drew very near. And *Rome* was ſurprized to ſee no preliminary Step taken in order to the holding the Aſſembly. But inſtead of new *Decemviri*, the old ones propoſed to the People the two new Tables of Laws which were to be added to the ten former ones. We ſhall here ſtate them, as we have extracted them out of the antient Authors in which they lay diſperſed. But we will not be poſitive that theſe two Tables were the very ſame which were drawn up by the laſt *Decemviri*. We have had nothing to determine us in ſo perplexed a Point, except Conjectures [105], but indeed probable ones.

105 The Foundations of our Conjectures, are theſe. 1. We have, in ſtating the *Decemviral* Laws, followed the Footſteps of the Antients as cloſely as was poſſible. And after ſeveral Enquiries, the ten firſt Tables appear to us to have been propoſed to the *Roman* People, much in the ſame Order in which we have placed them. At leaſt, the Order we have given them, will undeniably appear to be the moſt natural, upon very little Reflection. 2. We have taken the moſt famous of the *Civilians*, for our Guides and Authorities, who made it their Study to digeſt the *Roman* Laws, who gave themſelves the Trouble to trace them up to the Fountain-Head, and to collect the Fragments of them, and place them under different Heads. 3. In the ten firſt Tables, as tranſmitted to us by them, we find nothing relating either to the Worſhip of the Gods, or Marriages. And yet it is not probable that the *Decemviri* ſhould have omitted theſe two eſſential Points, which are in a manner the Bands of Society. This is what all Law-givers have always taken care to make Proviſion for, in order to keep up both Union and Subordination among the different Members of the State. And this therefore gives us room to conjecture, that theſe two Articles were reſerved for the two laſt Tables. And what confirms this Conjecture is, that the eleventh Table contains two Laws, one of which forbids the *Patrician* Families intermarrying with the *Plebeian*. (And *Dion. Hal.* tells us the ſame thing;) and the other, mutilated as it is, manifeſtly relates to the Ceremonies of Religion. It is drawn up in ſuch Terms as leave no room to doubt of it——— Detestatum *ſeu de* sacris detestandis. 4. The Laws we put into the two laſt Tables, are yet in being. *Tully* has preſerved thoſe which relate to Religion; and propoſes them as Laws venerable for their Antiquity, in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*. He indeed expreſſes them in more intelligible Terms, and more agreeably to the Taſte of the Age in which he lived; but he does not alter the Senſe of them. Among theſe Laws of the eleventh and twelfth Tables, the Reader will find ſome which are aſcribed to *Romulus* and *Numa*. The *Decemviri* added them to thoſe they brought from *Greece*, in order to compile a Body of Laws out of both jointly.

Year of *ROME* CCCIII.

Ap. CLAUDIUS, *&c.* Decemviri.

TABLE XI.

Of THE WORSHIP OF THE GODS, AND OF RELIGION.

I. LAW.

106 *Let all Perſons come with Purity and Piety to the Aſſemblies of Religion, and baniſh all Extravagance from thence. If any one does otherwiſe, may the Gods themſelves Revenge it.*

II. LAW.

107 *Let no Perſon have particular Gods of his own; or Worſhip any new and foreign Ones in private, unleſs they are authorized by publick Authority.*

III. LAW.

108 *Let every one enjoy the Temples conſecrated by his Forefathers, the ſacred Groves in his Fields, and the Oratories of his* Lares. *And let every one obſerve the Rites uſed in his own Family, and by his Anceſtors, in the Worſhip of his domeſtick Gods.*

IV. LAW.

109 *Honour the Gods of Heaven, not only thoſe who have always been thought ſuch, but thoſe likewiſe whoſe Merit has raiſed them thither, as* Hercules, Bacchus, Æſculapius, Caſtor, Pollux, *and* Romulus.

106 The following Laws, which relate to Religion, are taken from *Tully*'s ſecond Book *Of Laws*, who probably had taken them from the twelve Tables. The Words of the firſt are theſe. AD DIVOS ADEUNTO, CASTE, PIETATEM ADHIBENTO, OPES AMOVENTO. QUI SECUS FAXIT, DEUS IPSE VINDEX ESTO. In order to obſerve this Law the more ſtrictly, the *Romans* practiſed, I know not, how many ſuperſtitious Precautions, to prepare themſelves for the Ceremonies of Religion. Above all, they took care to waſh themſelves, before they aſſiſted at a Feſtival, or a Sacrifice: As if the Purity the Law required was only a legal Purification. This Purity was, in a particular manner, required of the Prieſts, who would have been guilty of Irreverence, if the leaſt Spot had appeared upon them, or their Ornaments. For this Reaſon, they were obliged to have their ſacerdotal Habits very clean; and nothing that was uſed at the Altars, could be applied to any prophane Uſe. On this Account, the Miniſters, who were dedicated to the Worſhip of the Gods, choſe young Children for the Service of the Temple, and Sacrifices, who were ſet apart for it, till they came to a certain Age. And upon the ſame religious Principle, *Numa* made a Law, whereby he forbad all debauched Women to touch the Altar of *Juno*, the tutelary Goddeſs of Chaſtity, and conjugal Fidelity. And if any diſobeyed this Law, either by Miſtake, or Deſign, ſhe was obliged to expiate her Crime, by coming with her Hair diſhevelled, and offering an Ew-Lamb to the Goddeſs. PELLEX ARAM JUNONIS NE TANGITO. SI TANGET JUNONI CRINIBUS DEMISSIS AGNAM FÆMINAM CÆDITO.

107 This Law in *Latin* runs thus. SEPARATIM NEMO HABESSIT DEOS, SED NE ADVENAS NISI PUBLICE ASCITOS PRIVATIM COLUNTO. It was not lawful to introduce the Worſhip of any ſtrange God into the *Roman* Republick, without an expreſs Decree of the Senate for that Purpoſe. *Vetus eſt decretum*, ſays *Tertullian Apol. c. 5. ne quis Deus ab Imperatore conſecraretur, niſi a Senatu probatus.* This was neceſſary to prevent the Diſorders which ariſe from a multiplicity of Religions.

108 *Cicero* ſtates this Law thus. CONSTRUCTA A PATRIBUS DELUBRA IN URBIBUS HABENTO: LUCOS IN AGRIS HABENTO, ET LARUM SEPES; RITUS FAMILIÆ PATRUMQUE SERVANTO. The *Pagans* formerly conſecrated Woods and Trees. The Grove of *Egeria*, the Grove of the *Muſes*, the Groves of *Diana*, *Mars*, &c. were famous among the *Romans*, for the Worſhip paid there, to theſe pretended Deities. Private Perſons alſo made it Matter of religious Duty, to have ſacred Groves at their Country-Houſes, where the Family met, on certain Days, to offer Sacrifices, in Honour of the tutelary God they worſhiped there.

109 *Tully* ſtates this Law, in his ſecond Book *de Legibus*, in this manner. DIVOS, ET OLLOS, QUI COELESTES SEMPER HABITI COLUNTO, ET OLLOS QUOS ENDO COELO MERITA VOCAVERINT, HERCULEM, LIBERUM, ÆSCULAPIUM, CASTOREM, POLLUCEM, QUIRINUM. *Jupiter*, *Mars*, *Neptune*, *Apollo*, *Mercury*, *Vulcan*, *Juno*, *Veſta*, *Diana*, *Minerva*, *Venus*, and *Ceres*, were Divinities of the firſt Rank among the *Pagans*. Theſe held the firſt Rank among thoſe, whom they called *Dii Majorum Gentium*, to diſtinguiſh them from the Demi-Gods, who were called *Dii Minorum Gentium*. Such were *Bacchus*, *Æſculapius*, *Hercules*, *Caſtor*, *Pollux*, and *Quirinus*.

Year of *ROME* CCCIII.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

V. Law.

110 *Let thoſe commendable Qualities, by which Heroes obtained Heaven, be ranked among the Gods, as Underſtanding, Virtue, Piety, Fidelity; and let Temples be erected to them. But let no Worſhip ever be paid to any Vice.*

VI. Law.

111 *Let the moſt authorized Ceremonies be obſerved.*

VII. Law.

112 *Let Law-Suits be ſuſpended on Feſtivals; and let the Slaves have leave to celebrate them, after they have done their Work. That it may be known on what Days they fall, let them be ſet down in the Calendars.*

VIII. Law.

113 *Let the Prieſts offer up in Sacrifice to the Gods, on certain Days, the Fruits of the Earth, and Berries: And on other Days, Abundance of Milk, and young Victims. For fear this Ceremony ſhould be omitted, the Prieſts ſhall end their Year with it. Let them likewiſe take Care to chooſe for every God, the Victim he likes. Let there be* Prieſts *appointed for ſome Gods,* Flamines *for others, and* Pontifices *to preſide over them all.*

IX. Law.

114 *Let no Women be preſent at the Sacrifices which are offered up in the Night, except at thoſe which are made for the People, with the uſual Ceremonies. Nor let any one be initiated in any Myſteries brought from* Greece, *but thoſe of* Ceres.

X. Law.

115 *If any one ſteals what belongs, or is devoted to the Gods, let him be puniſhed as a Parricide.*

110 This Law runs thus. AST OLLA PROPTER QUÆ DATUR HOMINI ASCENSUS IN COELUM, MENTEM, VIRTUTEM, PIETATEM, FIDEM, EARUMQUE LAUDUM DELUBRA SUNTO, NEC ULLA VITIORUM SACRA SOLEMNIA SUNTO. The Deſign of this Law was to make Virtue venerable, by deifying it, or rather by honouring the ſupreme God, in his Attributes. But the *Pagans* afterwards exceeded the Bounds preſcribed by this Law. We ſhall find the *Romans* erecting Altars, in times of Corruption, to infamous Divinities, and even conſecrating the Objects of the moſt extravagant Paſſions.

111 EX PATRIIS RITIBUS OPTIMA COLUNTO, are the *Latin* Terms of this Law. By it, the Lawgivers took care to maintain Uniformity and Subordination in the Republick, in Things relating to Religion, and the Worſhip of the Gods.

112 *Cicero* gives us this Law in theſe Words. FERIIS JURGIA AMOVENTO, EAS QUE IN FAMULIS, OPERIBUS PATRATIS HABENTO. ITAQUE UT CADANT IN ANNUIS ANFRACTIBUS DESCRIPTUM ESTO. Slaves had their Feſtivals, as the *Compitalia*, and the *Saturnalia*. On theſe Days eſpecially, they were free from their ordinary Drudgeries. The Tribunals of Juſtice were then to be ſhut up, and that none might be ignorant of theſe ſolemn Days, they were at firſt proclaimed by a publick Cryer. Afterwards they were ſet down in the Calendar, on the Days of the Month appointed for the Celebration of them.

113 CERTAS FRUGES, CERTASQUE BACCAS SACERDOTES PUBLICE LIBANTO. HOC CERTIS SACRIFICIIS ATQUE DIEBUS. ITEMQUE ALIOS AD DIES, UBERTATEM LACTIS FÆTURÆQUE SERVANTO. ID QUOD NE COMMITTI POSSIT, AD EAM REM RATIONE CURSUS ANNUUS FINIUNTO. QUÆQUE QUOIQUE DIVO DECORÆ GRATÆQUE SINT HOSTIÆ, PROVIDENTOR. DIVISQUE ALIIS SACERDOTES, OMNIBUS PONTIFICES, SINGULIS FLAMINES SUNTO. All the Parts of this Law we find in *Tully*. The Sacrifices appointed by it were a Homage paid the Gods, as the Authors of all good Things upon Earth. Each had his particular Offerings and Victims, according to the Quality under which he was worſhip'd.

114 NOCTURNA MULIERUM SACRIFICIA NE SUNTO. PRÆTER OLLA QUÆ PRO POPULO RECTE FIENT. NEVE INITIANTOR NISI UT ASSOLET, CERERI, GRÆCO SACRO. This Law provides for the Preſervation of the Reſervedneſs and Modeſty of Women, by excluding them from all nocturnal Ceremonies. *Paganiſm* had its Myſteries, which were known only to the Prieſts and *Pontifices*. We ſhall make a particular Enquiry into them, when we come, as Occaſion offers, to ſpeak of the Feſtivals of the *Pagans*, and particularly of thoſe, which were celebrated in Honour to *Ceres*.

115 SACRUM SACROVE COMMENDATUM, QUI CLEPSERIT, RAPSERITVE, PARRICIDA ESTO. That is to ſay, *Let the ſame Puniſhment be inflicted on Sacrilege, as on Parricide.*

XI. Law.

Year of *ROME* CCCIII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

XI. Law.

116 *Let Perjury be puniſhed with Death by the Gods, and with perpetual Diſgrace by Men.*

XII. Law.

117 *Let the* Pontifices *puniſh Inceſt with Death.*

XIII. Law.

118 *Let every one ſtrictly perform his Vows: But let no wicked Perſon dare to make any Offerings to the Gods.*

XIV. Law.

119 *Let no Man dedicate his Field to the Service of the Altar; and let him be diſcreet in his Offerings of Gold, Silver, or Ivory. Let no Man dedicate a litigated Eſtate to the Gods: If he does, he ſhall pay double the Value of it to him, whoſe Right it ſhall appear to be.*

XV. Law.

120 *Let every Man conſtantly and perpetually obſerve his Family-Feſtivals.*

116 PERJURII POENA DIVINA EXITIUM, HUMANA DEDECUS. We have already obſerved how much the *Romans* abhorred Perjury, and ſhall have Occaſion to ſpeak of it again. The Law refers the Puniſhment of it to the Gods, becauſe they are directly attacked by it.

117 INCESTUM PONTIFICES SUPREMO SUPPLICIO SANCIUNTO. *Seneca* tells us, ſuch Perſons were thrown down from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock. This Law ſeems to ſhew, that the Cognizance of Adultery and Inceſt was reſerved to the College of the *Pontifices*. Yet Hiſtory gives us no Inſtances of it; unleſs in the Caſe of the *Veſtals*, whoſe Incontinence was puniſhed with Death, by Order of the *Pontifex Maximus*.

118 IMPIUS NE AUDETO PLACARE DONIS IRAM DEORUM. CAUTE VOTA REDDUNTO. Even in the Darkneſs of *Paganiſm*, natural Religion alone was ſufficient to convince Idolaters, that Purity of Heart was the moſt meritorious part of the Offerings they brought to the Altar. They then had the ſame Opinion of the indiſpenſible Obligation of Vows, as we now have.

119 NE QUIS AGRUM CONSECRATO. AURI, ARGENTI, EBORIS SACRANDI MODUS ESTO. SI QUI REM DE QUA STLIS SIET, IN SACRUM DEDICASSIT, DUPLIONE DECIDITO. As ſoon as a piece of Land was once dedicated to any Divinity, or religious Uſe, the Owner loſt all the Produce, and Advantage of it: Becauſe, according to the Laws of the *Pontifices*, the Conſecration of it gave the Gods an unalienable Right and Title to it. The Grant could not be annulled by the *Pontifices* themſelves, eſpecially if made with the uſual Formalities. To prevent therefore the Abuſe of theſe indiſcreet Conſecrations, which deprived the Heir of an Eſtate which legally belonged to him, this Law abſolutely forbids them: Except in certain Caſes, in which the Magiſtrate had a Right of confiſcating a Man's whole Eſtate, and applying it to religious Uſes. Thus *Claudius* conſecrated *Tully*'s Houſe, by dint of Authority. In like manner, it was common enough to confiſcate the Eſtate of a Man, who had been condemned at the Tribunal of the People, and to apply it to the Support of the Temples of *Ceres*, or the defraying the Expences of her Sacrifices. Moreover, this Law does likewiſe as ſtrongly forbid the conſecrating any litigated Goods. Such Dedications were diſhonourable to the Gods, and injurious to the adverſe Party. And therefore the Law-givers enacted, that in caſe of any ſuch Conſecration, the Perſon who was deprived of his Right, ſhould have double the Value of it given him. The ſame Law does likewiſe ſet Bounds to Gifts and Offerings, which were ſometimes too profuſely made, and much to the Injury of the lawful Heirs.

120 SACRA PRIVATA PERPETUA MANENTO. That theſe Feſtivals might be perpetuated in Families, without any Interruption, the *Pontifical* Law tranſmitted the Obligation of celebrating them from the Father to the Children, or the chief Heir; ſo that he who had the greateſt Share in the Inheritance, was obliged to bear all the Expences of theſe indiſpenſable Duties of Religion, for the whole Family. Hence the Expreſſion, *Sine ſacris hæreditas*, to ſignify *an Inheritance free from all Burdens*. This is the meaning of that Line in *Plautus*, *Sine ſacris hæreditatem ſum adeptus effertiſſimam*. But if the Heir of the Deceaſed did not faithfully diſcharge this Duty, which he laid upon himſelf, by taking Poſſeſſion of the Goods which fell to him, the Perſons concerned never failed to cite him before the *Comitia*. There he was required, to defray out of his own Pocket, the Expences of the Sacrifices and Feſtivals, which were uſually celebrated in his Family. And in caſe he perſiſted in refuſing to do it, he was declared deprived of the Goods he had inherited. Nevertheleſs, as it often happened, that by the centering of ſeveral Inheritances in one Man, his Expences, on Account of theſe religious Duties, were very great, the covetous Heir, who had a Mind to enjoy all the Sweets of the Inheritance, without the Burdens of it, found Means to elude the Law. In order to get rid of this troubleſome Yoke, he, by a feigned Conveyance, transferred all his Rights and Obligations to ſome decrepid old Man, who had no Heirs. This latter, who had no real Title, became by the falſe one, ſolely accountable, and for a Sum of Money, took upon himſelf the Obligation of defraying the ſettled Expences of theſe Feſtivals and Sacrifices. So that when the old Man died, theſe Obligations died with him, and the Heir was freed from all Incumbrances.

XVI. Law.

Year of *ROME* CCCIII.

Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

XVI. Law.

121 *Let him who has been guilty of any of those Faults, which make Men execrable, and are not to be attoned for, by Expiations, be deemed impious. But let the Priests expiate such, as are to be expiated.*

TABLE XII.

Of Marriages, and the Right of Husbands.

I. Law.

122 *When a Woman shall have cohabited with a Man for a whole Year, without having been three Nights absent from him, let her be deemed his Wife.*

II. Law.

123 *If a Man catches his Wife in Adultery, or finds her Drunk, he may punish her even with Death, after he has consulted with her Relations about it.*

III. Law.

124 *When a Man will put away his Wife, the Form of doing it shall be by taking from her the Keys of the House, and giving her what she brought. This shall be the manner of a Divorce.*

IV. Law.

121 SACRUM COMMISSUM QUOD NEQUE EXPIARI POTERIT, IMPIE COMMISSUM ESTO: QUOD EXPIARI POTERIT, PUBLICI SACERDOTES EXPIANTO. That is to say, *A premeditated Crime could not be expiated by the Blood of Victims, because it implied a formal Contempt of the Worship of the Gods.* It therefore was the guilty Person's Business to repair the Injury he had done Religion by Repentance, and an authentick Satisfaction; if after all, such a Reparation was capable of moving those capricious Divinities, which were often represented by the *Pagans* as inexorable, and under frightful Characters. But this was not the Case of Offences inadvertently committed; as in case the *Prætor* had inadvertently, on any other than Court-days, pronounced either of the three Words, Do, Dico, Addico, which was the common Form used by this Magistrate, in passing Sentence. In this Case, in order to expiate his Fault, the Anger of the Gods was to be appeased, by offering up a Victim. *Quod si prudens id verbum emisit*, says *Varro*, *aut quem manu misit, ille nihilominus est liber, sed vitio ut magistratus. Prætor qui tum factus est, imprudens fecit, piaculari facta hostia piatur. Si prudens dixit, Quintus Mutius haud ambigebat, eum expiari ut impium posse.*

122 This Law is quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 3. *c.* 2. and by *Macrobius Saturnal. B.* 1. *c.* 3. The *Civilians* state it as follows. MULIERIS QUÆ ANNUM MATRIMONII ERGO, APUD VIRUM REMANSIT, NI TRI NOCTIUM AB EO, USURPANDI ERGO, ABESCIT, USUS ESTO, i. e. *Let a Man be absolute Master of a Woman, who has cohabited with him for the Space of one Year, provided that, in all this time, she has not been absent from him three Nights.* She then became his Wife, yet not in such a manner, as to be a Sharer in the Husband's Goods, or to have a Right to his Inheritance. So that this was being in a Condition much below that of a lawful Wife: By which we mean, one whose Marriage was solemnized with the usual Ceremonies. These we have already spoken of *p.* 28.

123 UXOREM ADULTERAM TEMULENTAMVE, CUM PROPINQUIS CAUSA COGNITA, MARITO PUNIENDO OCCIDENDIVE JUS, POTESTASQUE ESTO. This Law, which is ascribed to *Romulus*, is placed among the Laws of the twelve Tables. We have already given an Account of it *Page* 29. *Note* 102.

124 The *Civilians* state this Law thus. SI CONJUX CONJUGI NUNTIUM MITTAT, CLAVIM ADIMAT, EAMQUE SIBI RES HABERE JUBEAT, DIVORTIUM ESTO. It was partly borrowed from the *Athenians*, and partly from the Law established by *Romulus*. At *Athens*, Men might divorce their Wives, or Women their Husbands, for just Causes, and with this Proviso, that the Person injured should appear before the *Archon*, and acquaint him with the Reasons of the Divorce. In this manner, the Wife of *Alcibiades* went before the Magistrate, to give him an Account of her Husband's Unfaithfulness, and of the other Complaints she had against him. Among the *Romans*, from the very time of *Romulus*, the Husband had a Power to put away his Wife, after she had been convicted of poisoning his Children, of having been unfaithful to his Bed; and we may add, of having drunk Wine; since for this alone, the Husband might, by another Law of *Romulus*, condemn her to die, with the Consent of her Relations, who were joint-Judges with him of the Heinousness of the Offence. An Husband, adds *Plutarch*, who divorced his Wife, unless for one of these three Causes, was to be deprived of all he had. One half of which was forfeited to the Wife, and the other consecrated to *Ceres*. And he himself was *devoted to the infernal Gods*, or thought worthy of Death. This Law the *Decemviri* confirmed, at least in part, and Debauchery took Advantage of it, in the latter Ages of the Republick. People were not ashamed to sacrifice their conjugal Fidelity to unlawful Amours. It will also appear, in

IV. Law.

125 *A Child born of a Widow, in the tenth Month after the Deceaſe of her Husband ſhall be deemed Legitimate.*

Year of *ROME* CCCIII. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri.

V. Law.

126 *It ſhall not be lawful for the* Patricians *to intermarry with the* Plebeians.

§. VI. Such were probably the two new Tables, which the *Decemviri* for this Year added to the former ones. Theſe made up the Number of the *Twelve Tables* ſo much boaſted of, which the *Romans* preſerved ever after, as a ſacred *Depoſitum*. Notwithſtanding the Hatred the Publick had for theſe laſt *Decemviri*, they found little to object to their Laws. The laſt only, which forbad the *Patricians* to marry with *Plebeians*, ſeemed an artful Invention of the Tyrants. *They are afraid*, ſaid ſome, *that the People and the Nobility will unite together, by forming mutual Alliances. And their Aim is to keep us always divided, that they may reign with the more Security.* Indeed the ſo much deſired *Ides* of *May* were already paſſed, and the ſame *Decemviri* illegally continued to govern the Republick. This was a manifeſt Uſurpation. All good Citizens groaned under it, but they in vain lamented the Loſs of the old Republican Government. The young Nobility in *Rome*, who were ſo formidable in the domeſtick Commotions, declared themſelves openly for the *Decemviri*, whilſt the Tyrants gave them all manner of Power to vex the People. Theſe young Debauchees dragged the rich Citizens to the Tribunals of the *Decemviri*, and as a Reward for their Calamities, got the confiſcated Eſtates of the Accuſed to themſelves. So that the Licentiouſneſs they enjoyed, was more alluring to them, than the publick Liberty. And with this Aſſiſtance, the *Decemviri* were no longer afraid of reigning contrary to the Laws. They continued to appear guarded by their *Lictors*, and employed their *Axes* and *Faſces*, in arbitrary Puniſhments. The Slavery was ſenſibly great; but no Revenger of the Oppreſſions of the Publick yet appeared. Violences and vexatious Proſecutions, having exhauſted the People, were now turned with greater Fury againſt the *Senators* and *Patricians*. *Rome* was like a City taken by Aſſault, wherein no Quarter is given. On the one Hand, the Goods of the moſt wealthy Magiſtrates were taken from them, though depoſited in the Sanctuaries; on the other, Violence was offered to their Wives and Daughters. If they reſiſted they were beaten, and puniſhed with the ſame Severity as Slaves. In ſhort, the Diſ-

Year of *ROME* CCCIV. Ap. Claudius, &c. Decemviri. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 38.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 686.

in the Courſe of this Hiſtory, that the Women likewiſe aſſumed a Power of diſſolving their Marriages. The Forms uſed by the Husband, in his Wife's Preſence, or which he ſent to her by one of his *Freed-men*, before a certain Number of Witneſſes, were much ſuch as theſe. Thoro meo divorte, tibique res tuas habeto. *Apul. B.* 5. *de Aſi.*——Valeas, tibi habeas res tuas, reddas meas. *Amphitr. Act.* 3. *Sc.* 2. Uxor vade foras. *Martial. Epiſt.* 105. *B.* 11. *Juvenal* in his ſixth Satyr expreſſes this Form thus,

Collige sarcinulas, *dicet libertus*, et exi.

When the Wife was once diſmiſſed, ſhe returned the Keys of the Houſe to her Husband, or the Perſon who demanded them in his Name. By this Act of Renunciation, which put the finiſhing Stroke to the Rupture, ſhe put an end to all her Inſpection over his domeſtick Affairs, and returned under the Tuition of her Relations. *Tully* in his *ſecond Philippick*, tells us, *Antony* proceeded in this manner, when he put away the Actreſs, who lived with him as his Wife. *Frugi factus eſt, mimam illam ſuam ſibi res habere dixit, ex duodecim Tabulis claves ademit, exegit.* But *Paul* the *Civilian* obſerves, that if the Woman had not given Cauſe for the Divorce, by her ill Conduct, ſhe had a Right to demand the Reſtitution of her whole Fortune; whereas, if ſhe had, ſhe could have but half of it. The other half belonged to the Husband and Children. Which agrees with this Paſſage in *Cicero*'s *Topicks*, *Si viri culpâ factum eſt divortium, pro liberis manere nihil oportet.* As the Marriage-Contract was entered into by the Ceremony of *Confarreation*, as we have obſerved *Page* 28. *Note* 100; ſo this mutual Separation of Perſons and Eſtates, was often called *Diffarreatio*.

125 This Law of the twelve Tables, is quoted by *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 3. *c.* 16. In decimo mense, legitimus infans nascitor, et etiam posthumus in familia sua hæres esto. But the Phyſicians have had Reaſon to condemn the *Decemviri* in this particular. A thouſand Inſtances reported in every Age by cotemporary Authors, evidently prove, that they confined the Time for the Delivery of the Women to too narrow Bounds. And what *Aulus Gellius* reports, after *Pliny* the Naturaliſt, is a Proof, that this Law was not invariably obſerved, even in *Rome* it ſelf. *Maſſurius Auctor eſt L. Papirium Prætorem, ſecundo hærede lege agente, bonorum poſſeſſionem contra eum dediſſe, cum mater partum ſe tredecim menſibus tuliſſe diceret, quoniam miſſum certum tempus pariendi ei videretur. Plin. B.* 7.

126 Patribus cum plebe connubia ne sunto. *Livy* mentions this Law *B.* 4 and *Dion. Hal. B.* 10. *Canuleius* exclaimed vehemently againſt this Cuſtom, which was at laſt aboliſhed, at the Requeſt of this *Tribune of the People*, as will appear hereafter.

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orders of *Rome* were carried to ſuch a height, that the few Men of Conduct and Sobriety, who were there, were forced to go and ſeek a Retreat in the neighbouring Cities. The Country of the *Hernici*, and of the *Latins*, who were Allies of the *Romans*, and enjoyed the Right of Citizenſhip, were ſoon filled with the moſt illuſtrious Families of *Rome*. Scarce any Body was left in the City, but the Partizans of the *Decemviri*. Upon this, they, and the Youth who favoured them, triumphed. They were highly delighted, to ſee themſelves freed from theſe Witneſſes of their Incontinence, and Cenſurers of their Robberies.

§. VII. It was not poſſible but the Diviſions of the Republick, and the Condition to which it was reduced, muſt come to the Knowledge of its Enemies; and the *Æqui* and *Sabines* thought they might make their Advantage of it. They then conceived Hopes of revenging themſelves upon *Rome*, and recovering what ſhe had taken from them. The *Sabines* eſpecially, were vexed to ſee themſelves ill-uſed by Men, who had not been able to preſerve their own Liberty. They firſt took the Field. The *Roman* Territory lay expoſed to the Plunder of the Enemy, on the ſide of *Sabinia*. The *Sabines* choſe *Eretum* [127] for their Place of Arms, and carried thither all the Spoil they had taken in the Country. From thence they ſeem to have come, and encamped at *Regillum*, pretty near the *Tyber*, at a hundred and forty *Stadia* Diſtance from *Rome*. They depended upon the Diviſions of the *Romans*, and promiſed themſelves, that the *Roman* Levies would be obſtructed, by the Miſunderſtandings in the City. In the mean time, nothing was ſeen at *Rome* but *Peaſants*, who fled from the Neighbourhoood of *Sabinia*, to ſeek for Refuge in the *Capitol*. This unexpected News filled the *Decemviri* with Terror. Theſe Tyrants had neither the Senators, nor the People for them. Being therefore to hold a Conſultation among themſelves, they admitted none to the Council, but thoſe of their own Faction. They were deliberating together, when they received a ſecond piece of News, which gave them more Diſturbance than the former. The *Æqui* were entered into the Territory of the *Tuſculans* their Neighbours, and were encamped, as uſual, near the *Algidus*. Theſe good Allies of *Rome* could not poſſibly, on any Account, be denied the Succours they demanded. So that the Reſult of the Conſultations of the *Decemviri* was, that it was neceſſary to prevent the Enemy on both ſides, and hinder them from entering the Territory of *Rome*. But if the Reſolution was wiſe, the Execution of it had its Difficulties. Could it be by any Means convenient, to order general Levies to be made, when the City was diſſatisfied with its Governors? Could it be proper to make Uſe of Severity, as had been done under the *Kings*, and ſome of the *Conſuls*, to force the Citizens to march into the Field? Was it not expedient, to engage the *Romans* by gentle Methods, to aſſiſt their Country in her Diſtreſs? But beſides this, there was another Difficulty upon the Uſurpers. Had they a Right to make Levies in their own Names, or could they expect to find the People tractable enough to obey them? In Concluſion, the Part they at laſt choſe, was to aſſemble the Senate, in order to get them to interpoſe their Authority, and command Troops to be raiſed, by a Decree. This was indeed running a great Hazard; for what could they expect from the provoked Senators, but Decrees againſt an illegal Government? Was not the aſſembling the Senate opening a Way for them to force the *Decemviri* to lay down their Offices? Nevertheleſs the new Tyrants overlooked all theſe Conſiderations. They thought they ſhould prove ſtronger than the Senate after all. And in order thereto, they ſuborned their Friends to make Head againſt the Senators of the oppoſite Faction. The People were ſurprized to hear the Senators ordered to aſſemble by an Herald, in the *Forum*. The Thing ſeemed new, for the Senate had not been aſſembled for a great while. *Thanks to the Enemies of our Country*, ſaid the People of *Rome*, *for the Appearance of this ſingle Spark of our*

Liv. B. 3. Ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 687. Liv. B. 3. Ibid.

147 We have already obſerved in the ſecond Book of this Hiſtory, *Page* 93. *Note* 121. that *Dion. Hal.* contradicts himſelf, in relation to the Diſtance of this City from *Rome*. In the third Book of his *Antiquities*, he places it a hundred and ſeven *Stadia* from thence. Here he ſays, *Eretum* was a hundred and forty *Stadia* diſtant from it. *Caſaubon* thinks the laſt Computation is the trueſt. And therefore he corrects the Text of the third Book, by that of the eleventh. His Authority is *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, who reckons it to be eighteen Miles from *Rome* to *Eretum*, that is, about a hundred and forty four *Stadia*. But *Cluverius* adheres to the firſt Diſtance, without any Regard to *Antoninus*'s *Itinerary*, which he thinks defective in this Place. In order to avoid this Contradiction, we have fixed the general *Rendezvous* of the *Sabine* Army at *Regillum*, a City of *Sabinia*, at a little Diſtance from the *Tyber*, and eighteen Miles from *Rome*, or thereabouts, which anſwers to the hundred and forty *Stadia*, mentioned by *Dion. Hal.*

antient Liberty! But notwithſtanding that every Senator was cited by Name to appear, yet there were but few who would obey the Summons. Which made it to be generally believed, that they thought the Summons unlawful, becauſe ſent by Magiſtrates who had uſurped the Authority they poſſeſſed. *And upon that Foot,* ſaid the People, *we have equal Reaſon, and equal Right to refuſe Obedience to any Orders which ſhall be given, for our enrolling our ſelves in the* Legions.

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§. VIII. On the Day appointed for the meeting of the Senate, the Senate-houſe ſeemed deſerted. The *Decemviri* found ſo very ſmall an Appearance there, that it ſurprized them. There were indeed but few Senators in the City it ſelf, the greateſt Part of them had choſen to retire from publick Cares, to attend their own private Affairs in the Country. The farther they got from the Tyrants, the ſafer they thought themſelves to be. Then the *Decemviri* ſent to the Houſes of the Senators, to ſummon them to come to the Senate: And the *Lictors* enquired whether they had abſented themſelves with Deſign; and if they did, had Orders to proceed againſt them by ſeizing their Goods. The Anſwer they brought back was, that all the Senators were gone into the Country. The Aſſembly was therefore adjourned to the next Day, and the *Decemviri* ſent in the mean time, to bring up ſome of the Senators from their Country-Houſes, to Town. Upon which it unluckily happened, that more of the *Conſcript Fathers* appeared at the Aſſembly, than the *Decemviri* deſired. The People murmured at it, as thinking that the Senate was joining with the Tyrants to complete the Ruin of the Republick: They thought the Obedience of ſo many Senators, to Men whoſe Authority was expired, a dangerous Omen; but the Senators had very different Intentions from what the People imagined. They had nothing in view, but to force the *Decemviri* to do them Juſtice, and re-eſtabliſh the *Conſular* Government. When the Aſſembly was formed, *Appius* the Chief of the Tyrants went into the middle of the Hall; and in a ſtudied Harangue, repreſented the Danger of the War, with which the Republick was threatened, by the *Æqui* and the *Sabines*. *Nothing*, ſaid he, *can divert it, but a legal Enrollment; and nothing can authorize that Enrollment, but a Decree of the Senate. We muſt therefore order Levies to be raiſed among the People without Delay; and then we will fly to the Defence of our Country, at the Head of our* Legions. But *Appius* had ſcarce finiſhed, when *Valerius* roſe up to ſpeak before his Turn, for he was yet but young. His Zeal for the publick Good made him neglect Order, and the Confidence the Nobleneſs of his Extraction gave him, made him a little raſh. He was the Son of that illuſtrious *Conſul Valerius*, who had loſt his Life in driving *Herdonius* from the *Capitol*; and the great *Valerius Poplicola* was one of his Anceſtors. His very Name therefore was enough to make *Appius* apprehenſive that he was going to ſpeak againſt the *Decemviri*: For which Reaſon, he commanded him to hold his Peace, with an Air of Authority, which he had been uſed to aſſume, ſince his becoming Tyrant. But the brave *Valerius* refuſed Obedience to his Commands, which he deſpiſed, and ſpake in this manner.

Livy B. 3. Ibid.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 688.

NO, Appius, *what I have to repreſent to the Senate, does not relate to the Levies you have been propoſing. The Evils with which our Enemies threaten us from Abroad, are much leſs dangerous than thoſe which actually preſs upon us, and overwhelm us, at Home. Of this I need no other Proof, than the Pride with which you impoſe Silence on a Senator, and a* Valerius. *Where are the* Tribunes *for me to have Recourſe to, in order to protect my ſelf from the Slavery to which you reduce us? It is you who have deprived us of that* Aſylum *which was eſtabliſhed in favour of all oppreſſed Citizens. But what am I ſaying? Is it not the moſt grievous of Calamities, for a Senator, a* Valerius, *to be forced to wiſh for the Protection of the* Tribunes, *becauſe the Senate has not now Power to ſupport us? It is to you therefore*, Decemviri, *it is to you your ſelves, whom* Appius, *by theſe Artifices, makes the Tools of his Ambition, that I addreſs my ſelf. But I am ſaying too much. I implore the Equity of* Q. Fabius *only. He alone was worthy to be raiſed to the* Decemvirate. *Rouze therefore*, Fabius, *and undertake the Defence of the oppreſſed Republick! All the Senate have fixed their Eyes upon you.*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. Ibid.

Nevertheless *Fabius* was not at all ſhaken by theſe Words. He bluſhed whilſt they were ſpeaking, and kept his Seat when they were ended. But *Appius* and his Collegues left their Places, ſurrounded *Valerius*, and forced him to hold his Peace. Upon this, all the Senate was in a Commotion. The Friends of the *Decemviri* approved

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proved of the Violence of *Appius*, whilſt the Republican Senators murmured at it. And in the midſt of this Tumult, a young Senator, an avowed Friend of *Valerius*, ſtood up. His Name was *Horatius*, and he was deſcended by many *Conſuls*, from thoſe famous *Horatii*, who were the Avengers and the Glory of their Country. *What hinders us*, cried he, *from immediately executing the ſame Vengeance on the new* Tarquins, *as an* Horatius, *and a* Valerius, *our Anceſtors, formerly took, upon the firſt Tyrants, in our Forefathers time. To reſtore Liberty to* Rome, *is an hereditary Honour which belongs to the* Valerii *and the* Horatii. *It is not the Name of* King *that makes a Tyrant. We give this Name to* Jupiter *himſelf, and ſtill continue it in the Republick, for the chief Miniſter of Religion. Pride, Violence, and Uſurpation, are the diſtinguiſhing Marks of Tyranny; and all theſe we find united in you. What a Pride is it, to appear before us, with theſe regal Trains! What Oppreſſion, not to allow us ſo much as a Liberty of Speech! What Uſurpation, ſtill to continue to exerciſe the ſovereign Authority, after the Expiration of the Time preſcribed by the Republick, which entruſted you with it! You are, in the Eye of the Law, no more than any other private Perſons. And what Obligation then do* Valerius *and I lye under, to obey you? You would obtain a Decree of the Senate, in order to get it confirmed by the People? But have not we as much Right as you, to convene the Aſſembly? The proper Buſineſs to be debated there, is the Crime you have committed, by continuing your ſelves in the Exerciſe of all the Powers and Rights of* Decemviri; *it is the Neceſſity of electing new Magiſtrates. If the People are mad enough, to chooſe you anew, our Subjection will indeed be grievous; but we will then bear it, becauſe it will be legal. But at preſent, what a Reverſe of all Order and Right is it, to ſee the* Faſces *and* Axes *carried before private Men?*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 690.

§. IX. *HORATIUS* was going on, when he likewiſe, in his Turn, was ſurrounded by the *Decemviri*. They drowned his Voice with their Clamours, and give him to underſtand, that they were inveſted with the Authority of the *Tribunes*, and would condemn him to be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But theſe Threatnings were followed by the Hiſſes of the Senate, who were full of Indignation at what paſſed. And then the *Decemviri* repented of having impoſed Silence upon thoſe who had a Mind to ſpeak. *Appius*, their Chief, as ſoon as the Tumult was appeaſed, declared to the Aſſembly, that it was not the Intention of the *Decemviri*, to hinder by Violence the *Conſcript Fathers* from giving their Opinions; but that it was neceſſary to keep to Order, in Speaking and Voting, and to confine themſelves to the Matter in Hand. To which he added, that the Commiſſion of the *Decemviri* was limited to no Period, but that of the Eſtabliſhment of the Laws; that they would not lay down their Offices, till the twelve Tables were ſettled in due Form; and that then, they would give an Account of their Adminiſtration. *But till that be done*, continued he, *we will ſteadily maintain and execute the Offices of* Tribunes *and* Conſuls, *which are united in us.* Then he exhorted the Senators, who had a Mind to be heard, to go into the middle of the Hall; but according to Order, the eldeſt firſt. After which, he deſired *C. Claudius* his Uncle, to give his Opinion in the firſt Place, concerning the inliſting of the People; and that venerable Sage expreſſed himſelf in this manner.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. Ibid.

SINCE then we are deſired to confine our Debates to theſe Levies, let us look back into the Reaſons, which make them neceſſary. Would the Æqui *and the* Sabines, *whom we have ſo often ſubdued, have had the Confidence to attack us, if our Diviſions had not drawn them upon us? Theſe Enemies of the* Roman *Name hoped, that either the Citizens would refuſe to ſerve under the* Decemviri, *or that when they came to an Engagement, they would bring upon their Commanders, the Shame of being Overcome. Experience muſt have ſhewn us, that when the Republick enjoys Tranquillity at Home, our Troops are invincible; but that they grow negligent in the Service, when their Victories would become detrimental to the publick Liberty. In ſuch Caſes, our Leaders have as much to fear, from the ill-will of their own Soldiers, as from the Forces of the Enemy. The true Way of proceeding, is to diſarm our Aggreſſors. Do you,* Decemviri, *do you ſuppreſs that Ambition which actuates you. Do you but lay down a Power, which does now no longer belong to you, and you will ſoon ſee our Enemies become Suppliants, and intreat us to grant them a Peace. You have brought the War upon us, and you ought to deliver us from it. Now is the Time,* Conſcript Fathers, *for you to inſiſt on the depoſing of the* Decemviri. *You will not, perhaps, have a more favourable Opportunity for doing it, a great while. Who knows but this may be the laſt Time the Senate will*

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will ever be assembled? To suffer so critical a Time to escape us, is to expose our selves to a lasting Tyranny. And I will therefore declare my Opinion, with the Superiority I ought to assume over an ambitious Nephew, with the Resolution for which my Ancestors have been remarkable, and with all the Fidelity which I owe my Country. Alas! The Republick is at present sunk into the most calamitous State. Rome *is deserted. Her most resolute Defenders are banished from her. It was necessary to bring them out of the Country, to make their last Attempt in favour of Liberty. Was it then any contagious Distemper that drove them from the City, or was it a more dangerous Misfortune than the Plague it self? The real Cause of the City's being left desolate, is this. Injustice reigns in it. No manner of Respect is paid to the Nobility, or Regard shewn to the People. Base Men usurp the highest Stations here, and Virtue is excluded from Honours. Rapine and Knavery are the only Means to grow rich, and Incontinence is carried to so great a height, that Attempts are made on the Wives and Daughters of the most honourable among us. The People are no longer assembled in* Comitia, *and thereby see themselves deprived of their Right of Suffrage, which gave a Lustre to the meanest. So that all Minds are overwhelmed with Despair. Our Misfortunes are exceeding great, who can find a Remedy? You,* Appius, *you have it in your Power! As you are the Chief of the* Decemviri, *you may abolish an Office, which was formerly useful, but is now become intollerable. Do your self Honour, by reconciling your Collegues to the Republick. Vain are the Oaths which bind you together in a Plot against the State. 'Twere impious not to break them. Frivolous likewise are the Fears you have entertained of being exposed to the Enemies you have brought upon your selves, since you were made* Decemviri. *The Liberty you will restore us,* Appius, *will be deemed a Benefit great enough to make the Irregularity of your Proceedings be forgotten. The Glory you will gain thereby, will be a sufficient Guard to you, against the Attempts of your Enemies. As for my self, I dare promise you, in the Name of all my fellow Citizens, that all that is passed shall be forgiven, if you will hearken to my Advice. No Tyrant that has laid down, has ever yet sunk under the Rage of his old Enemies. My Concern for you is, lest the Splendor of your present Honours should dazzle your Eyes, and the Pleasure of being independent, mislead you. Prefer therefore real Glory, and solid Delights, to imaginary Grandeur, and empty Pleasures. I conjure you to do it by the* Manes *of your Father, the Brother for whom I had so tender an Affection, and who was too suddenly taken from us, for your good, and ours. O* Appius! *O my Son! Remember your former Virtues, and don't obscure the Splendor of them! I have very often wished for a private Conference with you, but your Children have always kept me at a Distance from you. What therefore I could not say to you in private, I have ventured to declare to you in publick. And having now discharged this indispensable Duty, I call our common Gods, the Gods, which protect the* Claudian *Family, and the Earth which contains the Ashes of my Brother, to witness, that I have not been wanting to you. Nay, I have rather, on the other Hand, said too much, if you shew no Regard to my Remonstrances. As for you,* Conscript Fathers, *you see what my Sentiments are, concerning the Re-establishment of a Peace with Foreigners. Let us have no more* Decemviri, *and we shall soon have no more Enemies.*

Thus spoke the brave *C. Claudius*; and so affecting a Speech, gave the Senate some Hopes. The Nephew durst not answer his Uncle; but *M. Cornelius* the *Decemvir*, spoke for *Appius*, and extricated him out of his Difficulties. *We don't want your Advice,* says he to *Claudius, you may save your self the Trouble of giving it. You might have reserved the bitter Invectives you have uttered against* Appius, *for another Time, and another Place. Conclude therefore, and tell us in plain Terms what your Opinion is, concerning the Necessity of the Levies.* Then the old Man stood up a second Time, and with Tears in his Eyes, continued his Discourse thus. *You then,* Appius, *will not vouchsafe to answer an Uncle who loves you. You refuse me Access to your Heart here, as you have always refused me Admittance into your House. What remains then for me to do, but to avoid the Pain of seeing a Tyrant who dishonours our common Ancestors? I will return to* Sabinia, *where the* Claudian *Family had its Rise; and go and reside at* Regillum, *whence our Ancestors originally came. I shall from thence look at a Distance on the Tempests, which shake* Rome; *and will never return to it, till the publick Tranquillity is restored. And that, if I may be allowed to conjecture, will soon be; the Abolition of the very Office of* Decemvir,

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 696.

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cemvit, *will quickly reſtore me to my Country. But I have done; and I vote for coming to no Determination at all, with Reſpect to the War and the Levies, till new Magiſtrates are firſt created.* This Opinion of *Claudius* was followed by the greateſt Number of thoſe Senators, who had formerly been *Conſuls*. *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Quinctus Capitolinus*, *L. Lucretius*, and in ſhort, all the other moſt conſiderable Senators in the Houſe, joined in it. At length it came to *L. Cornelius*'s Turn to declare himſelf, who had been honoured with the *Conſulſhip* ſome Years before. He was Brother to one of the *Decemviri*, and a great Advocate for them. He made a Speech which had been concerted with the Tyrants beforehand, and thereby brought over many Perſons to their Intereſt.

Livy B. 3. c. 40. Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 697.

IT is ſurprizing, ſaid he, *that thoſe Men ſhould be the moſt implacable Enemies to the* Decemviri, *who took moſt Pains to be of the Number. Our* Dictators, *and our old* Conſuls, *were all deſirous of adding this Title to the others, with which the Republick had honoured them. And now being diſappointed of their Aims, they openly declare againſt thoſe, to whom the People have given it. Is this Spight? Or is it*

Livy, Ibid.

Jealouſy, or any other extravagant Humour? How comes it to paſs, that no Objection has been made to the Continuance of the preſent Decemviri *in their Office, ever ſince the Ides of* May, *the Time appointed for the Election of Magiſtrates? But now that the Enemy is daily expected at our Gates; they purſue their private Reſentments to the Injury of the Publick. They had rather their Country ſhould be ruined, than thoſe Men ſuffered to continue in their Office, who do their utmoſt to defend it. They make Choice of theſe troubleſome Times, to bring us into Confuſion. They would have the Legality of the* Decemvirate *firſt examined, before we conſider of the Neceſſity of the Levies. Are not then our old Senators all run mad? Don't they neglect what is eſſential, to apply themſelves to trifling Affairs? The Territory of* Rome *is threatened, the City it ſelf is in Danger, and yet all our Debates are about* Comitia, *and the Creation of new Magiſtrates! Beſides, the Thing it ſelf is impracticable. The Aſſembly muſt firſt be fixed, according to Law, three Market-days, that is, twenty ſeven Days, beforehand. Then thoſe who ſhall be choſen, muſt firſt offer a Petition to the People, and the Senate make a Decree, before the Levies can be begun. And how much Time will all this take up, merely in Matters of Form! Whilſt the Enemy will, in the mean while, take Advantage of our Dilatorineſs, plunder our Farms, and perhaps beſiege* Rome, *and reduce it to the utmoſt Extremity. Shall we then deſire the* Sabines *and the* Æqui *to ſtay a little, till our Magiſtrates are elected? Shall we beg the Favour of them to ſuſpend the War, or return into their own Countries, and give us a little Time to breathe, and prepare to beat them? And yet theſe are the Extremities to which theſe wiſe Heads would reduce us, who are not for any Enrollments, till after an Election. Such are the Confuſions which naturally flow from perſonal Enmities, when they gain the Aſcendant over our Regard for the publick Good! Why then,* Conſcript Fathers, *do we delay ordering theſe Levies to be made? Why don't we put the* Roman *Youth in Arms? Let us immediately enter into the Enemy's Country; or at leaſt defend our Frontiers. Let us recover Peace by Victory. Then, when once in Tranquillity and Victorious, we will aſſemble the* Comitia, *and beſtow a great deal of Time in the Senate, and if it be neceſſary, will depoſe Magiſtrates; and call them to an Account for their Adminiſtration. But till then, let us be governed by the Circumſtances of the Time; and make our private Diſcontents at Home, give Way to the Dangers which threaten us from Abroad.*

What *Cornelius* ſaid, ſeemed juſt and reaſonable: The Senators forgot, that he ſpake from a Spirit of Faction, and were dazzled with the falſe Light of his ſpecious Reaſonings. So that the Majority voted with him; ſome out of fear of the *Decemviri*, and ſome out of Affection to them. But when the Stream of the Senators was turning in favour of the Levies, *Valerius*, who ſpoke at firſt out of his Turn, now gave his Opinion, in it. He did his utmoſt to bring back the Senators to his Opinion, and ſpake thus: *Beware*, Conſcript Fathers, *beware of falling into the Snare which is laid for you. The Reaſon why I was forbidden to ſpeak out of my Turn, was only to give room to the Senators who are before me, to declare for* Cornelius's *Opinion. If thoſe who are after me, were all of my Opinion, we ſhould yet be a Minority. This is the Artifice. But after all, is it not poſſible to guard againſt it, by having Recourſe to wiſer Counſels? What terrifies you,* Conſcript Fathers, *is the near Approach of the Enemy, the Length of Time that muſt be ſpent, before a new Election can*

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can lawfully be made, and the Ravages to which our Lands will be expoſed during this Interval. Vain Frights! Our paſt Experience ought to raiſe us above ſuch idle Fears. About ſeventeen or eighteen Years ago, one of our Conſuls *was ſurrounded in his Camp, by theſe very* Æqui, *who now alarm you. The News was brought to* Rome; *all the City was alarmed at it, and the Senate was aſſembled in the middle of the Night. But nevertheleſs a Remedy was ſoon found for this imminent Danger. A* Dictator *was choſen, and the ſame* Quinctius Cincinnatus, *who now honours us with his Preſence, was the glorious Avenger of his Country. If to chooſe a* Dictator *was thought neceſſary then, it is equally ſo now. The Republick, for want of legal Magiſtrates, is fallen into the State of an* Interregnum. *Let then ſome Perſon be choſen to preſide in this* Interregnum; *and he will have a right of nominating a* Dictator. *This is an eaſy and regular Method; and in this Caſe, our Remedy is ready at Hand. This important Affair may be compleated before we leave this Place. O ye Great Gods! What Misfortunes threaten us, if ſo eaſy an Expedient be rejected, and* Cornelius's *Opinion followed! We ſhall make Levies; the* Decemviri *will be at the Head of our Legions; and we ſhall have armed our Tyrants. Can any one foreſee what Uſe they will make of the Forces we ſhall entruſt them with? At leaſt, 'tis a much wiſer part, to prevent the Miſchiefs, we have Reaſon to apprehend, than to leave them to be repaired, when they have actually befallen us.*

By the Acclamations given to *Valerius*, it was eaſy to judge how well his Advice was received. Almoſt all the young Senators, who were to vote after him, embraced it. And the greateſt part of thoſe who had declared for the Levies, ſeemed willing to come over to it. *Valerius* therefore demanded, that the two Queſtions, one concerning the Levies to be commanded by the *Decemviri*, and the other concerning the Nomination of a *Dictator*, ſhould be again conſidered, and determined by a Majority of Voices. And every thing ſeemed to favour the latter, when *Cornelius* oppoſed it. *The Buſineſs*, cried he, *is already determined; what have we to do, but to count Voices?* But *Valerius* was not a Man that could eaſily give up his Point. So that the Diſpute between the two Senators raiſed a Tumult in the Aſſembly. The Senators were divided; ſome cried one thing, and ſome another, according to their Adherence, or Oppoſition, to the *Decemviri*. And then *Appius* took hold of a favourable Opportunity, to make this Declaration as Chief of the *Decemviri*. *The Buſineſs of this preſent Aſſembly*, ſaid he, *has been ſufficiently debated.* Cornelius's *Opinion has prevailed by a Majority of Votes. Let therefore a Decree of the Senate be paſſed, commanding the People to enroll themſelves.* The *Decemvir* had brought the Decree in his Pocket ready written; and he cauſed it to be read by the proper Officer. Upon this, *Valerius* and *Horatius* could no longer keep within any Bounds. *To the People, to the People then*, ſaid they, *muſt be our Recourſe, ſince all is Confuſion in the Senate. Magiſtrates without any Authority have no right to hinder our Application to them. We fear neither their* Faſces *nor* Axes. At theſe Words *Valerius* advanced ſome Steps towards the Door of the Hall, as if in order to apply himſelf to the People. And *Appius* thought that all would be loſt for him and his Party, if he did not uſe Violence on this Occaſion. He therefore ſent a *Lictor* to ſtop *Valerius*; and followed him himſelf. *Valerius* was already out of the Senate-Houſe, when a ſort of Scuffle began between the *Decemvir* and the Senator. *Cornelius* came to part them, more out of Regard to *Appius* than *Valerius*. He brought back the latter into the Hall, and promiſed him full Liberty, to try the Succeſs of his Opinion. *Valerius* ſpake during the Tumult, but to no manner of Purpoſe. The Decree, which commanded the Levies to be made, and gave the *Decemviri* Power to command the Armies, was confirmed. It muſt be confeſſed, ſome of the old *Conſuls*, and oldeſt Senators, were a little afraid of returning to their old Government. *If the* Decemviri *were to be diſmiſſed*, ſaid they, *the* Tribunes *would be revived, and we ſhould fall from one Evil to another. Let us wait, till the Magiſtrates who now govern us, lay down their Offices. Perhaps the* Conſulate *may then be revived, on the Foot it formerly ſtood, without any Dependence on the Humours of* Tribunes. This Hope made them act with great Indifference, againſt the *Decemviri*; who obtained all they deſired. The only Remedy left for the moſt honourable Citizens, was for them to return to their Country-Houſes, and abandon *Rome* to her ill Fate. *Claudius* in particular kept his Word which he had given his Nephew, in full Senate. He went and reſided at *Regillum*, and was followed by a prodigious Multitude of his Friends and Clients. Theſe many

Livy B. 3. c. 41.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 703.

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Deſertions diſpleaſed the Tyrants; who would have hindered them at firſt, and ordered Guards to be kept at all the Gates of *Rome*. But afterwards they were afraid of Seditions, and preferred the Advantage of ſeeing their Enemies at a Diſtance, to that of ſeeing the City populous and flouriſhing. As for the illuſtrious Families which continued at *Rome*; they took due Precautions againſt Tyranny. They made a League among themſelves for their mutual Defence. Inſomuch, that the *Valerii* and *Horatii* armed their Clients and Slaves, and ſet a Guard before their Houſes. Nevertheleſs the *Decemviri* proceeded againſt the Fugitives, as Deſerters from the Army. Their Eſtates in the City were confiſcated, and diſtributed among the Friends of the *Decemviri*. Hitherto the Diviſions between the Senate and People had ſubſiſted, and the *Decemviri* had turned them to their own Advantage. The *Plebeians* rejoiced to ſee the Senate humbled; and the Senators to ſee the People deprived of all their Privileges. But now the Violence of the Oppreſſion, which daily increaſed, united all Minds againſt the Oppreſſors. Both Parties no longer waited for any Thing but a favourable Opportunity to recover their Liberty.

Livy, Ibid.
Dion. Hal.
B. 11. p. 704.

§. X. In the mean time, the *Decemviri* were wholly taken up with putting the Decree of the Senate, concerning the Levies, in Execution. Thoſe Citizens who remained in *Rome*, gave in their Names, without Reſiſtance. The Fear of a Power, from which there was no Appeal, made more People take Arms, than a Zeal for their Country's Service. And at length ten *Legions* were compleated: And the *Decemviri* had a perfect good Underſtanding among one another. They agreed amicably as to the Command of the Armies, and the Diviſion of the Troops. As there was more to be feared at Home from the Citizens, than from the foreign Enemies; *Appius* was ordered to continue in *Rome* with *Oppius*, one of the three *Plebeian Decemviri*: And two *Legions* were aſſigned them to keep the People in their Duty. *Quintus Fabius*, a pretty able General, was put at the Head of the Troops which were to act againſt the *Sabines*, with *Q. Petilius*, and *M. Rabuleius*, two of his Collegues. Their Army conſiſted of three *Legions* of *Romans*. The *Æqui* were the moſt formidable Enemies of the Republick. And againſt them were ſent five *Legions*, conducted by *M. Cornelius*, as Commander in chief, and four other *Decemviri*, *L. Minucius*, *M. Sergius*, *T. Antonius*, and *Cæſo Duillius*. So that there were as many *Legions* as *Decemviri*, who each commanded one. The auxiliary Troops of the *Latins* and the *Hernici*, much enlarged theſe *Roman* Levies, and were not inferior to them in Number. Old *Sicinnius*, ſo diſtinguiſhed by his Valour, by the twenty ſix Battles he had been in, and by the many military Crowns he had merited, would not let ſlip the laſt Opportunity he might perhaps ever have, of ſerving his Country. Though he in his Heart deteſted the Tyranny, he ſerved under *Fabius*, againſt the *Sabines*, and carried with him his formidable *Cohort* of eight hundred Veterans. There was nothing but what might be expected from two ſuch great Armies, commanded by Generals, who had ſo good an Underſtanding with one another. If Succeſs did not attend their Arms, the Fault muſt lay more in the Hatred of the Soldiers, than the Conduct of the Generals. *Fabius* marched towards *Sabinia*, and came and encamped near *Eretum*. And then he found by Experience, that a General's Victories depend more on the Affection of his Troops, than either his own Abilities, or his Enemy's Inferiority in Number. Nothing ſucceeded in *Fabius*'s Camp. The Men either refuſed to ſerve, or did it negligently. They let the Convoys, they were to guard, fall into the Enemy's Hands. Their Parties, when out a Forraging, fled before the Enemy, and ſuffered themſelves to be beaten, almoſt without Fighting. Till at length the *Sabines* looked on the *Roman* General with Contempt, and had the Confidence to come and encamp very near his Army, though much ſuperior in Strength to their own. And then *Fabius*'s Troops entered into a Plot againſt their General, and feigned a ſudden Fright. They diſperſed themſelves in the Night, left the Enemy's Country where they were encamped, and returned into the *Roman* Territory, towards *Cruſtuminum*. Upon this, the brave *Sicinnius* could not prevail upon himſelf to ſtay any longer in the Army, in which he was only a Voluntier. As he found there was no Glory to be gained in it, he returned to *Rome*, and led back his *Cohort* with him. This old Officer, who was better skilled in the Art of War, than the *Decemviri*, who were the Generals of the Army, could not conceal his Sentiments. He exclaimed both againſt the affected Negligence of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Tyranny of the *Decemviri*, which was the Cauſe of it. He even dropped ſome Expreſſions,

Livy B. 3. c. 42.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 705.

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preſſions, concerning the Neceſſity of ſuch a Separation of the People, as had formerly been tried with Succeſs. *Appius* watched over *Rome*, and all the Diſcourſes of private Perſons, with the Suſpicions of a Tyrant. He was the main Spring in all Proceedings; nothing was done without his Orders, either in the City, or the two Camps. He therefore thought it neceſſary, to diſpatch all thoſe who had ill Deſigns upon the *Decemviri*, and thereby re-eſtabliſh Diſcipline in the Armies. And accordingly he wrote to his Generals, to put all thoſe, to Death, who did not appear to be well-affected to their Party; to forge Crimes againſt thoſe of mean Rank; and to expoſe the Lives of the moſt conſiderable *Patricians*, to inevitable Danger. Nay, he began theſe barbarous Executions with that of the famous *Sicinnius*. He ſent for him, and after many Careſſes, examined him about *Fabius*'s Conduct, and what he thought of the preſent Generals. He commended him for his Experience, and deſired him to explain himſelf with Freedom. True Valour is a Stranger to Jealouſies and Diſtruſts, and is ſometimes wanting to it ſelf in point of Circumſpection. *Sicinnius* was ſincere. He blamed *Fabius*'s Proceedings without Reſerve, and enumerated all the Faults of the Generals. Then, the perfidious *Decemvir* prevailed on him to ſet out for the Camp, at *Cruſtuminum*; and perſuaded him to go and aſſiſt *Fabius* with his Advice. In order to deceive him the more artfully, he created him Lieutenant-General of the *Roman* Armies. This was then a very honourable Poſt, not only on Account of the Rank it gave an Officer, but more ſo on the Security it placed him in, againſt the Attempts of the Soldiery. The Perſon of a Lieutenant-General was ſacred, *i. e.* Religion protected him from any Inſult. Being then honoured with this Title, *Sicinnius* ſet out for the Camp in *Sabinia*, with Confidence. *Fabius* received him with extraordinary Demonſtrations of Joy, and diſtinguiſhing Regard for his Merit. He was even profuſe in the Preſents he made him. And he found it no difficult Matter to impoſe on a Man of Candor and Ingenuity, by theſe Means. *Sicinnius* opened himſelf to the General, concerning the ill Management of the Campaign. He did not approve of their encamping in the *Roman* Territory, and propoſed leading the *Legions* into *Sabinia*, where they would ſubſiſt, at the Enemy's Expence. This was what *Fabius* waited for, from the wiſe Lieutenant-General, and found Means to make this very Advice his Ruin. *Why don't you go in Perſon*, replied he, *and find out a Place proper for us to encamp in? Your long Experience, and military Expeditions, make you the moſt proper Man in the World to execute your own Scheme. Go* Sicinnius. *I will take care to provide you a Guard which ſhall attend you. Your Age is indeed now too great for you to ſerve on Foot. Go therefore on Horſeback. It is a Diſtinction which is due to you, though contrary to Cuſtom.* This ſeemed to be raiſing him to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight. *Sicinnius* did not decline the Commiſſion, and demanded only an hundred Foot to attend him. Theſe were choſen by the cruel *Decemvir*, who ſent none with *Sicinnius* but Men of his own Party. And Orders were given them to diſpatch him in their March, for which they were to expect a Reward. The Lieutenant-General took with him only one Servant, who was an active Man, and whoſe Valour and Fidelity he knew. The Troop went out of the *Roman* Camp by Night. They marched before their Commander, and led him almoſt to *Cruſtuminum*, through a narrow and ſtony Road, in which he could not advance without Difficulty, and could not eſcape, either to the right Hand, or to the left. This was the Place the Guard choſe, for his Aſſaſſination. *Sicinnius*'s Servant firſt perceived the Plots of theſe treacherous Guides, and the Motions they took to ſurround his Maſter. This he informed *Sicinnius* of; who finding his Horſe could be of no Uſe to him, diſmounted, and poſting himſelf ſo, as beſt to prevent being ſurrounded, drew his Sword, and ſtood on his own Defence, aſſiſted only by his Servant. The whole Troop advanced againſt them, and the Battel began. *Sicinnius*'s Defence was more than human. Fifteen of thoſe who attacked him were killed on the Spot, and above thirty more were wounded by thoſe two brave Men. The cowardly Aſſaſſins therefore thought the Hero invincible; and they attacked him, Hand to Hand, no more. They climbed up to the Top of the Hill, and overwhelmed him with Stones from that Diſtance. Thus fell this glorious Man, whoſe great Courage, unparallel'd Integrity, and generous Love of his Country, advanced him to all the Honours, which the Nobility would then ſuffer any *Plebeian* to enjoy.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 706, 707.

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This done, the Guard returned to the Camp, and carried back their Wounded with them. It was eaſy for them to pretend, that they had been attacked by a Party from the Enemy, and that *Sicinnius* had loſt his Life in the Battel. The Falſhood of this Story was not diſcovered till the Soldiers came to the Place, where this pretended Attack was made. The whole Army marched out under Arms, to fetch *Sicinnius*'s Body, and give it an honourable Burial. And they were ſurprized to find him in his Cloaths. Beſides, the *Romans*, who were killed round about him, lay all with their Faces towards him; and not one of them was ſtripped. There did not appear one *Sabine* killed on the Field of Battel, by this brave *Roman*. Theſe Marks, joined with others, convinced the Army, that *Sicinnius* had not fallen by the Hand of the Enemy, but that his Death was the Work of the *Decemviri*. The Soldiers therefore, who attended the Corps to the Camp, expreſſed more Rage than Grief at what had happened. All the Troops demanded, that military Juſtice ſhould be executed on the Aſſaſſins, and that they ſhould be condemned in the Camp. Several offered to become their Accuſers. And the Confuſion and Delays of the General ſhewed them, that he was the Author of the Crime. He concealed the Soldiers of this murdering Guard, and declared, he would not ſuffer the Accuſed to be judged any where but at *Rome*, when the Army returned thither. Theſe Proceedings filled all Mens Minds with ſuch Reſentment againſt the *Decemviri*, as we ſhall ſee produce its Effect in due time. *Fabius*'s Army marched againſt the Enemy no more, but was content with defending it ſelf in its Entrenchments.

On the ſide of the *Æqui*, the five *Legions* of *Romans* fought with yet leſs Succeſs, and the Affairs of the Republick were in greater Confuſion. *Cornelius* had fixed his Camp near the *Algidus*, and he had not Dependence enough on his Troops, to dare to march out of it. If he ſometimes, in Obedience to *Appius*'s Orders, ſent out ſome of the Enemies of the *Decemviri* to make Incurſions, they were heard of no more. Their Deſtruction was managed with a great deal of Artifice. The Generals gave honourable Commiſſions to fight the Enemy, only to ſuch as were not of his Party, and they often loſt their Lives in Battel. Thus, ſome of the *Romans* periſhed by the Hands of the Enemy, others by the ſecret Snares of their Generals: So that the Army was conſiderably diminiſhed. Theſe Advantages the Enemy ſaw; and knew how to make a good Uſe of them. They came and attacked *Cornelius*'s Camp, and made themſelves Maſters of it. The *Roman* Soldiers were not much concerned at the Loſs of their Baggage, and were rejoiced to ſee their General humbled. As for themſelves, they retired to *Tuſculum*, and there met with a kind Hoſpitality, among thoſe antient Allies of *Rome*. Nevertheleſs, the *Roman* Army did not want ſuch brave Men, as would have done Honour to their Country under other Generals. One *L. Virginius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf in it. He was a Man of Honour, famous in the City for his Probity, and in the Army for his Valour. Though his Family was *Plebeian*, he made a Figure in the Troops. He was then a *Centurion*, and had led ſeveral Detachments againſt the *Æqui*, as Commander in Chief.

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

§. XI. But whilſt *Virginius* was ſignalizing himſelf on the Frontiers, his Daughter *Virginia* had inſpired the Tyrant of *Rome* with a violent Paſſion for her, without her knowing it. *Appius*, as cruel as he was, and as dead as he ſeemed to be to all the ſofter Paſſions, had ſeen the young *Roman*, and was fallen deſperately in Love with her. And indeed *Virginia* was the moſt beautiful Woman in *Rome*. Her Mother was dead, who in her Life-time had given her an Education truly *Roman*, and filled her Heart with the Love of Virtue. Since her Father's Departure for the War, ſhe had been committed to the Care of an Uncle, by her Mother's ſide, who ſhewed for her all the Affection and Concern of a Father. She was now marriageable, and *Virginius* had already promiſed her to a young *Roman*, named *Icilius*, of a *Plebeian* Family, but deſcended from the famous *Icilius*, who eſtabliſhed the *Tribuneſhip*, and was the firſt *Tribune of the People*. It was then cuſtomary at *Rome*, for young Perſons, of both Sexes, to go and purſue ſuch Studies, as were proper for them, in different publick Schools, erected in the *Forum*. It was there *Appius* accidently ſaw the young *Virginia*, and was charmed both with her Beauty, and her intent Application to a Book ſhe had in her Hand. From that time, this ſevere Magiſtrate, and grave Law-giver, formed unlawful Deſigns upon her. He was at firſt ſeen often walking round the Schools, at the Times the Scholars were there. It was ſaid, his Office obliged him to appear frequently in the *Forum*. The more he ſaw of *Virginia*, the

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 709.

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the more his Heart was enflamed with the Love of her. *Appius* was married, and though Divorces were then lawful at *Rome*, yet no Inſtance had been ſeen, of any Woman divorced: So ſtrictly was conjugal Fidelity obſerved there. Beſides, Polygamy was not ſuffered among the *Romans*; and as a ſtill greater Obſtacle, the *Decemvir* himſelf had juſt then publiſhed a Law, forbidding all Marriages between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. *Appius* therefore reſolved to corrupt this innocent young Perſon, ſince he could not have her for his Wife. Firſt he hired Women, to go and make rich Preſents to *Virginia*, and her Governeſſes. Theſe Managers were ordered to conceal *Appius*'s Name, and only to declare, that theſe earneſt Advances were made by one, who was able to do much Good, or much Harm, as he pleaſed. But *Virginia* had too exalted a Mind, to yield to Addreſſes, which diſhonoured her. And *Appius*'s Paſſion therefore ſuggeſted a Contrivance, which he thought himſelf able to go through with, by Means of his Authority. He made one of his Clients, named *M. Claudius*, his Confident; declared the Violence of his Paſſion to him; told him the Steps he was to take, to bring *Virginia* before his Tribunal; and gave him the Plan of the Proſecution, he would have him carry on againſt her. *M. Claudius* was a Villain, capable of undertaking the moſt infamous Offices. He took a Company of reſolute Fellows with him to the Schools, and there ſeized *Virginia*, with the Authority of a Maſter, who was carrying back a fugitive Slave to his Houſe. At this Sight, the People flocked together, and were all in Commotion in the *Forum*. Then *M. Claudius* ſummoned *Virginia* to appear before the *Decemviri*, and in Obedience to the new Laws, the young *Roman* was forced to follow him to their Tribunal. *Appius* deſignedly ſate on the Bench alone that Day. He gave Judgment, and came to a Deciſion of the Affair, without ſeeming to have known any Thing beforehand, of the Cauſe which was brought before him. He was juſt ready to pronounce Sentence, and to give the young Woman to his Client, as his lawful Slave, when thoſe who were preſent cried out, that *Virginia*'s Relations ought to have Time given them to defend her Right. As abſolute, and as enamoured as *Appius* was, he durſt not precipitate ſo odious a Sentence. He ſuſpended the Affair for a little while, and gave *Numitorius*, the Girl's Uncle, ſome time to appear. He came to the Tribunal, attended by young *Icilius*, who already conſidered himſelf as the Husband of the young *Roman*. A Company of the moſt conſiderable *Plebeians* followed them: But this Appearance did not put a Stop to *Claudius*'s Calumnies, who ſpoke to this Effect.

Livy B. 3. c. 44. Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 710.

I HAVE not, illuſtrious Appius, *either done any thing contrary to Law, or proceeded in an unjuſtifiable manner. I found my loſt Slave, and ſeized her, and now throw my ſelf at your Feet, only claiming what is my own. I had a Woman-Slave, who was ſo to my Father. She became with Child, and was Mother to this young Woman, who now appears before you under the Name of* Virginia. *The Friendſhip her true Mother had with* Virginius's *Wife, emboldened the latter to deſire my Slave to give her her Child. This ſuppoſititious Infant was brought up in* Virginius's *Houſe, who thought her his own Daughter; and by this ſecret Robbery I am deprived of what by Law belongs to me. A Slave ought to follow her Maſter. I have only taken Poſſeſſion of what is my own, and am ready to prove my Right when required, and to give Security, that I will produce the young Woman to this Court again, when* Virginius *returns from the War.*

VIRGINIA's Uncle was an intrepid Man, and in great Credit among the People. He perceived that *Appius*'s Client was only ſerving the Paſſion of his Patron, and that the Proſecution againſt his Niece, was only a diſguiſed Rape, of which the Judge himſelf was the Author. And he inveighed bitterly, without Fear, both againſt the Calumny of *Claudius*, and the infamous Deſigns of the *Decemvir*. *My Niece*, ſaid he, *was always brought up by* Numitoria *my Siſter, and educated in Principles of Honour, ſuitable to a* Roman *Woman of free Condition. Her Beauty, and her Virtue, are the Cauſes of her Misfortunes. The reducing her to a State of Slavery is only a Pretence, to ſacrifice her to Debauchery. And let us a little obſerve the Time that is pitched upon, to run away with her, in this odious manner. For fifteen Years together, no Diſpute was ever ſtarted about* Virginia's *Condition, or Birth. But an Opportunity is taken to raiſe it, at the very time that her Father is abſent from* Rome, *hazarding his Life for the Service of his Country. If* Virginius *was preſent, who could refuſe him the Liberty of keeping Poſſeſſion of his Daughter, till full Proof was made, that ſhe was born in Slavery, and impoſed upon him by his Wife? And in*

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his Abſence, I, as her Uncle, have all the Rights of her abſent Father. With me only therefore ought Virginia *to be entruſted, till his Return. Publick Juſtice requires it, and our new Laws enjoin it. Have not you your ſelf,* Appius, *together with your Collegues, enacted in the Twelve Tables,* That the Preſumption ſhall be in favour of Liberty? *And will you be the firſt Infringer of your own Laws? Remember, that as* Decemvir, *you act in the double Capacity, both of a* Conſul *and a* Tribune. *And as a* Tribune, *we implore your Aſſiſtance. As ſuch, revenge the Cauſe of a* Plebeian *Woman, who is oppreſſed by Calumny. I might demand that her Cauſe ſhould not be heard, till after the Armies Return, and then only in full* Comitia. *But ſince there are private Reaſons, (are you ignorant of them,* Appius?) *for haſtening ſo much the Determination of the Affair, give us leave to call* Virginius *from the Camp, and in the mean time let me, who have the Care of her Perſon, be the Guardian of her Honour.*

This Demand of *Numitorius* was thought very reaſonable by the whole Aſſembly; whoſe Murmurs expreſſed ſuch an Horror at what paſſed, as would have made an Impreſſion on the *Decemvir*, if Love had not blinded him. But *Appius* waited only for a Moment's Silence, and then ſpake thus. *The Law of the* Twelve Tables *ſubſiſts, and ſhall continue inviolate. It is juſt that a Perſon, whoſe Condition is diſputed, ſhould continue in Poſſeſſion of Liberty, till full Proof is made of his Slavery. But here the Caſe is different. On one Hand, a Father who is a* Free-man, *owns* Virginia *to be his Daughter; and if he was preſent, he ſhould be maintained in his Poſſeſſion till the Affair was decided. On the other, a Maſter reclaims a Woman as his Slave, which had been unjuſtly taken from him: And he being preſent, ſeizes his Goods wherever he finds them. In this Caſe, where the Father is abſent, and the pretended Maſter preſent, the right of Poſſeſſion belongs to the Maſter; provided he gives Security to reſtore the Woman, at the Return of the Father. Let* Virginia *therefore be put into* Claudius's *Hands.*

The Iniquity of a Deciſion which Paſſion had dictated, highly incenſed all that were preſent. The Women who ſurrounded *Virginia* made ſuch Outcries, that they were heard at a great Diſtance. *Icilius* inſtantly forces his Way through the Crowd, and draws near the Tribunal, to defend his dear *Virginia*. A *Lictor* endeavours to ſtop him, and cries out to him, *Sentence is paſſed.* But nothing can ſtop him; all Oppoſition gives Way to his juſt Indignation. Then taking *Virginia* in his Arms, he ſays; *No, no, nothing but Death can ſeparate me from the Wife who was appointed for me. Tyrant, add my Death to the many Crimes with which thou art already polluted. That is the only Way by which thou ſhalt force me to be ſilent. By that Means indeed, thou mayeſt hinder me from publiſhing the Myſteries of thine Iniquities!* Virginia *is promiſed to me. And to the laſt Breath I have to draw, I will defend her Honour. Aſſemble thy* Lictors, *or if thou wilt, thoſe of thy Collegues. As long as I live, I will never ſuffer a young Woman, who ought to be my Wife, to be carried to any Houſe, but thoſe of her Relations. Have you then deprived us of the Protection of our* Tribunes, *only to ſubject our Wives and Children to your Debaucheries? If you will exerciſe your Rage upon our Eſtates, and Lives, do; but ſpare the Chaſtity of our Virgins. If any Attempt be made on* Virginia, *I call the Gods to witneſs, her Diſhonour ſhall not be waſhed off, without a great deal of Blood. What will not* Virginius *and* Icilius *be able to do, when the one is to revenge the Cauſe of an injured Wife, the other that of a diſhonoured Daughter!*

Livy B. 3. c. 45. Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 613.

He was going on, when the *Lictors* had Orders to take him away. *Claudius* had laid his Hands upon *Virginia*, to carry her from her Uncle, and all her Relations; but thoſe who were preſent immediately cried out, and uniting together in their Rage, fell upon the Officers of the *Decemviri*, and put them to flight. *Claudius* himſelf was obliged to take Refuge under the Tribunal. And *Appius*'s Conſternation was exceeding great, to ſee the Concern of the People carried even to Rage. He called *Claudius* to him, and whiſpering ſomething in his Ears, cauſed Silence to be made, and ſpake theſe Words. *It is not the Fury of the violent* Icilius *that makes me comply, but the Intreaties of* Claudius *my Client. He is willing to wave the Right he has of carrying Home his Slave, upon giving Security. He commits her to the ſame Hands, in which ſhe was before, provided they promiſe to bring her to her Tryal again to morrow. The Perſons concerned have therefore all the remaining part of this Day, and four Hours of to morrow, to fetch* Virginius *from the Camp.* This ſeemed to be

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a very ſhort Time; *Numitorius* demanded more: But the *Decemvir* roſe up, and ordered the *Curule Chair* to be taken away.

§. XII. *ICILIUS* inſtantly diſpatched his Brother, and *Numitorius* his Son, to the Army at *Tuſculum*, to bring back *Virginius* to the City. They went with exceeding great Expedition; ſo as to prevent *Appius*'s Courier, who carried Orders to the Generals, to put *Virginius* under Arreſt, thereby to hinder him from coming out of the Camp. The unhappy Father was no ſooner informed of the Danger his Daughter was in, but he made all Haſte to get Leave to return, and in the Evening ſet out for *Rome*. In the mean time *Appius*, being equally hurried on by his Paſſion, and vexed at the Obſtructions he had met with in his Way to ſatisfying it, had determined with himſelf, to take *Virginia* from her Family the next Day, whatever ſhould happen. He took it for granted, that her Father would not appear in Court, and reſolved to take Advantage of that Default. Beſides, he thought it probable, that the Publick would eaſily ſuffer themſelves to be impoſed upon, by this Appearance of Juſtice; and in order to guard himſelf againſt the Fury of the People, let the Event be what it would, he had aſſembled together his Friends and Clients, and had deſired ſome of them to ſurround the Tribunal, whilſt others diſperſed themſelves about the *Forum*. But whilſt *Appius* was taking ſuch Meaſures, as the Violence of his Paſſion ſuggeſted, *Virginius* arrived in the City. He had had the Happineſs to eſcape two Companies of Soldiers, which were ſent, one from the Camp to purſue him, the other from *Rome* to ſtop him. Early in the Morning therefore he appeared in the *Forum Romanum*, dreſſed like one in Affliction, and leading his Daughter in deep Mourning. She was honoured with the Company of a great Number of Ladies, who followed her, and intereſted themſelves in her Misfortunes. All *Rome*, if I may ſo ſpeak, was come together to the Place, where this new Cauſe was to be determined. The unfortunate *Virginius* addreſſed himſelf to his fellow-Citizens, as he paſſed by them, and uttered his Complaints to them, with ſuch an Air of Dignity, that he ſeemed rather to demand their Aſſiſtance, than implore it. *I*, ſaid he, *every Day expoſe my Life, for the Safety of your Wives, and your Children. You will ſcarce find an Officer in the Army, whoſe Intrepidity is better known, and whoſe Exploits are more boaſted of. But what does it ſignify to preſerve* Rome *from her Enemies, if her Tyrants make her ſuffer all the Violences and Oppreſſions, which would be exerciſed in a City taken by Aſſault? Icilius*, for his part, broke in among all the Crowds of the People who were aſſembled, and tranſmitted the Rage of his own Mind into theirs. The *Roman* Ladies wept in Silence, and the dumb Eloquence of their Tears was more powerful, and affecting, than the Complaints, either of *Icilius* or *Virginius*. *Appius* was informed of the Diſpoſition the People aſſembled were in; but his Love made him overlook every thing he had Reaſon to fear. He came to the *Forum*, ordered the Tribunal to be got ready, and ſate upon it. He firſt ordered *Claudius* to be brought near, on one ſide, and *Virginia* on the other. Her Father and her Defenders followed her. *Claudius* ſpoke firſt, as being the Claimant: And this artful Miniſter of the Tyrant's Iniquity, began with complaining of the little Regard *Appius* had for him. *Ought my Intereſt to be neglected*, ſaid he, *becauſe I am your Client? Ought I not to have been put in Poſſeſſion of my Slave which I had ſeized, Yeſterday; and been maintained in the Poſſeſſion of her? To Day, at leaſt, let your Scruples give Way to the Goodneſs of my Cauſe. I have brought with me the Witneſſes which will teſtify what I ſay, and among the reſt, the Woman who is the Mother of the pretended* Virginia. *Interrogate them. I conſent that my Slave ſhall be examined by Torture. But let not your Compaſſion for an afflicted Girl, lead you to overlook the Evidence I bring of my Right.* The Depoſitions of theſe ſuborned Witneſſes were favourable to *Claudius*; but all the Marks of Truth were againſt him. *Virginius* laid them open in the plaineſt manner, in the artleſs Language of a Soldier. He had married *Numitoria* when ſhe was very young; and *Virginia* his Daughter had come into the World, ſoon after that Marriage. Where was the Neceſſity then for *Numitoria*'s impoſing a Child upon her Husband? Or if ſhe had reſolved to play ſo uſeleſs a Cheat, why ſhould ſhe rather chooſe the Child of a Slave, than one of a free Woman? Why ſhould ſhe impoſe a Girl upon him, rather than a Boy? Beſides, was it probable, that a Contrivance carried on between two Women, ſhould continue ſo long a Secret? Or, at leaſt, would not the Slave have made her Court to her Maſter, as ſoon as *Numitoria* was dead, by diſcovering a Secret to him, which would have put him in

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Poſſeſſion of a young Woman, well educated, and of excellent Beauty? Why was this Myſtery kept undiſcovered till *Appius* was *Decemvir*, ſince the Slave, for a long Time paſt, could have no Intereſt to conceal it? And to theſe Preſumptions *Virginius* added Proofs. He brought ſome of the moſt conſiderable Women in *Rome*, who depoſed, ſome that they had ſeen *Numitoria* when ſhe was big with Child, and that ſhe had all the Marks of a breeding Woman; others, that they had aſſiſted at her Labour as Relations, and had ſeen her bring into the World the Child now in Diſpute; and laſtly others, that *Numitoria* had ſuckled her Daughter with her own Milk, an evident Mark of her having been pregnant, and a Mother. Theſe Proofs were thought unanſwerable by all preſent; whoſe Attention was now wholly fixed on *Virginia*. Her Eyes bathed in Tears, the Modeſty of her Countenance, and her Looks fixed on the Ground, as a Victim who expected to die, filled their Minds with many moving Reflections. What a Turn is here in Fortune, ſaid they, a wealthy young Woman is going to be made a vile Slave! She is going to exchange the Embraces of a Father, for the haughty Dominion of a Maſter! If our Liberty be once made precarious, who can be ſure of a better Fate, either for himſelf or his Children? And the Compaſſion of the People was raiſed yet more, by the raviſhing Beauty of the young *Roman*. *Her Form was more than human*, ſays an Hiſtorian, *and by her Air, one would have taken her for a Goddeſs.*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 716.

All that now remained, was for *Appius* to give Sentence. His Power, his Paſſion, the Number of his Flatterers, and the Troops he commanded in *Rome*, hardened him, againſt any Remorſe at the notorious Iniquity he was going to commit. And therefore when Silence was made, the *Decemvir* [128] ſpake thus. *This is not the firſt Time I have heard of* Numitoria's *Intrigue, and of her impoſing upon* Virginius, *a Girl who was a Slave.* Claudius's *Father revealed the Secret to me at his Death, when he made me his Son's Guardian. Afterwards I examined into the Matter, and found it to be true; but I left it to my Pupil, to recover his Right which had been given from him, or to agree with the Parties concerned, when he came of Age. But now that the Cauſe is brought before me in Judgment, being obliged to give Sentence according to my own perſonal Knowledge, I, both as Judge and Witneſs declare, that the young Woman belongs to* Claudius, *and my Sentence is, that ſhe be delivered up to him, as his Property.*

Livy B. 3. c. 47.

This Determination, which was ſo very ill diſguiſed, diſcovered plainly the ſecret Intentions of the *Decemvir*, to the meaneſt Underſtandings. *Virginius* was no longer Maſter of himſelf. He trembled with Rage, and accompanying his Words with a threatning Geſture, ſaid; *Infamous Wretch, I never deſigned my Daughter for thee! I educated her for a lawful Husband, and not to ſerve the Pleaſures of a luſtful Raviſher. Muſt then brutal Paſſions take the Place, with us, of honourable Marriages?* Romans, *will you ſuffer theſe Things? The Army at leaſt, will have a juſt Indignation at thy Villany, and will do thee Juſtice, and revenge my Wrongs.* Upon this, a great Cry was heard all on a ſudden, among the People; which was a publick Proof of their Indignation. *Appius* had been affrighted at it, if his Friends and Flatterers had not kept up his Confidence. He thought it neceſſary to intimidate the People on ſo critical an Occaſion. *I know*, ſaid he, with an affrighted Air, *that all the laſt Night has been ſpent in Plots and ſeditious Aſſemblies. Do I then command the Troops here, and have I diſperſed them about in the* Capitol, *and on the Ramparts, in vain? Don't force me to turn thoſe Arms againſt you, which were deſigned only to be employed againſt the Enemy. Let every one retire to his own Houſe, and no more preſume to give Law to Lawgivers. As for you,* Claudius, *ſeize your Slave, and make uſe of my Guard to diſperſe the Crowd.* The imperious Tone of a Tyrant, ſurrounded with Troops, drove away the Multitude. Every one

Livy B. 3. c. 48. Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 717.

128 *Livy* did not think it proper to put ſo ill-judged a Speech in the Mouth of *Appius*, as *Dion. Hal.* makes him ſpeak, before he gave Sentence againſt *Virginia*. Not that the *Latin* Hiſtorian was inclined to call it in Queſtion, but the Improbability of the *Decemvir*'s making ſuch a mad Diſcourſe, prevented his inſerting it in his Hiſtory, as he himſelf declares, in his 8th Book. *Quem decreto ſermonem prætenderit* (Appius) *forſan aliquem verum auctores antiqui tradiderint——quia nuſquam ullum in tanta fœditate decreti veriſimilem invenio, id quod conſtat nudum videtur proponendum.* Nevertheleſs the *Greek* Hiſtorian aſcribes ſuch a Diſcourſe to *Appius*, according to the faithful Memoirs he made uſe of. It is true, the Magiſtrate does here act both as Judge and Witneſs, and determines barely upon the Strength of his own Teſtimony. But though this Diſcourſe ſeems not to have the leaſt Appearance of Truth, to thoſe who know *Virginius*'s Right, and the unjuſt Paſſion of the Tyrant: Yet it might at leaſt colour over and conceal *Appius*'s Iniquity, from ſome Perſons, whoſe Eyes were dazzled with his Authority.

left the *Forum* ſighing, and with Tears in his Eyes. In the mean time *Claudius* cauſed *Virginia* to be carried towards his Houſe, and *Appius* followed him with his Guard. But the unfortunate Father could not yet reſolve to leave his Daughter, in ſo melancholy a Conjuncture. He walked by her ſide, and kept his Arm round her Waſte. *Virginia* did not fall ſhort of her Father in Tenderneſs, and in taking her Leave of him, made uſe of the moſt moving Appellations. At length they came to the fartheſt ſide of the *Forum*, over againſt the Temple [129] of *Venus Cloacina*.

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It was here *Virginius* formed the Deſign of ſacrificing his Daughter, rather than ſee her diſhonoured. He drew near to *Appius*, and in a ſuppliant manner, ſaid, *Pardon, Sir, the unguarded Words againſt you, which eſcaped me in my firſt Tranſports. Permit me to ſpeak privately to* Virginia *one Moment, that I may interrogate her, concerning her real Birth, and may carry Home with me the Satisfaction of being ſet right in ſo intricate an Affair.* *Appius* could not refuſe *Virginius* ſo reaſonable a Requeſt, and kept at a Diſtance with his *Lictors*. *Virginia* ſaw her ſelf alone with her Father, and her Governeſs. Then, either out of a greater *Flow* of Tenderneſs, for him to whom ſhe owed her Life, or from the Horror, which now affected her more than ever, of the Treatment ſhe was to expect, ſhe fell down in a Swoon. Her Governeſs held her up, and *Virginius* ſeemed for ſome Time very earneſt, in endeavouring to bring her to her ſelf. And then, under Pretence of ſeeking for ſome Aſſiſtance, he ran to a Butcher's Stall, and ſeizing a Knife, returned to his Daughter, who was yet in her Swoon. But before he buried it in her Boſom, he ſaid, *Take here, my dear Daughter, take here the laſt Pledge of my Love. Go, and follow thy Anceſtors, whilſt thou art yet free, and pure from Pollution.* At which Words, he gave her the fatal Blow, and turning to *Appius*, *By this Blood*, cried he to him, *I devote thy Head to the infernal Gods.* The *Decemvir* inſtantly commanded *Virginius* to be ſeized; but with the Knife in his Hand, and covered with Blood, he made his Way through the People who flocked round him. Nay he did more. He ran through a great part of the City, carrying the Marks of his Fury in his Eyes and Countenance, followed with the Acclamations of the People, who excited him to re-eſtabliſh the publick Liberty. At length he arrived at one of the City-Gates, which he got through by the Aſſiſtance of the Multitude which guarded him, and mounting on Horſeback, took the Road to the Camp.

§. XIII. Whilst *Virginius* went to excite the Army againſt *Appius*, *Numitorius* and *Icilius* raiſed a great Commotion in *Rome*, among the People. They would not quit *Virginia*'s dead Body, which lay a long Time on the Ground in the *Forum*. They

129 *Lactantius* pretends, *B.* 20. that the Name of *Venus Cloacina* was taken from the great *Cloaca*, or *Common-Shore*, in which the Statue of this Goddeſs had been found. *Tatius*, adds this Author, conſecrated this Image, with this Inſcription, Veneri Cloacinæ. *Cloacinæ ſimulachrum in cloacâ maximâ repertum Tatius conſecravit; & quia, cujus eſſet effigies, ignorabat, ex loco illi nomen impoſuit.* But how venerable ſoever *Lactantius*'s Authority may be, it is evident he was miſtaken, in ſuppoſing that there were then any Common-Sewers at *Rome*; they were not built till long after *Romulus*, in the Reign of *Tarquin the Firſt*. What *Pliny* ſays on this Subject, ſeems more probable. *There was*, ſays he, *a Myrtle, in the ſame Place where the* Romans *and* Sabines *laid down their Arms, and concluded the Treaty of Alliance, which put an end to the War, which the Rape of the* Sabine-Women, *had occaſioned. The two Nations, as ſoon as united into one, had Recourſe, according to Cuſtom, to the Ceremonies of Expiation, and in purifying themſelves, made uſe of ſome of the Branches of this Myrtle.* This Ceremony was performed near the Place, where a Statue was erected to *Venus Cloacina*. She was ſo called, adds *Pliny*, *B.* 15. *c.* 29. from the old *Latin* Verb, *Cluere*, which ſignifies *to purify*. *Tatius* built a Temple to this Goddeſs, in Memory of the Union of the *Romans* and *Sabines*. This Temple ſtood near the *Comitium*. The Reverſe of a Medal of the *Muſſidian* Family, is thought, by Antiquaries, to give us the Figure of the Rails which incloſed the *Comitium*. The Word Cloacin in the Medal, points out the Temple of the Goddeſs, which ſtood in its Neighbourhood. One of the two *Romans* on the Medal ſeems to be putting a Ballot into an Urn, in order to give his Vote. *Muſſidius* probably intended to ſhew the Antiquity of his Family, by this Monument, and that he gloried in deriving his Deſcent from the *Sabines*.

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Livy B. 3. *Ibid.* *Dion. Hal. B.* 11. *p.* 718.

ran together from all Quarters, and heard the vehement Exclamations which *Icilius* and *Numitorius* uttered againſt the Tyrant. *Alas*, ſaid they, *unhappy* Virginia, *was it neceſſary, that thy Beauty ſhould prove fatal to thee! Was thy Father then reduced to the cruel Neceſſity of ſaving thy Honour at the Expence of thy Life!* The Women eſpecially, were eloquent on what had happened to *Virginia*. *Are we Mothers*, ſaid they, *only to have our Children taken away from us by Violence? Is this the Reward of Chaſtity and Fruitfulneſs?* The whole City was full of theſe Diſcourſes. The People came round *Virginia*'s Body, to exaſperate themſelves the more againſt the *Decemviri*. They were taught by *Numitorius* and *Icilius*, to demand the Re-eſtabliſhment of the antient Government, and to ſigh after the Reſtitution of the *Tribunes*. In the mean time *Appius*, who kept himſelf ſhut up in his Houſe, was equally tormented to ſee ſo many Crimes prove abortive, and to find all the People filled with a juſt Indignation againſt him. His Grief had reduced him to ſuch a Condition, that he was ſcarce Maſter of his Reaſon. Inſtead of appeaſing the People, by giving Way to their juſt Reſentments; inſtead of ſoothing them with Careſſes, that he might afterwards have an Opportunity of purging himſelf, from the ſtrong Suſpicions they had conceived of him; every Step he took, tended only to inflame their Rage.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 49.

He ſent out *Lictors*, with Orders to ſeize *Icilius*, and carry away the dead Body. But *Icilius* refuſed to obey. And the Multitude would not ſuffer the *Lictors* to get to him, and tear him away from his dear *Virginia*. Upon this, *Appius* was raſh enough, to come to execute his Orders, in Perſon. A choſen Company of young *Patricians*, who were entirely devoted to the *Decemviri*, attended the Tyrant. But he found the People, who held together againſt him, had Heads to lead them. And indeed, *Valerius* and *Horatius*, the two ſworn Enemies of the *Decemviri*, had come to the *Forum*, upon the firſt News of *Appius*'s march. Their Guard was more numerous than his, and all the People were for them. They therefore placed themſelves near the Corps, which cauſed all the Uproar, and ſurrounded *Icilius*, who could not be ſeparated from it. They at firſt repulſed the *Lictors*, and gave them to underſtand, that they had neither Law nor Power on their ſide; that the *Decemvir*, their Maſter, was only a private Man in *Rome*; and that his Strength was not ſuperior to theirs. Nevertheleſs *Appius* advanced to ſupport his Officers. His Company followed him, and the *Lictors* ſurrounded the two Senators. Theſe began at firſt with Invectives; with which they loaded the Tyrant. Then they fell upon his Attendants, knocked down ſome, and beat others, whilſt the People broke the *Faſces*. *Appius* was therefore obliged to retire, and took another Step, as unwiſe as the former. He fled to the Temple of *Vulcan* for Refuge, and cauſed the People to be called to him there, as if they had been ſtill in his Intereſts. There he inveighed bitterly againſt thoſe who defended *Icilius* and *Virginia*, pretended to exerciſe the Authority of a *Tribune of the People*, and demanded that the Diſturbers of the publick Peace ſhould be thrown headlong from the *Capitol*. But the Diſcourſe of the *Decemvir* was often interrupted with Hiſſes. And whilſt he was haranguing, *Valerius* and his Party carried the Body of *Virginia* to the Top of a Flight of Steps, from whence the People might conveniently ſee it. Afterwards they choſe out a Place in the *Forum*, from whence they could ſpeak ſo as to be heard by the People. So that there were two Aſſemblies, and two Orators, in different Parts of the *Forum*, declaiming againſt one another, at the ſame Time. A great Number of Auditors very ſoon left *Appius*, to run to *Valerius*. No Body was left with the *Decemvir*, but ſome of the Zealots for the *Decemviri*, and an Handful of ſuch cowardly Fellows, as are always Slaves to Men in preſent Power, and ready to deſert them, as ſoon as they think their Ruin certain. The reſt of the People were drawn away to *Virginia*'s Advocates, partly by the Regard they had for them, and partly by their Impatience to ſee the antient Government re-eſtabliſhed, and the *Decemvirate* aboliſhed. *Appius* therefore ſeeing his Auditors deſert him, had no Remedy left, but to hide his Face with his Robe, and ſeek for Refuge in a neighbouring Houſe. Had he continued any longer in the *Forum*, he would have been ſtoned, and the People of *Rome* would have at once deſtroyed, both the Head, and the Author of the Tyranny.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 719.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 49.

§. XIV. *VALERIUS* and *Horatius* had already gained great Advantages over *Appius*, when *Oppius* arrived to defend his Collegue. This *Plebeian Decemvir* choſe the moſt reaſonable Method of the many which were propoſed to him. This was to aſſemble the Senate, in order to put an end to a Diſpute, the Conſequences of

of which were much to be feared. Upon this, the People grew quiet in a very little Time. They promiſed themſelves, that when the Senators were aſſembled, they would put an end to Tyranny, by deſtroying the *Decemvirate*. But *The Fathers*, who were then at *Rome*, were doubtleſs, for the moſt part, Friends to the *Decemviri*. At leaſt, the Decree they made was favourable to them. It ordered the People to behave themſelves peaceably, and gave a Commiſſion to ſome young Senators, to go to the Camp, which was then [130] near *Algidus*, to prevent the Seditions *Virginius* might raiſe in it. But a new ſight put the Populace in Motion again. *Virginia*'s Relations came to the *Forum*, in deep Mourning, to fetch away her Body. This was a Proof that they did not acquieſce in the *Decemvir*'s Sentence. They would not have made ſo coſtly a Funeral for a Woman, whom they owned to be a Slave. The Funeral-Proceſſion paſſed in good Order through the chief Streets of the City, and *Virginia* was expoſed to every one's Eyes. The Women and their Daughters came out of their Houſes in Crowds, and honoured this innocent Victim to *Roman* Chaſtity, with their Tears. The pooreſt threw Noſegays, and Crowns of Flowers, upon the Bier on which ſhe lay. Others pulled off the Ribbons from their Heads, and their Girdles, and other Fineries, to adorn the Litter with them. Some cut off their Hair, and ſpread it over the dead Body. Whilſt the Merchants furniſhed all Neceſſaries for the Funeral *gratis*. There was an Emulation, who ſhould make the richeſt Preſents, for the Decoration of the Proceſſion. In ſhort, nothing was talked of, in *Rome*, but *Virginia*'s Funeral. Theſe Expreſſions of the Sentiments of the Publick, turned much to *Appius*'s Shame, and the *Decemvirate* became more odious than can be expreſſed. Nevertheleſs, the Fear of the Troops that remained in *Rome*, reſtrained the People from Inſurrections, and *Valerius* did not think it yet proper, to put the City in Arms.

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Dion. Hal. Ibid.

§. XV. BUT in the Camp of the five *Legions*, which were ſent againſt the *Æqui*, the Commotion was greater. *Virginius* [131] arrived there, after it was Night, when the Soldiers were at Supper. He was accompanied by about four hundred Citizens of *Rome*, who followed him in ſmall Companies, and entered the Camp one after another. As for himſelf, he paſſed through the advanced-Guards, with the Knife, with which he had ſtabbed his Daughter, in his Hand, and all covered with Blood; and they left their Poſts, to hear an Account of an Adventure, in which they thought themſelves concerned. *Virginius* invited them to follow him, and the Tears he ſhed increaſed their Curioſity. In this Condition he paſſed through the Tents. The Noiſe of thoſe that followed him, made the Soldiers come out with Lamps and Torches in their Hands. And this Appearance made his Harangue the more moving. At length he came to one of the Openings of the Camp, where ſeveral Ways met, and placed himſelf on an Eminence, that he might be heard the further. Thoſe about him were all ſilent, and he ſpake thus. *Don't impute to me, dear fellow Soldiers, a Crime which* Appius's *Tyranny has forced me to commit. I have murdered my own Daughter. This is the Knife, which I juſt now buried in her Boſom. Great Gods! I tremble yet at the Thoughts of it! But let the Odium of ſo barbarous an Action fall upon the true Author of it!* Virginia *was dearer to me than my Life; but her Life was not ſo dear to me, as her Chaſtity. The chief of our Tyrants, had laid a Plot againſt my Daughter's Liberty and Honour. And I have by one Stroke, freed her from Slavery and Infamy. My Tenderneſs has made me cruel; and nothing could make me ſurvive the Loſs of her, but the ardent Deſire of revenging it. It is your Aſſiſtance therefore, dear fellow-Soldiers, it is your Aſſiſtance, that I implore. You have Wives, Siſters, and Daughters, of your own. And to what Inſults will they not be expoſed, if* Appius *ſhould eſcape with Impunity, which will only make him the more audacious in his Debaucheries? His Incontinence can do no more Miſchief in my Family. It behoves you, to look to yours; and by ſhedding of the Blood of the guilty, to protect them from a Diſhonour, which I could no otherwiſe prevent, than by ſhedding that of an innocent Daughter.*

Livy B. 3. c. 50. Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 720.

Livy B. 3. c. 50.

130 *Livy* places the *Roman* Camp upon the Hill *Vecilius*. But he is the only Hiſtorian who mentions any Hill of that Name. *Eutropius* ſpeaks only of the Hill *Algidus*; and *Livy* himſelf tells us, a little before, that the *Legions* had taken Poſſeſſion of that Poſt.

131 *Aurelius Victor*'s Account differs from that of the other Hiſtorians, eſpecially of *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* when he ſays, that *Virginius* carried his Daughter's Body to the Camp, and ſhewed himſelf to the Soldiers, with it bleeding in his Arms. Beſides, it is not eaſy to imagine, how he could get above ſixteen Miles from *Rome*, in ſo ſhort a Time, and with ſo heavy a Burden.

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VIRGINIUS ſpoke theſe Words, with the Tone and Geſture of a Man out of his Senſes. All that were preſent cried out, that they were ready to revenge his Injuries, and the publick Liberty. In the mean time, they enquired of the Citizens, who were come to the Army from *Rome*, and learned from them all the Particulars of ſo affecting a Story. Thoſe that arrived laſt, exaggerated the Miſeries of the City. They reported that *Appius*, being purſued by the Citizens, was forced to baniſh himſelf from *Rome*, and that the whole City was in a Combuſtion. And this News had like to have made the Soldiers ſnatch up the *Roman Eagles* immediately, and decamp. They inſtantly called upon their Commanders by Name, and deſired them to be their Leaders. Several ſubaltern Officers went out of their Tents, and without Fear, publickly declared the perſonal Grievances they had ſuffered from the Tyrants. The five *Decemviri*, who commanded the Army, on their Parts, held a Council of War, in order to find Means to appeaſe the Tumult. Word was brought them, that the Soldiers were retired to their Tents, and all was quiet. The Reſult of the Conſultation was this, that *Virginius*, the Author of the Diſorder, ſhould be put under Arreſt the next Day; that the Army ſhould immediately decamp, march into the Enemy's Country, and be carried as far out of the reach of hearing what paſſed at *Rome*, as was poſſible. The *Decemviri* did not know, that the *Centurions* had conſpired together to exterminate the *Decemvirate*, and re-eſtabliſh the antient Form of Government. The next Day therefore *Virginius* was ſummoned to appear at the General's Quarters. But the reſt of the *Centurions* oppoſed it, and kept him under their Protection. And when they were informed of the Deſign of leading away the Army, in order to penetrate into the Country of the *Æqui*, they openly murmured at it, and reproached their Commanders. *You have indeed*, ſaid they to them, *managed Matters ſo well hitherto, that we have Reaſon to expect great Things from this new March. Victory will as ſurely attend you in this, as it has done all the reſt of the Campaign. What a Shame is it for you, that the moſt flouriſhing Army* Rome *has ſeen, ſhould continue all this while unactive! The Enemy do what they pleaſe, before your Faces. They ravage our Country, erect Trophies on our Lands, and take from us our Houſes, our Tents, our Slaves, and our Proviſions.* *Virginius* therefore, ſeeing himſelf well ſupported, gave a Looſe to his Reſentments. He preſſed the *Centurions* to ſnatch up the *Eagles*, carry away the Colours, and march out of the Camp, without the Privity of their Generals. And one ſingle religious Scruple, was the only thing that ſuſpended a little the Execution of it. They were afraid of violating thoſe ſacred Bonds, their military Oaths, and of profaning the *Eagles*, which were looked upon in the Camp, as a kind of Deities. Little Temples were built there for them, and they were never taken out from thence, but with the Conſent of the Generals, and after having conſulted the *Augurs*. But *Virginius* diſpelled theſe vain Fears. *Our Oaths*, ſaid he, *only oblige us to Obedience to lawful Generals. Whereas, are not they, who now command us, Uſurpers, whoſe Authority is expired, and who have no manner of Superiority over us, but what our Cowardice gives them leave to aſſume?* Theſe Words determined the Army to ſhake off the Yoke of the Tyrants. They all looked ſtedfaſtly on one another, encouraged one another to revolt, and in an inſtant, by a ſort of Enthuſiaſm, the *Eagles* were plucked from the Ground, the Army followed their Standards, marched out of the Camp, and took the Road to *Rome*. There remained only a few *Centurions* and Soldiers with the *Decemviri*, who were not to be compared with the Deſerters, for Number. The latter continued their March all Day, and did not reach the Neighbourhood of *Rome*, till towards Night. Upon their Arrival the City was in a general Conſternation. The Citizens thought the *Æqui* had had Knowledge of their inteſtine Diviſions, and were come to beſiege them. But they took Courage, when they ſaw a *Roman* Army paſſing through the City, without committing the leaſt Violence, proteſting that they had ſeparated themſelves from the *Decemviri*, only out of Regard to the publick Good, and marching in good Order towards the Hill *Aventinus*, to encamp there. This Hill, which overlooked *Rome*, was then but thinly inhabited, and had ſpare Ground enough for a Camp. There the Army entrenched themſelves, near the Temple of *Diana*. In the mean time, *Oppius* the *Decemvir*, cauſed the Senate to aſſemble; for *Appius*, the Author of all theſe Misfortunes, appeared no more in publick. The *Conſcript Fathers* choſe to act a moderate Part. They only ſent

Livy, Ibid.

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ſent three [132] Senators of Diſtinction to the Army, on the Hill *Aventinus*; with Orders to ask, in the Name of the Senate, why they had left their Generals, and with what Intent they had given over the War againſt the Enemy, and were come to encamp under the Walls of *Rome*. The Anſwer was eaſy; but the Deſerters had not yet choſen themſelves a Head, and no private Man dared to give an Anſwer for the whole Body. Theſe therefore all cried out with one Voice, *Let* Valerius *and* Horatius *be ſent to us! We will ſend no Anſwer to the Senate, but by them.* Upon which the Deputies returned to *Rome*, and made a Report of their Negotiation to the Senate.

VIRGINIUS was ſtruck with the unexpected Fearfulneſs the Troops had ſhewn, when interrogated by the Meſſengers from the Senate. This made him ſenſible, that Heads were wanted to govern the Multitude, and to be its Mouth. Accordingly, it was agreed to chooſe ten, under the Name of *Military Tribunes*. The Troops were deſirous to have *Virginius* at the Head of them, and prayed him to accept of the Command they offered him. But he made the Soldiers this Anſwer; *Reſerve the kind Regard you have for me, againſt a more favourable Opportunity. My Daughter is dead, and I have not yet revenged it. No kind of Honour will become me, till her* Manes *are appeaſed. My Rage againſt the Tyrants is ſo violent, that you cannot expect from me very prudent, or moderate Counſels. I ſhall be of more Service to our common Cauſe, by acting in it, as a private Perſon.* One *M. Oppius* therefore, a very different Man from the *Decemvir*, was choſen into the Place which *Virginius* refuſed; And nine Collegues were joined with him. Under theſe military Governors the Army, deſigned againſt the *Æqui*, kept themſelves at the Gates of *Rome*, without committing any Devaſtations in the *Roman* Territory. *Dion. Hal. B.* 11. *p.* 724.

§. XVI. The three *Legions* ſent againſt the *Sabines*, paid as little Deference to their Generals. The Maſſacre of the incomparable *Sicinnius* had provoked them: And created in them a Diſpoſition to revolt, which *Numitorius* and *Icilius* exceedingly increaſed, by their Account of the Death of *Virginia*, which inſpired them with new Rage againſt the *Decemvirate*. Theſe *Legions* would have gone away from their Commanders, as ſoon as they retired to *Cruſtuminum*, if the Fear of the other five *Legions*, commanded by *Cornelius*, had not kept them in their Duty. The Defection therefore of that General's Camp from him, was an Example which *Fabius*'s Army followed. *Icilius*, who was at the Head of the Revolt, led on the Revolters towards *Rome*. And in his March he was informed, that the Army encamped on the *Aventinus* had choſen ten *Tribunes*. Upon which, he cauſed his Body of Forces to chooſe the like Number of Commanders, leſt in the future Election of *Tribunes of the People*, the Electors ſhould confine themſelves to the ten *Military Tribunes*, already choſen on the Hill *Aventinus*. After this Precaution, which concerned himſelf, becauſe he aſpired at being a *Tribune of the People*, he continued his March towards *Rome*. He entered the City, with Colours flying, by the Gate *Collina*, and after having marched through the Streets, in order of Battel, arrived at the Hill *Aventinus*. There the two Armies united, under the Government of twenty *Military Tribunes*, reſolved for the future to obey only two Generals, *Oppius* and [133] *Manlius*. Theſe two appointed themſelves a Council, conſiſting of all the *Centurions* in the Army, and governed it with more Prudence than could have been expected. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 51.

§. XVII. In the mean time, *Oppius* the *Decemvir* thought to have put an end to theſe Misfortunes, by the Intervention of the Senate. He cauſed the Senators to aſſemble, by drawing them one after another, from their Houſes. They met daily; but their Sittings were ſpent in Diſputes, without coming to any fixed Reſolutions. The Majority was for deputing *Valerius* and *Horatius* to the confederate Armies on the Hill *Aventinus*; but theſe two illuſtrious *Patricians* refuſed to go, till the *Decemviri* had laid down. But the latter inſiſted on continuing in their Offices, till the *Twelve Tables* were entirely confirmed: For the two laſt, at leaſt, had not yet been accepted in *Comitia by Centuries*. Theſe tedious Deliberations tired the two Armies. They therefore reſolved to go and encamp at ſome Diſtance from *Rome*, for the greater Convenience of getting Proviſions. And upon this Occaſion, they remembred the *Sacred Mountain*, which was formerly ſo famous for the firſt Separa-

[132] Theſe three *Conſular* Perſons were *Spurius Tarpeius*, *Caius Julius*, and *Publius Sulpicius*.

[133] *Livy* calls him *Manilius*, and not *Manlius*.

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Ap. Claudius, *&c.* Decemviri.

tion of the *Roman* People. *That Name alone*, ſaid the Troops, *will be ſufficient to put the Senate in mind of the Conſtancy of the People in inſiſting on their Rights; and make them ſenſible, that it will not be poſſible for them to have Peace at Home, till they have reſtored us our* Tribunes of the People. The two Armies therefore took the Road to the *Sacred Mountain*, without committing the leaſt Diſorder in their March, and when they arrived there, fortified themſelves upon it, and obſerved the ſame exact Diſcipline, for which their Anceſtors had been admired. The Soldiers, when they decamped from the *Aventinus*, were followed by all the Citizens of *Rome*, with their Wives, and Children. *What have we to do*, ſaid they, *in a City, where neither Liberty nor Honour is any longer ſafe?* So that *Rome* was then no better than a vaſt Deſart. The *Fathers* were ſurprized, as they came to the Senate-Houſe, to ſee the Streets without Tradeſmen and Artificers, and the *Forum* without any People in it. And then the Majority of the Houſe ſpoke the ſame Language as *Valerius* and *Horatius*. *Shall we ſuffer the Obſtinacy of the* Decemviri *to make our Country deſolate? What Pleaſure can they have in governing a deſerted City, and empty Houſes? Their* Lictors *do now almoſt exceed in Number all the reſt of the Inhabitants of* Rome. *What will become of us, if a foreign Enemy, or our own mutinous Troops come and inveſt us? Do you pretend*, Decemviri, *to maintain your ſelves in your Sovereignty, till the Republick is utterly deſtroyed?* Rome *cannot ſubſiſt without Citizens, nor will the People be ſatisfied without* Tribunes. *They formerly forced our Anceſtors to create them: And they have ſince found ſo much Benefit from their Protection, that they are obſtinate in demanding them again. Have not our own Severities to the People, made it neceſſary that they ſhould have them? Give Way*, Decemviri, *to their Pretenſions. Reſtore the Senate its* Conſuls, *and the People their* Tribunes. *Then the Republick will flouriſh as much as ever, enjoy Tranquillity at Home, and be victorious Abroad.* The *Decemviri*, who were Generals, in vain demanded, upon their return from the two Camps, that the Conſpirators ſhould be puniſhed. The Senators were almoſt unanimouſly of *Valerius*'s Opinion, who voted for the depoſing of the *Decemviri*, and for granting the Troops an Amneſty for what was paſſed. This thoroughly terrified the *Decemviri*, who were already frighted at the Retreat of the People. In ſhort, they promiſed to lay down their Authority, provided the Senate would take them under its Protection, to guard them againſt the Violence of their Enemies. Then *Valerius* and *Horatius*, when inveſted with full Powers, to treat with the Army and People, on whatever Conditions they thought reaſonable, accepted of the Deputation to the *Mons Sacer*.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 52.

It is not to be conceived what Joy, the Arrival of theſe two Senators ſpread, all over the Camp. They had been the Defenders of the publick Intereſt from the beginning of the Uſurpation of the *Decemviri*. And they had been the Perſons, who had now brought the Affair to bear at laſt. In ſhort, they were the two Mediators the Troops ſo much deſired. The latter began with returning them Thanks, for their Zeal for the publick Good. *Icilius* was the Speaker, who was commiſſioned to treat with the Deputies of the Senate. He was intruſted by the Council of the Revolters to demand two Things. 1. The Re-eſtabliſhment of the *Tribunes of the People*, and the right of Appeal, from the Deciſions of the *Conſuls* to them. 2. The Puniſhment of the *Decemviri*, who they intended ſhould be burnt alive. But the wiſe Deputies made a great deal of Difference between the two Articles. *One*, ſaid they, *is the Dictate of Reaſon, the other the Effect of Paſſion. It is for your Safety's ſake, that you deſire the Revival of the* Tribunate, *and not in order to authorize Licentiouſneſs. This is a juſt Demand. But as to the Puniſhment of the* Decemviri, *we forgive indeed your carrying your Reſentments ſo far as to deſire it; but we ſhould never forgive our ſelves, if we were to grant ſuch a Requeſt. Ought their Injuſtice to be revenged by a more ſhameful Iniquity? The Senate has not yet declared you innocent, and do you already pretend to give Law to it? At this Rate, the mutual Hatred of the People, and the* Patricians *will never end, but in mutual Cruelties. You are offered a Shield for your Defence; don't take the Sword too, to begin an Attack. Is it not enough to ſatisfy you, that whenever you ſhall have your* Tribunes *reſtored to you, you will then have it in your Power, to condemn even the* Patricians *themſelves, by your Suffrages? Be content then, for the preſent, with recovering your Houſes, your Liberty, and your Protectors.* The People ſubmitted to theſe ſtrong Reaſons, threw themſelves entirely into the Hands of the Deputies, and empowered them to make what Terms for them,

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them, they thought fit. *Valerius* and *Horatius* returned to *Rome*, and their Report, was heard by the Senate with Attention, and received with Joy. Nine of the *Decemviri*, when they underſtood the People did not demand their Heads, readily conſented to grant them every Thing elſe they asked. *Appius* was the only Man, who thought himſelf loſt. *To re-eſtabliſh the* Tribuneſhip, ſaid he, *is to put Arms into the Hands of the People. I find my Execution is only poſtponed. And my Life muſt be ſacrificed to the publick Hatred! But ſince it muſt be ſo, let us begin with diveſting our ſelves of the* Decemvirate. Accordingly, the Senate paſſed a Decree, whereby they aboliſhed the *Decemvirate*, and re-eſtabliſhed the *Tribunes of the People:* And that the latter might be legally choſen, they nominated *Quintus* [134] *Furius*, who was then *Pontifex* [135] *Maximus*, to preſide at the Election. After this, they decreed, that neither the [136] People, nor the Troops, ſhould ever be moleſted, on account of their Separation. And then the *Decemviri* immediately reſigned. Thoſe Citizens that were left in *Rome* were aſſembled, and, in their Preſence, the ten Sovereigns laid down their Offices. This happy News was carried to the Camp by the two Deputies, and proclaimed in a lawful Aſſembly. Upon which, the Troops delayed no longer to return to *Rome*, with the People that had followed them. After they had paſſed through the City, they went and encamped a ſecond Time, on the Hill *Aventinus*. There the *Pontifex Maximus* proceeded to the Election of ten *Tribunes of the People*. The three firſt choſen were *Virginius*, *Icilius*, and *Numitorius*. The People [137] intended this as an Acknowledgment, that they now owed their Deliverance to the Father, and Defenders of *Virginia*, as *Rome* had formerly been indebted for her Liberty, to the Father and Defenders of *Lucretia*. Nothing perhaps was

134 *Aſconius* gives him, who was *Pontifex Maximus* at this time, the Name of *Marcus Papyrius*, and not that of *Quintus Furius*. And *Sigonius* inclines to the ſame Opinion. His Reaſon is, that the Hiſtorians have hitherto made no mention of any *Quintus Furius*; whereas *Marcus Papyrius* has already appeared upon the Stage more than once.

135 As there was no Magiſtrate in being, after the Abdication of the *Decemviri*, who had a right to aſſemble the *Comitia*, the Senate gave the *Pontifex Maximus* for the time being, an extraordinary Commiſſion to do it. And indeed *Numa* had not only given him the Superintendency in all Things relating to the Worſhip of the Gods; but had likewiſe made him ſupreme Arbitrator between the Magiſtrates and the People. By this Preheminence of Office, he had a right to puniſh the Refractory, according to the Crimes they had committed contrary to Law; and that without Appeal, either to Senate, or *Comitia*. So that, according to *Sigonius*, it was neceſſary for a Man to have paſſed through the greateſt Offices in the Republick, before he could be made a *Pontifex Maximus*. The Inſpection of this Magiſtrate extended ſo far, that *Feſtus* gives him the Title of *Judge, both of divine and human Things*. *Cicero*, ſpeaking of the *Pontifices*, ſays, it was their Buſineſs to provide for the Welfare of Religion, and the good Order of the Republick. We ſhall have frequent Occaſions to mention the Prerogatives, and Duties, of this ſupreme Dignity.

136 *Dion. Hal.* adds, that while they were buſy in putting an end to theſe Troubles, ſome Officers arrived from the Camp of *Fidena*, to complain of the Deſerters, and to demand a Decree of the Senate, for puniſhing the guilty. Upon which *Cornelius* propoſed, that the Rebels ſhould be obliged to return to the Camp, and that the Generals ſhould have a Power of puniſhing the Heads of the Sedition at Diſcretion. But the Motion was rejected. *L. Valerius* ſhewed, that to uſe Rigour, would be to make the Diſeaſe incurable; and that therefore in ſuch nice Conjunctures, it would be beſt, to proceed with Moderation, and endeavour at an Accommodation.

137 According to *Livy*, not only the three *Tribunes*, *Aulus Virginius*, *Lucius Icilius*, and *Publius Numitorius*, *Virginia*'s Uncle, were choſen at this Election, which was made by *Comitia*, and held by the *Pontifex Maximus*; but alſo *Caius Sicinnius*, (Son or Grandſon of the famous *Sicinnius Bellutus*, who was raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip*, when the *Plebeians*, confederating againſt the Nobility, retired the firſt time to the *Sacred Mountain*;) and *Marcus Duilius*; who had already been *Tribune of the People*, before the Creation of the *Decemviri*, and had laboured with an indefatigable Zeal, to reunite the People and Senate, in this Year, when *Appius*'s Tyranny had brought ſo many Misfortunes on the Republick. To theſe five *Tribunes* were added five others, viz. *Marcus Titinnius*, *Marcus Pomponius*, *Caius Apronius*, *Publius Villius*, and *Caius Appius*. Theſe latter were elected, ſays the *Latin* Hiſtorian, not ſo much to give them an honourable Reward for paſt Services, as in order to incline them to promote the Intereſts of the People; who promiſed themſelves *they* would zealouſly protect them. By making one *Publius Villius* one of the ten new *Tribunes*, we follow, as we think our ſelves obliged to do, the Conjecture of *Sigonius*. It is true in the MSS. we read *Appius Julius*, and not *Publius Villius*; but this learned Author ſuſpects that to be a Miſtake of the Copyiſts. His Reaſons for his Correction are theſe. 1. That none of the *Julian* Family ever had the Name of *Appius*. This Name was given only to *Sabines*, or to Men of *Roman* Families, which were originally *Sabine*. Such were one *Appius Herdonius*, and one *Appius Claudius*. 2. That none but *Plebeians* had yet been *Tribunes of the People*. Whereas the *Julian* Family was *Patrician*. And it is therefore improbable, that one of them ſhould be choſen to exerciſe a *Plebeian*'s Office ſo early, as in the Year 304. 3. *Sigonius* thinks we ought to read *Villius* inſtead of *Julius*, not only becauſe the *Tribuneſhip* was moſt likely to be given to the former, who was a *Plebeian*, but likewiſe becauſe the Copyiſts have actually confounded theſe two Names, more than once. Nevertheleſs, we muſt acknowledge, that it was not uncommon among the *Romans*, for Clients, or *Freed-men*, to take the Names of their Maſters or Patrons, in Honour to themſelves. So that this *Julius* might have been of that Number. And the Reader has a right to embrace which Opinion he likes beſt.

Year of *ROME* CCCIV. Interregnum.

more glorious in the antient *Romans*, than this ſteady Love of Chaſtity, by which alone the two firſt Revolutions in their State were brought about. They ſeem to have had more Indulgence for any other Attacks upon their Liberty. But when Attempts were made on the Honour of their Wives, and Daughters, they were ſo implacable in their Revenge, as to overturn every Thing, rather than let them eſcape unpuniſhed.

§. XVIII. WHAT now remained, in order to the perfect Re-eſtabliſhment of the Republick, was to aſſemble all the ſeveral Orders, in the *Campus Martius*, and there to chooſe two *Conſuls*. None of the *Patricians* were then in the Magiſtracy, and indeed, properly ſpeaking, *Rome* was yet without Governors. So that, either the *Pontifex Maximus* [138] muſt have preſided himſelf at theſe *Comitia*, during the *Interregnum*, in right of his Office, or nominated a Preſident. But however that were, the *Centuries*, which conſiſted of all the Citizens of *Rome*, as well Noble, as *Plebeian*, had Regard to the Services ſo lately done their Country, by *Valerius* and *Horatius*; and named them for [139] *Conſuls*. They immediately entered upon the Execution of their Offices; but did not enjoy them a whole Year. The *Decemviri* had at leaſt uſurped their Offices for the firſt Months of it. But notwithſtanding the Shortneſs of their Government, theſe new *Conſuls* found Means to ſignalize themſelves, both in War, and Peace.

Year of *ROME* CCCIV. Lucius Valerius Potitus, and M. Horatius, Barbatus, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 11. *p.* 725.

LUCIUS Valerius [139] *Potitus*, and *Marcus Horatius Barbatus*, his Collegue, were both of thoſe Families which were called *Populares*, or *Popular*. Though deſcended from the moſt illuſtrious *Patricians*, they had always adhered to the Intereſts of the People, and this Inclination had been tranſmitted from Father to Son. *Valerius* had derived this Love of the People, with the Blood of *Poplicola* his Grandfather, and *Horatius* with that of his Grandfather *M. Horatius Pulvillus*. Theſe two *Conſuls* kept the Promiſe they had made the People on the *Sacred Mountain*, of favouring them in every Thing, and doing them ſignal Service, in caſe they ſhould be choſen into Office. Upon this new change then, they were wholly bent upon giving the *Plebeians* a Superiority over the Senate. This was evident from the Laws they made in it. Formerly, the Ordinances made by the People in *Comitia by Tribes*, obliged only the *Plebeians*. In order to a Law's being of general Obligation upon all the different Orders of Men in the Republick, it was neceſſary it ſhould be confirmed in *Comitia by Centuries*. Beſides, it is well known, the *Plebeians* had the Aſcendant in the *Comitia by Tribes*, and the *Patricians* in the *Comitia by Centuries*. But the new *Conſuls* now enacted, [140] that the Decrees of the *Tribes* ſhould be as univerſally obſerved by the *Patricians*, as thoſe of the *Centuries* were by the *Plebeians*. This was eſtabliſhing a great Equality between two Bodies, which had always oppoſed and rivalled one another. Nay, the *Conſuls* did not ſtop here. In order to ſecure the Republick for ever againſt the Tyranny of Magiſtrates, inveſted with unlimited Authority, like the *Decemviri*; and in order to maintain the *Tribunes* in perpetual Poſſeſſion of their Right of judging any Cauſes, which were brought to their Tribunal by Appeal; they

Livy B. 3. *c.* 55.

138 It is not probable, that when there were no *Conſuls*, the *Pontifex Maximus* had a right, by vertue of his Office, to aſſemble the People *by Centuries*, and preſide at the Election of theſe chief Magiſtrates. The *Roman* Story gives us no one Inſtance of it. Beſides, it belonged to the *Comitia by Tribes*, to elect the *Pontifex Maximus*. So that it ſeems improper for a Magiſtrate, who was choſen by the *Plebeians*, to preſide, when the People were aſſembled *by Centuries*, to chooſe new *Conſuls*. And *Tully*, *Ep.* 9. to *Attic. B.* 9. gives us a Reaſon for it. *No inferior Magiſtrate*, ſays he, *is permitted to propoſe another of a ſuperior Authority*. For this Reaſon, the *Prætors*, or *Cenſors*, never preſided in the *Conſular Comitia*, *i. e.* in the *Comitia* which choſe the *Conſuls*. So that, *Livy*'s Account is moſt probable, who ſays, the Senate reduced the Publick to the State of an *Interregnum*, and created a Preſident, under whoſe Direction, the *Comitia* might be aſſembled.

139 *L. Valerius Poplicola Potitus*, was Son of the famous *Publius Valerius*, who loſt his Life in defending the *Capitol* againſt *Herdonius*. *Marcus Horatius* was the Grandſon of him, who had been *Conſul* with *Publius Valerius*, after the Expulſion of the *Tarquins*, and had dedicated the *Capitol*. *Diodorus Siculus* is defective, as uſual, in the Names of theſe two *Conſuls*. *Zonaras* pretends, upon the Credit of ſome Annaliſts, that theſe two chief Magiſtrates of the Republick, who had hitherto had the Name of *Prætors*, began to have the Title of *Conſuls* given them, *Quia libertati plebis conſuluerunt*; *i. e.* becauſe they had provided for the Intereſts and Liberty of the *Plebeians*, in Prejudice to the Authority of the *Patricians*, by having decreed, that whatever ſhould be concluded on in the *Comitia by Tribes*, ſhould have the Force of a Law, to all Citizens, without Diſtinction; *Ut quod Tributim plebs juſſiſſet, Populum teneret*. Livy *B.* 8.

140 If this Law was in force at firſt, it is clear, it afterwards ſunk into Diſuſe; ſince, according to *Livy B.* 3. *Publius Philo* renewed it, long after it had been made. *Pliny* affirms, it was again promulged, a third Time, by *Hortenſius*, the *Dictator*.

enacted likewiſe, [141] *That for the future, no Magiſtrates, of any kind, ſhould be created, and inveſted, with a ſupreme Authority, without Appeal; and that it ſhould be lawful for any one to kill the Authors of ſuch an Innovation.* By this Means, the People were freed from all Fear of being any more deprived of the Privilege of having recourſe to their Defenders. The *Tribunes* were likewiſe replaced in their former Security. The *Conſuls*, in favour to them, renewed the antient Ceremonies, whereby their Perſons were put under the Safeguard of Religion. It was declared anew, [142] *That if any Perſon whatſoever made any Attempt upon their Perſons, his Head* [143] *ſhould be devoted to* Jupiter, *and his Effects ſold, and appropriated to the Temple of* Ceres [144], Bacchus, *and* Proſerpine. And to theſe Regulations, was added [145] another, viz. *That the Decrees of the Senate ſhould, for the future, be carried to the* Ædiles, *and kept in the Temple of* Ceres. This was done for fear the ſucceeding *Conſuls* ſhould ſuppreſs theſe Decrees, as uſual, and render them uſeleſs. Indeed the Senate did not juridically oppoſe theſe *Conſular* Laws, becauſe, after all, no one Senator was perſonally injured; but they plainly ſaw how much they tended to the Diminution of their Credit and Authority.

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Lucius Valerius Potitus, and M. Horatius Barbatus, Conſuls.

§. XIX. The *Tribunes* now finding that they were more firmly eſtabliſhed than ever, thought themſelves in a Condition to undertake, whatever a juſt Revenge could dictate. They therefore made it their Buſineſs to humble the proud *Decemviri*, whom it was now a popular Thing to proſecute. But to attack them all together, would be to engage againſt their united Strength. And if they began with the weakeſt, it would not indeed be difficult to ruin them; but that would have been only deſtroying the moſt innocent: And the Publick, tired with the Executions of the firſt, would perhaps have pitied the moſt guilty, and the moſt powerful. They therefore attacked them all, one after another: But the Head of the *Decemviri* firſt felt their Fury. *Virginius*, with the Conſent of his Collegues, cited *Appius* to appear, and undertook to be his Accuſer himſelf. *Appius* appeared on the Day appointed; but the Company which came with him to guard him, ſerved only to increaſe the Hatred of the Publick to him. The young *Patricians* who followed him, put the People in Mind of the Violences, of which he had made them the Inſtruments, during his *Decemvirate*. And on the other Hand, the ſight of *Virginius*, who appeared ready to accuſe him, made all Hearts bleed afreſh, by renewing the Remembrance of *Appius*'s Crime, and the Fate of the unfortunate *Virginia*. The Accuſer ſpoke thus. *It were*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 726.

Livy B. 3. c. 56.

141 This Law, which related only to new-created Magiſtrates, did not at all leſſen the Power of *Dictators*. They, as has been obſerved, had Authority to determine Cauſes without Appeal. But for fear of their abuſing their Authority, the Republick had taken proper Precautions againſt it. It is well known, the Time of this ſupreme Magiſtrate was limited to ſix Months, after which his Power expired. Beſides, the *Dictator* himſelf was, in ſeveral Caſes, ſubject to the Will of the Senate, and the People. For Inſtance, he could not make uſe of the Money in the publick Treaſury, without firſt having the Conſent of the *Conſcript Fathers*, or the *Comitia*.

142 *Livy* ſtates this Law in theſe Words: *Ut qui Tribuni plebis, Ædilibus, Judicibus, Decemviris, nocuiſſet, ejus caput Jovi ſacrum eſſet, familia ad ædem Cereris, Liberi, Liberæque vænum iret.* The *Decemviri* here mentioned, are the *Tribunes of the People*, who were ſo called, becauſe their College conſiſted of ten Perſons. No Man ſurely will ſay, that the Deſign of the Law-givers was to provide for the Safety of thoſe *Decemviri*, whoſe Tyranny had made them the Deteſtation of the People. The firſt Clauſe therefore of this Law, *Ut qui Tribunis plebis*, &c. provides for the Safety of the *Tribunes of the People*, in general; and the latter Clauſe, points them out in a more particular manner, by the Name of *Decemviri*. The Word *Ædilibus*, ſignified the *Plebeian Ædiles*, who were a ſort of Servants, or Aſſiſtants to the *Tribunes*. The Term *Judicibus* was then uſed, according to *Feſtus*, only to ſignify Magiſtrates, and ſuch as had ſome Authority in the Republick.

143 That is, the Criminal ſhould be from that time looked upon as a Victim *devoted* to *Jupiter*. A Man, who was loaded with this Curſe, could no otherwiſe ſave his Life, than by Flight. Any Citizen might kill him with Impunity.

144 This Temple, which *Aulus Poſthumius* had made a Vow to build, during the War between the *Romans* and *Latins*, was dedicated by the *Conſul Caſſius*, in the Year 260. According to *Dion. Hal. B. 6.* and *Tacitus*, *Annal. 2.* it ſtood at the Extremity of the *Great Circus*. We have already ſpoken of the three Divinities, to whom it was conſecrated, in the ſeventh Book.

145 The *Conſuls* added two other Laws to thoſe already mentioned. The firſt ran thus: *Ut Senatus-conſulta in ædem Cereris, ad Ædiles Plebis deferrentur.* That is, that for the future the Decrees of the Senate ſhould be carried to the Temple of *Ceres*, and committed to the Care of the *Plebeian Ædiles*. By the ſecond Law, thoſe Citizens who ſhould hinder the Election of the *Tribunes of the People*, or Attempt to aboliſh their Office, are condemned to loſe their Heads, after having been firſt beaten with Rods. *Qui Plebem ſine Tribunis reliquiſſet, quique Magiſtratum, ſine provocatione creaſſet, tergo ac capite puniretur.* The ſame Puniſhment is likewiſe inflicted by this ſecond Law, upon any, who ſhould contribute to the Creation of a ſupreme Magiſtrate, from whom there was no Appeal. Whence we may judge, how jealous the People of *Rome* were, of their Rights and Liberties.

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Lucius Valerius Potitus, and M. Horatius Barbatus, Conſuls.

needleſs to ſpend much Time in expoſing known Villanies. What could I add, to give the People a ſtronger Conviction of them? You your ſelves, Romans, *have been already ſo fully convinced of* Appius's *Oppreſſions, and infamous Actions, that you have thought your ſelves obliged to revenge them by Arms. Your military Proceedings againſt him, are irrefragable Proofs of his Guilt. Let us therefore prevent his committing a new Crime, by not ſuffering him to ſhew his Inſolence in his Juſtification.* Appius, *I would willingly overlook the numerous Acts of Injuſtice, by which you have blackened your Character, for theſe two Years. I ſhall confine my Accuſation to one particular only, which is this. Is it not true, that contrary to Law, you refuſed a young Woman, who was in Poſſeſſion of her Liberty, the Right of enjoying it, upon her giving Security? Name your own Judge, who ſhall determine it. Or, if not, I order you to be laid in Irons, and thrown into a Dungeon.* The miſerable *Appius* had neither the People, nor the *Tribunes* on his ſide. To whom then could he have Recourſe? For the Senate did not judge of capital Caſes. As he therefore named no Judge, the Officer of the *Tribunes* immediately ſeized his Perſon. At length he cried out, *I appeal.* This was the only Word he ſpoke, in order to recover his Liberty. Silence was made. Every Body was ſurprized, that this Expreſſion ſhould drop from a Man, who had a little before refuſed all Liberty of Appeal to *Virginia.* And the People ſaid one to another, *The Gods never neglect to puniſh the Guilty. Sooner or later they execute ſignal Vengeance. Would any one have thought, that the Tyrant who had abſolutely forbidden all Appeals, ſhould ever be forced to appeal himſelf? Or that the Oppreſſor of the People ſhould be obliged to implore the Favour of the People? He who denied others the Enjoyment of their Liberty, now ſtands in need of that right of Appeal, by which we defend our ſelves from being caſt into Priſon!* But theſe Diſcourſes among the People were interrupted by *Appius*'s Harangue. He enumerated the Services his Anceſtors had done the Republick. He ſpoke of the Zeal he himſelf had ſhewn for the publick Good, in abdicating the *Conſulſhip,* in order to apply himſelf wholly to the Laws of the *Twelve Tables.* He demanded, as a *Roman* Citizen, the common Right of defending himſelf. *I am not ſo ſuſpicious,* added he, *either of my own Cauſe, or your Prejudices, but that I have ſtill ſome Dependence on the Goodneſs and Juſtice of my fellow-Citizens. If the* Tribunes *reſolve to condemn me to Priſon, without being heard, I appeal to themſelves. Will they do the very ſame thing to me, which they diſapprove in me? If they think they have a Power to deprive me of the right of Appealing, which they accuſe me of having taken from others, I cite them to appear before the People. I claim the Benefit of the Laws, which the* Tribunes, *and* Conſuls, *have juſt made, in favour of Appeals. If a* Claudius *be refuſed this Privilege, what Citizen has Reaſon to expect it? You will ſee,* Romans, *by the Proceedings againſt me, whether the Laws of the new Government are ſolid and laſting, or whether they are vain Scrauls, fruitleſs, and ineffectual. Virginius* anſwered *Appius*'s Diſcourſe, in this manner. *No; ſuch a Monſter as you, is not worthy to partake of the common Benefits of Society, or enjoy the Protection the Laws give all other Citizens. Caſt your Eyes,* Romans, *caſt your Eyes upon this Tribunal, which the infamous* Decemvir *made a Sanction for all ſorts of Villanies. There his Cruelty ſported with the Lives of Citizens, without Controul. There his* Lictors, *or rather, his Executioners, who attended him, employed their* Rods, *and* Axes, *in ſpilling Blood. There he authorized Rapines, and Extortions, by his Decrees. And laſtly, there it was, that Innocence and Chaſtity, reduced to Slavery, and delivered up into the Hands of the Miniſters of his Luſt, had very like to have fallen a Sacrifice to the Violence of his Paſſions. My Hand alone preſerved them. From thence,* Virginia's *Corps was carried away, covered all over with Blood. From thence her Uncle, and her deſtined Husband, had like to have been carried away by* Appius's *Commands, in order to be dragged to a Dungeon. From his Tribunal an unhappy Father was forced to fly, more to avoid the Wrath of a diſappointed Debauchee, than of a Judge, who endeavoured to revenge a Murder. Remember the Priſon* Appius *built, and called it,* The Habitation of the Romans. *Shall he be ſuffered to eſcape it, by giving Security? He! Who would take none, when it was to preſerve my Daughter from Slavery!*

This Sentence of the *Tribune* was not diſapproved by the People. On the contrary, they thought the Recovery of their Liberty the more perfect, the greater Puniſhment they ſaw inflicted, on a Villain, who was formerly ſo much exalted in the Republick. *Appius* was therefore carried to the Priſon he himſelf had built. But a

definitive Sentence was not haſtily paſſed upon him. The *Tribune* deferred it to the third Market-Day. And in this Interval, old *Claudius*, who had retired to *Regillum*, returned to *Rome*. The Danger of his Nephew, though he condemned his Conduct, had brought him back thither. As he was a good Republican, and a Man of Honour, ſo he was a good Relation. He therefore appeared in a negligent Dreſs, in the *Forum*, careſſed the People, and made his Supplications to them. *Spare*, ſaid he, *the* Claudian *Family the Shame, of ſeeing a Man of their Blood judged worthy of Bonds, and Impriſonment; of ſeeing a* Decemvir, *whoſe Image will hereafter have a Place of Diſtinction, among thoſe of the* Claudii, *ranked with Thieves and Robbers. You have reſtored us our Liberty, by your Courage; reunite all Hearts, by your Clemency.* Thus ſpake this venerable old Man; but the People were more ſtrongly affected with Compaſſion for *Virginia*, and her Father, than with Concern for the Diſhonour of the *Claudian* Family. Three *Tribunes of the People*, who were all perſonally concerned to revenge the Death of the young *Virginia*, had greater Weight than old *Claudius*. So that he loſt all Hopes of being able to deliver his Nephew out of Priſon. As for *Appius*, he is ſaid to have killed himſelf, to avoid the Shame of being convicted of his Crimes, and puniſhed for them. But other Hiſtorians ſay, that the *Tribunes* were ſuſpected of putting him to Death.

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§. XX. Next to *Appius*'s Proſecution, followed that of *Oppius*, one of his Collegues. *Numitorius* the *Tribune* was his Accuſer. The Hatred this *Decemvir* had drawn upon himſelf, fell little ſhort, of what the chief of his Brethren in the *Decemvirate* had incurred. But nevertheleſs, he was not really ſo blameable for any perſonal Miſcarriages, as for not preventing the Violences of *Appius*. The Witneſs who appeared againſt him, was a Man who had ſerved in the Army twenty ſeven Years, and had been eight Times honoured with military Rewards. He ſhewed the People the Prizes he had gained, and at the ſame time uncovered his Shoulders, on which appeared the Marks of the Rods with which he had been whipped, by *Oppius*'s Orders. And he offered to undergo the ſame Treatment again, if his Judge could give any juſt Reaſons for his Cruelty. This was enough of it ſelf, to cauſe *Oppius* likewiſe to be impriſoned. And whether with Grief, or outward Violence, he died the ſame Day. So that, the reſt of the *Decemviri* being terrified with theſe Impriſonments, which were followed by ſuch ſudden Deaths, baniſhed themſelves; and did not wait for ſuch fatal Citations. None now remained to be puniſhed, but *Claudius* the Client, who had been ſuborned, to ſerve the Pleaſures, and carry on the Iniquity, of his Patron. He was condemned as his Maſter had been; but *Virginius* had Pity on a Wretch, who had not offended, but at the Inſtigation of a powerful Magiſtrate, and a Sovereign, from whom he could have no Appeal. Upon his confeſſing, that he had been ſuborned, his Life was ſaved, and he was only baniſhed. *Tibur* was the Place, whither he was ſent to end his Days. The Eſtates of the Dead and Baniſhed were confiſcated, and given to the *Quæſtors*, to be applied to the Service of the Publick. The *Tribunes of the People*, might have carried their Enquiries farther, againſt the Accomplices of the *Decemviri*; but *Duilius*, who was one of them, remonſtrated, that it was very improper to purſue Vengeance any longer, that it would reflect Diſhonour on themſelves, and be diſagreeable to the *Conſuls*; and laſtly, that the Senate began now to look on the *Tribunes*, as ſo many *Decemviri*. A general Amneſty was therefore granted to all, for what was paſt; and now the State was wholly taken up with making Preparations for the War. Then the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*, thoſe antient Allies of the Republick, ſent to compliment her, on the Reconciliation of the Senate and People. In Memory of this happy Event, they cauſed a Crown of Gold to be hung up in the Temple of *Jupiter Capitolinus*, which was indeed of no great Weight but was a Monument of the Religion of the two Nations, and of their zealous Attachment to *Rome*.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 58.

§. XXI. During theſe Broils among the *Romans*, the *Æqui* had joined the *Volſci*, in order to give the finiſhing Stroke to the divided Republick. And on an other ſide, it was attacked by the *Sabines*. Theſe Enemies had taken Advantage of the laſt Defection of the *Roman* Troops, and all the Frontiers were plundered. It was therefore neceſſary to raiſe two Armies, under the Command of *Horatius* and *Valerius*, to repair the Loſſes ſuſtained by the Management of the *Decemviri*. Accordingly, the Senate ordered Levies to be raiſed, and the People conſented to it. And their Affection for theſe favourite *Conſuls* was ſo great, that none refuſed

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 727. *Livy B.* 3. *c.* 60.

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to inliſt themſelves. Even the Citizens, who were no longer obliged to bear Arms, ſhewed their Zeal, and offered to march as Voluntiers. The Troops were divided between the *Conſuls*, who choſe their Stations by Lot. The *Æqui* fell to *Valerius*, and the *Sabines* to *Horatius*. But there was another Work to finiſh at Home, before they took the Field. Two of the *Twelve Tables* had not yet been received in due Form. It was neceſſary that they ſhould be accepted in a legal manner, as the ten firſt had been, in *Comitia by Centuries*. And accordingly, they received a proper Sanction, were written in Braſs, and fixed up in the *Forum*; from whence they afterwards diffuſed their Influence, through all Nations in the World.

The *Roman* Armies now wanted nothing to render them invincible. The Soldiers loved their Generals. One Army marched againſt the *Æqui*, under the Command of *Valerius*, the other againſt the *Sabines*, under that of *Horatius*. *Valerius* had to do with two confederate Nations, one of which alone, had, the laſt Year, gained the Advantage over five *Legions*, commanded by five *Decemviri*. This Succeſs had made the *Æqui* formidable. But the *Roman* General acted a very wiſe Part. When he came near the *Algidus*, which had been the Scene of Action between the *Romans* and the *Æqui*, he ſpun out Time, and was not very haſty to come to a Battel. He even affected to be afraid. He not only encamped on an Eminence, which was difficult of Acceſs, but likewiſe guarded his Camp with a deep Ditch, and raiſed very high Ramparts round it. This Camp was ſeparated from that of the *Æqui*, by a Plain of about a thouſand Paces over. Here, the latter often drew up in Battalia, and bid Defiance to the Enemy. But *Valerius* let them ſpend their Fire and Reproaches, in vain; he kept cloſe in his Camp, and was unconcerned at their Inſults. This made the *Æqui* very impatient; and they loved Plunder. Being therefore tired with offering Battel to no Purpoſe, they divided their numerous Army into ſeveral Bodies, which marched out to a great Diſtance from their Camp, in order to go and pillage the Territories of the *Latins*, and the *Hernici*. They had ſo much Contempt for the *Romans*, that they left but a ſmall Number of Troops to guard their Entrenchments. *Valerius* ſeized this Opportunity, to return the Inſults he had received from the Confederates, and terrify them. He in his Turn appeared in the Plain, and bid Defiance to the Enemy, who continued cloſe in their Camp. *Valerius* ſaw, by the Poſture of the *Æqui*, that they were exceeding weak. The next Day then, he advanced with his Troops, as if he deſigned to inveſt their Camp. But neither did this Motion draw the Confederates to a Battel. They contented themſelves with ſending Couriers to their Troops, which were diſperſed in ſeveral Places, to call them back to the Camp. And now *Valerius* was as active, and expeditious, as he before had been ſlow and dilatory. He made all the Haſte he could to attack the Camp. This brought the Confederates to a Reſolution, to draw out their Troops into the Plain. Their preſent Danger, and the Shame of ſeeing a victorious Army obliged to ſhelter it ſelf behind its Entrenchments, forced them to it. The Soldiers in the Army of the *Æqui*, and *Volſci*, asked Leave of their Generals to fight, and obtained it. Whilſt they were preparing to engage, they ſaw ſeveral ſmall Bodies of their Men return to them from different Quarters, but without any Order or Regularity in their March: And this Reinforcement increaſed their Confidence. They opened their Camp-Gates, and gradually marched out their Troops, in order to advance to the Poſts, to which they were ordered. But *Valerius* did not give them all Leave to reach the Plain, and draw up, before he attacked them. The *Romans* began, with terrible Outcries, their Attack upon thoſe *Cohorts*, which were in Motion, gave them a ſevere Shock, and made them loſe Ground. However, this firſt Blow was not deciſive. The Confederates rallied, and returned to the Charge. The *Conſul*, on his Part, exhorted his *Romans* to fight, not as before, for the Glory of an *Appius*, and his *Decemviri*, but for the Honour of *Valerius*. From the Battalions he flew to the Squadrons, and encouraged his Horſe to ride over their Enemies, who were already diſordered, by the Valour of the Infantry. And his Exhortations were not vain. The *Roman* Horſe rode full ſtretch, and fell upon the *Cohorts* of the *Æqui*, broke through them, and penetrated to the hindermoſt Ranks of their Army. So that the Rout of the Enemy left a great deal of Ground open. The next Care of the *Roman* Horſe was to hinder the Fugitives from returning to their Camp. Surrounding therefore the Entrenchments of the *Æqui*, they kept off their ſcattered ſtraggling Men from entering them; whilſt *Valerius*'s

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *Ibid. Livy B.* 3. *Ibid.*

Livy B. 3. *Ibid.*

Foot endeavoured to force them. The *Conſul* took the Camp by Aſſault, made a great Slaughter in it, and gained a greater Booty. And now, being Maſter of the Country, he entered the Territory of the *Æqui*, and amply retaliated upon them the Ravages they had committed, in the Dominions of the Allies of *Rome*.

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§. XXII. THE News of ſo complete a Victory, both filled the City with Joy, and raiſed an Emulation in the Army, which *Horatius* led againſt the *Sabines*. This General had hitherto obſerved the ſame Conduct, as his Collegue had done. Without hazarding his Troops in a general Action, he had contented himſelf, with employing them, in making Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, and in ſlight Skirmiſhes. This he thought a proper Way to ſeaſon them, and prepare them for Victory. He knew the *Sabine* General was both a great Commander, and a brave Soldier. Beſides, the Advantages of the laſt Year, had raiſed the Courage of the Enemy. They had almoſt forgotten the Aſcendant which the *Romans* had always gained over them. Theſe Conſiderations ſuſpended *Horatius*'s Activity for ſome time. He continued to reſtrain the Ardor of his Troops, notwithſtanding the Reproaches of the *Sabines*, for his loſing Time, in little Skirmiſhes, which determined nothing. Till at length, his *Romans* ſhewed the ſame Eagerneſs for fighting, as their Fathers of old had done. They preſſed the *Conſul* to lead them to Glory. *What a Shame will it be to us*, ſaid they, *to have* Valerius's *Army reproach us, at our return to* Rome, *with having continued unactive*. *Horatius* heard theſe innocent Murmurs in his Camp with Pleaſure. He aſſembled his Army, and addreſſed himſelf to it, in theſe Words. *You are not ignorant of the Victory* Valerius *has gained over the* Æqui. *This is the Fruit of our having recovered our Liberty, and of the Unanimity which reigns between me and my Collegue. He has done nothing without conſulting me, and I will undertake nothing without firſt having his Advice, and yours. We may either prolong the Campaign, or put a ſpeedy end to it by a Battel. If you choſe the former, I know how to protect you from Danger. If you prefer the latter, it is your Valour muſt determine the Event. If your future Courage be anſwerable to your paſt Obedience, I will anſwer for the Succeſs. If therefore you chooſe to come to a deciſive Battel, make ſuch a Shout, as would terrify the Enemy, if you were going to attack them.* Upon this the Soldiers gave a terrible Shout, both to ſhew their Valour, and the Part they choſe to act. And the General, upon theſe auſpicious Aſſurances of Succeſs, promiſed his Troops to lead them to the Battel the next Day. The remaining part of the preſent Day was ſpent in preparing for a general Action.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 61.

THE *Sabines*, who perceived that the *Romans* had at laſt reſolved to come to a deciſive Battel, were not in an Humour to decline it. The *Sabine* General underſtood his Buſineſs. He drew out no more of his Men in Lines, than the *Romans* had in theirs; the reſt he kept as a *Corps-de-reſerve*, of about two thouſand Men, which were to fall on the left Wing of the *Romans*, in the Heat of the Action. This done, a Charge was ſounded. And the two Armies were engaged, when all on a ſudden, the left Wing of the *Romans* found it ſelf ſurrounded. But the Courage of the *Roman* Cavalry preſerved it. They inſtantly diſmounted, to the Number of ſix hundred Men, came and placed themſelves in the firſt Rank of the Infantry, and made Head againſt the Enemy. They firſt ſhared the Dangers of the Wing attacked, and afterwards raiſed an Emulation in the *Roman* Infantry. Theſe were aſhamed to be outdone, in an Engagement on Foot, by the Horſe, who were now diſtinguiſhing themſelves in a Way of fighting, to which they were not accuſtomed. The Foot therefore wheeled about, and came round into the firſt Line; where they fought with ſo much Fury, that they made the oppoſite Wing give Way. Upon this, the Horſe retired through the Files of their own Army, and mounted again. Which was no ſooner done, but they inſtantly flew to the other Wing of the *Roman* Army, and there gave out, that their left Wing was victorious, though the Enemy's main Strength lay againſt it. Upon this, they immediately ruſhed furiouſly upon the *Sabine* Battalions, and put them into Diſorder. All the Honour of the Day may indeed be juſtly aſcribed to the Cavalry. As for the *Conſul*, he was every where. *Horatius* encouraged the cowardly, commended the brave, and communicated his own Valour, from *Legion* to *Legion*. By his Orders the whole *Roman* Army gave a freſh Shout. This was, as it were, the Signal of a ſecond Battel. And now every Thing gives way to the Valour of theſe brave Men. The *Sabines* retire, diſperſe, and leave their Camp to the Mercy of the Conqueror. The *Romans* not only found the

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the Spoils in it, which had been taken from the Allies, as in the Camp of the *Æqui*; but the Booty likewiſe which had been carried away from their own Territories. Theſe therefore they ſeized, and upon their return Home reſtored to every Man his own, after having firſt deducted the Part, which was appropriated to the Gods.

§. XXIII. The whole Republick ſhared the Benefits of the two Victories of *Horatius* and *Valerius*. And the Senate was the only part of it, which ſeemed cool in their Acknowledgments to the Generals. It was uſual, after gaining any ſignal Advantage, for the Senate to order all the Temples in *Rome* to be opened, and publick Prayers to be offered up to the Gods, under the Name of *Supplications*. But now the Senate confounded the two Victories together, and decreed but one [146] *Supplication* to be made for both. Their Intent in it was to ſhew, that they were diſpleaſed with the two *Conſuls*, whoſe Popularity gave them Umbrage; and they complained of the Laws made by them, in favour of the *Tribunes*. The Anger of the *Patricians* induced them to give this Mortification to *Valerius*, and his Collegue: But the People found Means to make them Amends. They prolonged the Ceremony of their own Authority, and continued it all the next Day. And it was obſerved, that the ſecond *Supplication*, which was not commanded by the Senate, was celebrated with more Solemnity, than the firſt. It is alſo certain, that the two Conquerors had deſerved a Triumph. But nevertheleſs, they were apprehenſive that they ſhould be thwarted in it by the Senate. However, as they acted unanimouſly, they agreed between themſelves, to lead back their Troops at the ſame time, and to come to *Rome*, on the ſame Day, immediately after one another. So that the two Armies joined, and came and encamped in the *Campus Martius*. There the *Conſuls* aſſembled the Senate, to determine what Honours were to be paid them at their Reception. And upon the *Conſcript Fathers* ſcrupling to make any Decrees in the midſt of an Army, and in the Camp, they had Leave to aſſemble in the *Flaminian* [147] Field. There the Generals preſented their Petitions for a Triumph. Nothing now hindered the Freedom of their Debates. So that every Senator ſpoke with the Warmth with which his Sentiments inſpired him. Old *Claudius* diſtinguiſhed himſelf among the Adverſaries of the *Conſuls*. He was piqued at *Appius*'s Condemnation, and the little Regard which had been ſhewn to his Interpoſition. Horatius *and* Valerius, ſaid he, *have effaced the Merit of their Arms, by their Irregularities in their civil Adminiſtration. They are good Generals, but bad Commonwealth's-men. What terrible Laws have they made to the Prejudice of the Nobility! In what Inſtance have they not been partial, to the* Tribunes of the People! *Have not they given up the unfortunate* Decemviri, *whoſe Lives ought to have been ſecured, by the Faith of mutual Covenants, to their Vengeance? Was not Impunity promiſed to both Parties, and the Promiſe ratified by the Blood of Victims? Wretched* Appius! *What a tragical End waſt thou brought to, by the Cruelty of the* Tribunes, *ſupported by the Authority of the* Conſuls! *Were thy Days ſhortened by thine own Hands, or by their Orders? How unjuſt were the Proceedings, in the Sentence that was paſſed upon thee! No; the People would never have condemned thee, if they had ſeen thee in the* Curiæ, *attended by thy Relations, urging the Nobleneſs of thy Extraction, and making uſe of the Tears of thy Family, to ſoften them! A joint Cabal of the* Tribunes *and* Conſuls, *deprived thee of thy Life!*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 728.

146 A ſignal Victory was uſually followed by *Supplications*. It belonged to the Senate, to decree theſe Feſtivals, at the Requeſt of the Victors, who ſent Letters to the Senate, for this Purpoſe. Theſe Letters and the *Lictors*, whoſe Buſineſs it was to preſent them, were adorned with Branches of Laurel. By this Symbol, the General ſhewed the Proſperity of his Arms. During theſe *Supplications*, all the Temples were opened. The People who crowded into them, there returned ſolemn Thanks to the Gods, in the Name of the Conqueror. Prayers and Vows were made to them, in Gratitude for the Advantages gained over the Enemies of the Republick. The Blood of the Victims which were offered up, flowed in all Parts. The Courts of Juſtice were ſhut up. And in ſhort, theſe Days were ſpent in Feaſting and Rejoicings. Theſe *Supplications*, which were appointed in Honour to the General, were likewiſe often followed by Triumphs. The Time allotted for this Solemnity was longer, or ſhorter, according to the Importance of the Victory. We ſhall in the Sequel of this Hiſtory find *Supplications* appointed for fifty and ſixty Days. They never were appointed in civil Wars, in which the greater the Victory, the greater was the Loſs the Republick ſuſtained. This we learn from *Cicero Philip.* 14. *Numquam in civili bello* Supplicatio *decreta eſt. Decretum dico? ne victoris quidem litteris poſtulata eſt.* But it was alſo uſual to appoint theſe Solemnities, in Times of publick Danger, and general Calamities.

147 It is uncertain, whether this Field, or theſe *Meadows*, for ſo *Livy* calls them, had then the Name of *Flaminian*. All that is certain, is, that a *Circus* was afterwards built here, which bore this Name, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

Thus

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THUS ſpake the old Man, and they all cried out, *It is a Favour to the* Conſuls, *if we don't order them to be puniſhed; but as for a Triumph, they are unworthy of it.* *Valerius* and *Horatius* were both preſent at the paſſing this ignominious Decree. And it is eaſy to judge of their Anger at it, by the Pride, which their Birth and Merit naturally inſpired. They therefore took a new Way, to obtain the Honour, which was due to them. They aſſembled the People, and made them Judges of their Pretenſions. The *Tribunes* backed their Requeſt, and *Icilius* ſpoke to it. It was the Intereſt of the People, to aſſume to themſelves a right of decreeing Triumphs, which had hitherto belonged to the Senate, in Conjunction with the People. It was therefore to no Purpoſe for old *Claudius* to cry out, *That the* Conſuls *were going rather to triumph for the Defeat of the Senate, than for that of the Enemy: That they would owe that Honour more to the Gratitude of a* Tribune, *than their own Merit: That this was uſurping a Power, which belonged to the Senate, and had been enjoyed by them, ever ſince the Time of the* Kings *; That the* Tribunes *ought to be content with their own Privileges, without uſurping new ones; and That ſome ſort of Equality, at leaſt, ſhould be preſerved between their Power, and that of the* Patricians. None of theſe Things made any manner of Impreſſion on the People. *Icilius* declared in their Name, that the *Conſuls* ſhould enjoy the Honours of a Triumph. So that *Claudius*'s Oppoſition gained the People a new Privilege. It was the Fate of his Family to do ſo. They more than once increaſed the Prerogatives of the People by too obſtinate an Adherence to the *Patricians;* and raiſed the Power of the *Plebeians*, by oppoſing it. *Horatius* and *Valerius* actually enjoyed a Triumph, and it was thought ſo legal a one, that we ſee it has found a Place in the *Faſti Capitolini.*

Livy B. 3. *c.* 63.

§. XXIV. THE little that remained of the *Conſuls* Year, was ſpent in canvaſſing for the enſuing Elections. The *Tribunes* had formed a Deſign of continuing themſelves in their Offices for the next Year. And the better to conceal their Ambition, they were very willing that the *Conſuls* alſo ſhould continue in theirs. Their Pretence for it was, that new *Conſuls*, and new *Tribunes*, would not ſupport the Laws of the *Twelve Tables*, with the ſame Steadineſs, as *Plebeian* Magiſtrates, and popular *Patricians*, who lived in perfect Union among themſelves. *What a Misfortune would it be*, ſaid they, *if civil Broils ſhould again diſturb the Repoſe of the Republick, through any Miſunderſtanding between the Heads of the People and the Nobility!* But all the *Tribunes* did not enter into this ambitious Scheme. *M. Duilius* was a Man of Probity, who preferred the Intereſts of the Publick, before aggrandizing himſelf. He foreſaw what Hatred ſuch an illegal Attempt would bring upon his Collegues. He therefore undertook to defeat their Deſigns: And he found an Opportunity of doing it effectually. It fell to his Lot, to preſide in the *Comitia by Tribes*, in which the *Tribunes* were to be elected. And he there declared, that the Votes, which ſhould be given for continuing his Collegues in the *Tribuneſhip*, ſhould go for nothing. The other *Tribunes* oppoſed this, and pretended, that the People ought to be left at their Liberty, to give their Suffrages for the old *Tribunes*, if they thought fit. *Duilius* could find no other Eexpedient to remove theſe Difficulties, but to bring the *Conſuls* into the *Comitia*, and to ask them, whether they would accept of the *Conſulſhip* again, in caſe the People ſhould incline to continue them in it. Their Anſwer to the People was, that they ſhould be far from imitating the odious Uſurpation of the *Decemviri!* And their Moderation was much commended. The *Comitia* were held, and the People gave their Suffrages. It had been cuſtomary, for ſome time, to elect ten *Tribunes*, but they could now agree upon no more than five. The old *Tribunes* therefore readily took hold of this Pretence, and contended, that they were thereby authorized to continue in their Offices. It ſignified nothing to repreſent to them, that there would then be fifteen *Tribunes of the People*, which was an Innovation, contrary to the Laws and Cuſtoms of *Rome*. They perſiſted: And *Duilius* was forced to propoſe this Law to the People. *When, in the* Comitia, *which chooſe the* Tribunes of the People, *the Electors cannot agree upon ten, let thoſe who ſhall be agreed upon, be empowered to chooſe the reſt of their Collegues; and let thoſe whom they ſhall pitch upon be eſteemed* Tribunes, *as much as if they had been choſen by the People.* This Law was accepted, and the *Tribunes* of the former Year were diſappointed. The five *Tribunes* elected by the People, nominated five others to make their College complete. And in ſo doing, they followed the wiſe Advice of *Duilius*, who perſuaded them, to chooſe two of the *Tribunes* out of the *Patricians.* The Propoſal was accepted, and put in Exe-

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Lucius Valerius Potitus, and M. Horatius Barbatus, Conſuls.

cution to the Satisfaction of the Senate. Two Men, who formerly ſignalized themſelves in the *Conſulſhip*, in the Year of *Rome* 300, did not think it beneath them now, to become *Tribunes of the People*. Theſe were [148] *Sp. Tarpeius*, and *A. Æternius*, who were the firſt *Patricians*, who had Seats in a College of *Plebeians*. This was a wiſe Expedient, to maintain a good Underſtanding between the People and the Nobility, if it had been but laſting. However, *Duilius* had the Satisfaction of ſeeing, that at his going out of his Office, he was equally beloved, both by Senate and People.

The Election of the *Conſuls* ſoon followed that of the *Tribunes*, and paſſed without any Diſturbance: Thus ended a Year very fruitful in Events, which had like to have overturned the Republick. *Rome* had ſeen her Glory eclipſed for above a whole Year together. But a ſudden Revolution reſtored her to her antient Splendor. And thoſe Clouds themſelves, which obſcured her, gave Birth to thoſe [149] *Twelve Tables*, which determined the Rights of private Families, and whoſe Authority equally reached to all Orders of the State; ſo that theſe venerable Laws became, for the future, a ſtrong Barrier, againſt the irregular Paſſions of Men.

148 The *Tribuneſhip* was now conferred on *Patricians* for the firſt Time, notwithſtanding that the Nobility had been excluded from it, by the ſacred Law, made at the Time of the firſt Separation. *Spurius Tarpeius*, and *Aulus Æternius*, who were now elected *Tribunes of the People*, had been choſen *Conſuls* in the Year of *Rome*, 299.

149 In order to give a juſt Idea of the Wiſdom and Uſefulneſs of the *Roman* Laws, of the *Twelve Tables*, we need only repeat the very great Encomium *Tully* gives us, in his firſt Book, *de Oratore*. After having divided this antient Body of *Roman* Laws, into three Parts, one of which related to the rights of Religion, another to thoſe of the Publick, and the third to thoſe of private Perſons; he makes *Craſſus* give this Account of theſe Laws. *The* Twelve Tables, ſays he, *give us a lively Image of Antiquity. By them we learn what Terms were then in uſe. We are here taught the Manners and Cuſtoms of our Anceſtors. Would you apply your ſelf particularly to the Study of the Civil Law? Have Recourſe then to the* Twelve Tables, *and you will there find every thing that relates to the Government of Cities, and the publick Welfare. Or would you rather apply your ſelf to a more ſublime Philoſophy? I will then venture to affirm, that you muſt draw all the Principles of it, and all the Ground-work of your Diſputations from the* Twelve Tables. *Though all Mankind were of a different Opinion, I cannot conceal mine. I think the little Book of the* Twelve Tables *of the* Roman *Laws, preferable to all the Libraries of Philoſophers, both on Account of their Authority, and the Numberleſs Advantages they have procured the Republick.* The *Latin* runs thus, *Plurima, inquit Craſſus, eſt in duodecim Tabulis, antiquitatis effigies, quod & verborum priſca vetuſtas cognoſcitur, & actionum genera quædam majorum conſuetudinem, vitamque declarant. Sive quis civilem ſcientiam contempletur, totam hanc, bene deſcriptis omnibus civitatis utilitatibus, ac partibus, duodecim Tabulis contineri videbitis; ſive quem iſta præpotens, & glorioſa Philoſophia delectat, dicam audacius, hoſce habet fontes omnium diſputationum ſuarum, qui jure civili & legibus continentur.———Fremant omnes licet, dicam quod ſentio, Bibliothecas mehercule omnium Philoſophorum, unus mihi videtur duodecim Tabularum libellus, ſi quis Legum fontes, & capita viderit, & autoritatis pondere, & utilitatis ubertate, ſuperare.* Let any Man but examine into the Foundations of theſe Laws, and attentively conſider the wiſe Maxims which they contain; and he will not be able to refuſe them the Commendations they deſerve. How many and great Pleaſures flow from a Knowledge of theſe precious Monuments of Antiquity! What an Extent of Knowledge do they open to us! The Love of Virtue, and an Abhorrence of Vice, good Men rewarded, the bad puniſhed with Ignominy, or a ſeverer Treatment, and good Order eſtabliſhed in the State; theſe are the Fruits which have been reaped from this Body of Law, which is ſo agreeable to the pureſt Dictates of right Reaſon.

THE Roman Hiſtory.

BOOK XI.

§. I. WHEN *Valerius* and *Horatius* [1] went out of their *Conſulſhip*, they left the Republick in a perfect Tranquillity. The *Sabines* and the *Volſci* were weakened. The Intereſts of the Publick, and of private Perſons, were ſecured by wiſe Laws. And in ſhort, the Abolition of the *Decemvirate*, left the *Conſuls* and *Tribunes of the People*, in the quiet Exerciſe of their reſpective Offices. In theſe happy Circumſtances, *Lart. Herminius* [2], and *T. Virginius*, took Poſſeſſion of the *Conſulſhip*. The Peace which then reigned in *Rome*, did not produce any great Events; but the Years which furniſhed the feweſt Materials for an Hiſtory, were not the leaſt advantageous to the People. The *Romans* had now Time to breathe, after ſo many Wars, and domeſtick Broils. And the new *Conſuls* contributed not a little to the publick Happineſs. They held the Ballance even between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*; but their Moderation was not imitated by all the *Tribunes of the People*. In their College, in which were now, contrary to Cuſtom, two *Patricians*, there was a Man of a factious and turbulent Spirit. His Name was *L. Trebonius*. His Reſtleſsneſs, while in his Office, and his warm Hatred againſt the *Patricians*, got him the Surname of *Mutinous*. He could not bear to ſee this Way opened for admitting the *Patricians* to the *Tribuneſhip*; and he complained that he had been deceived by them, and betrayed by his Collegues, when the two *Patricians* were added to the five *Tribunes*, choſen by the People. Beſides, he feared, that if *Duilius*'s Law continued in force, and the *Tribunes* were ſuffered to fill up their Number themſelves, whenever it was incomplete, this likewiſe might give the *Patricians* Admittance among them. In order therefore to calm his Fears, and ſatisfy his Hatred, he drew up a Law, which he had Credit enough to get accepted by the People. It was this: *Whenever the* Tribunes of the People *are to be choſen, let not him, who preſides, put an end to the* Comitia, *till the* Tribes *have choſen ten.* By this means the *Tribunes* loſt all Hopes of filling up their College occaſionally; and it was not at all probable, that the People, when aſſembled *by Tribes*, would ever admit any of the *Patricians* into the *Tribuneſhip*. This Law, which was called the

Year of ROME CCCV.

LART. HERMINIUS, and T. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. c. 65.

Livy, Ibid.

1 The *Conſulſhip* of *Valerius* and *Horatius* ended with the 304th Year of *Rome*. So that they held their Offices only for that Space of Time, which was wanting to complete the third Year of the *Decemviri*. Now it is certain, according to the Chronology of the *Faſti Capitolini*, that the *Decemviri* were created in the Year 302. from the firſt Year of *Romulus*'s Reign. *Eutropius* and *Livy* likewiſe place the beginning of this new Office, in the ſame Year. And we have already ſeen, that *Appius Claudius* ſo well underſtood the Art of making an Intereſt among the People, that he got the greateſt part of them, to give him their Suffrages, and elect him *Decemvir* a ſecond time, for the Year 303. The Year 304. put an end to *Appius*'s ſecond *Decemvirate*. Nevertheleſs he and his Collegues maintained themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of the tyrannical Power they exerciſed in *Rome*, in Contempt of the Authority of the People and Senate. Till at length, being grown odious for their Violences, and eſpecially by the wicked Attempts and Oppreſſions of *Appius*, they were forced to abdicate, before this Year was ended; and the remaining part of it was filled up with the *Conſulſhip* of *Valerius* and *Horatius*. So that they did not govern long after the *Ides of May*, at which the ſecond Year of the *Decemvirate* expired, as we are told by *Livy* and *Dion. Hal.* This Computation does alſo agree with the time of the Triumph of *Lucius Valerius*, and *Marcus Horatius*, which the *Faſti Capitolini* place on the *Ides of Auguſt*, in this Year. For this Reaſon, *Rufus*, *Feſtus*, *Tacitus*, and *Caſſiodorus* in his *Chronology*, will not allow the Adminiſtration of the *Decemviri* to have continued longer than two whole Years.

2 This is the firſt time they were made *Conſuls*. The *Faſti Capitolini* give *Lar. Herminius* the Surname of *Aquilinus*, and *Virginius* the two Surnames of *Tricoſtus* and *Cœlimontanus*. The Names of theſe two *Conſuls* are very differently written by ſome old Annaliſts.

Trebonian,

Year of *ROME* CCCVI.

M. Geganius, and C. Julius, Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 65.

Trebonian, was the only remarkable Event which happened in the *Conſulſhip* of *Herminius* and *Virginius*.

§. II. The following *Conſulate* was a Year of little leſs Tranquillity than the laſt. *M. Geganius* [3] and *C. Julius* had been choſen *Conſuls* by the *Centuries*. The *Patrician* Youth indeed grew a little licentious, and committed ſome Diſorders, during their Adminiſtration, as in the Time of the *Decemviri*. The common People ſuffered by it, and the *Tribunes* began to ſtir them up againſt the Nobility, by their Harangues. But it was no difficult Matter for the *Conſuls* to allay this riſing Tempeſt. They pacified the *Tribunes*, without condeſcending to any thing below the Dignity of *Patricians*. As for the People they quieted them, by threatning to raiſe Levies among them, and lead them out againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. Experience had taught the *Romans*, that the true Secret of keeping their Enemies quiet Abroad, was to live peaceably at Home. And in order therefore to avert the Hoſtilities of their Neighbours, they ſuppreſſed the civil Diſturbances which began to be raiſed in the City. How could it poſſibly be otherwiſe, than that ſome Diviſions muſt ſometimes ariſe between the Nobility and People? The Inferiority of the latter, was continually furniſhing the former with freſh Occaſions of ſhewing their Pride, and exerciſing Oppreſſions. In the laſt Months of the *Tribunes*, when little was to be feared from their expiring Power, the young Nobility grew very inſolent to the common People. This made the *Plebeians* complain of the Weakneſs of their Protectors, and regret the want of the brave *Icilius* in the *Tribuneſhip*. And indeed the Defenders of the People, for two Years laſt paſt, had been very indolent and unactive. It is true the Senate did neither authorize, nor even approve of, the Licentiouſneſs of the *Patrician* Youth; but after all, ſince in the preſent State of Affairs, ſome Conteſts between theſe oppoſite Bodies were in a manner abſolutely inevitable, they were better pleaſed to ſee their Party have the Advantage. And indeed, the whole Difficulty of the *Roman* Government may be ſaid to have conſiſted in maintaining a perfect *Æquilibrium* between two Powers, which were pretty near equal, and each of which was inceſſantly endeavouring to incline the Ballance to its own ſide. The Faction, which was for making it ſelf formidable one Day, found Reaſon to be afraid of the other the next; and in revenging one Injury received, a much greater was very often committed. Theſe Inconveniencies of a Republican Government, long retarded the riſing Grandeur of *Rome*; and theſe were the Reaſons, why thoſe Men who were invincible in War, had yet made but ſmall Additions to their Dominions.

Year of *ROME* CCCVII.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Agrippa Furius, Conſuls.

Livy B. 3. *c.* 66.

§. III. The ſucceeding *Conſuls* found by Experience how difficult it was to maintain the Intereſts of both the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*, in ſuch a manner, as to prevent all Diſſentions between them: Notwithſtanding that, one of the wiſeſt and moſt experienced Men in *Rome*, *T. Quinctius*, ſurnamed *Capitolinus*, was placed at the Head of the Republick. He had been three Times *Conſul* already, and was now raiſed to that Dignity [4] a fourth Time. His Collegue was one *Agrippa* [5] *Furius*, a Man of a mild Diſpoſition, and very ready to ſubmit to the ſuperior Underſtanding of his Collegue. When they entered upon their Office, they found the People ſtrongly exaſperated againſt the Nobility. This made them foreſee, that *Rome* would ſoon be at War with her Neighbours. And indeed the young Nobility had been guilty of new and provoking Inſults, both to the People and their *Tribunes*. The latter therefore had had Recourſe to their uſual Arms, which were to cite the Factious to appear before the People, and have them tried by the *Curiæ*. But theſe Trials were ſcarce ever brought about, without great Diſturbances. In the preſent ones, the Accuſers were interrupted in their Harangues, the People driven from the *Comitia* by Violence, and the Diſpute often came to Blows. The News of theſe domeſtick Broils could not be concealed from the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, two Nations who were always upon the Watch, to ſeize all Opportunities of diſturbing the Peace

3 According to the *Faſti Capitolini*, *Marcus Geganius* was ſurnamed *Macerinus*. They give *Caius Julius* the Surname of *Iulus*. *Diodorus Siculus* miſtakes, when he gives the latter the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, as *Caſſiodorus* does, when he calls him *Claudius Julius*.

4 According to the *Greek Tables*, *Titus Quinctius Barbatus Capitolinus*, was made *Conſul* the third Time, in the Year 307. But this is an Error which ought to be corrected, by the *Faſti Capitolini*.

5 This is the firſt time *Agrippa Furius* was *Conſul*, to whom the *Faſti Capitolini* give the Surname of *Fuſus*. In ſome Copies of *Livy*, *Diodorus Siculus*, and *Caſſiodorus*, we find him called *Aulus* inſtead of *Agrippa*.

of

Year of *ROME* CCCVII.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Agrippa Furius, Conſuls.

of *Rome*, and plundering the Territories of her Allies. So that the Heads of theſe People aſſembled their Troops, and informed them That the *Romans* were divided among themſelves, and would find it as difficult as formerly to raiſe an Army, and bring it into the Field; That Licentiouſneſs enervated the Vigour of their Diſcipline; That the Publick Welfare was neglected, and the Intereſts of private Factions promoted; and That now was the Time to attack theſe [6] *Wolves* in their Dens, whilſt they were blinded with their domeſtick Jealouſies. And this was enough to prevail on thoſe Men to take up Arms, who were greedy of Spoil, and lived more by pillaging than by Labour. They entered the Lands of the *Latins*, and laid them waſte; and from thence advanced into the *Roman* Territory, on the ſide of the [7] *Eſquilin* Gate. They exerciſed their Robberies, without Oppoſition, and erected Trophies of them, wherever they came. And at laſt they retired near *Corbio*, in a Body, in order to enjoy their Booty at Home. Theſe Inſults therefore of the *Æqui* upon the *Romans*, and the new Incurſions the latter had Reaſon to expect, made the brave *Conſul* deſirous of puniſhing the Aggreſſors. But he had no Hopes of bringing the *Tribunes* to conſent to the raiſing an Army. However, he aſſembled the People, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus.

WITH what Difficulty have I at length reſolved to appear before you, and conquer the Shame which diſſuades me from it? Shall it be ſaid, that the Æqui *and the* Volſci *had the Impudence to appear at our Gates, in the fourth Conſulſhip of* Quinctius? *What? Have two Nations, who are inferior in Number to our Allies the* Hernici, *had the Inſolence to come and inſult us under our very Walls? Could I have foreſeen this, Death or Baniſhment ſhould have preſerved me from an ignominious Office. What? Would* Rome *have been taken, in my* Conſulſhip, *if the Enemy had had Courage enough to attack it? Upon whom does this ſhocking Affront fall? Upon the* Conſuls, *or upon you? If we have brought it upon our ſelves, depoſe us,* Romans. Quinctius *and* Agrippa *are then very unworthy to govern you. And if the Outrage was intended againſt* You, *ſhew what inſulted Valour can do. But what am I ſaying? The Aggreſſors do not deſpiſe your Courage. But they think themſelves able to turn our Diviſions to their own Advantage. Diſcord is a Poiſon, which infects all Orders of Men in the Republick. The Great ſet no Bounds to their Ambition; I grant it: but don't the People likewiſe carry the Love of Liberty to an Exceſs? What have they to ask or deſire, which is not granted them? They deſired* Tribunes; *we eſtabliſhed them. They wanted* Decemviri, *we conſented that they ſhould have them. They inſiſted upon their being removed, and we removed them. They deſired to have the* Tribunes *revived; and we ſuffered it. They deſired that ſome of the* Plebeians *might be choſen* Conſuls, *and we choſe them. In ſhort, we have from Time to Time ſuffered them to enjoy the Protection of their own Magiſtrates, and a right of Appeal to their Tribunal, and have ſubjected our ſelves to the Laws they have made in their own* Comitia. *All the Prerogatives of the Nobility are come to nothing. And is not their Humiliation enough to put an end to our Broils? Though conquered, they give leſs Diſturbance to the State, than their Conquerors. Ought you not to think it enough to become formidable to us? Muſt your Hatred likewiſe promote the Intereſts of the Enemy? We have ſeen the* Æqui *paſs the Hill* Eſquilinus, *without Controul. No,* Romans, *no; you are never willing to take up Arms but againſt us. At leaſt, when your Fury againſt the* Patricians *ſhall be ſatisfied, when you have filled your Priſons with them; then arm, march into the Field, or if you dare not do that, at leaſt mount your Ramparts. Take a View from thence of your deſolate Fields, your plundered Farms, and your burning Houſes. Is it the State only that will ſuffer by theſe Ravages? Will not your own Families have a Share in the common Deſolation? How melancholy will be the News you will ſoon hear from your Eſtates?*

Livy B. 3. c. 67.

6 This Name was often given to the *Roman* Citizens by the Enemies of *Rome*; either in Alluſion to the fabulous Story of the *Wolf*, which ſuckled *Romulus*, or to the warlike Genius of thoſe Conquerors of the World, who imitated the Rapaciouſneſs of that inſatiable Animal.

7 The *Porta Eſquilina*, or *Eſquilin* Gate, took its Name from the Hill *Eſquilinus*. It led towards *Præneſte* and *Gabii*. Whether it was different from the Gate called the *Gabian* Gate, is uncertain. But it is at leaſt paſt doubt, that they were very near one another, if, as ſome Authors contend, they were two different Gates. *Donatus* thinks the *Eſquilin* Gate, was the ſame with that which is now called *The Gate of St. Lawrence*. But others are of Opinion, that the Situation of the latter agrees better with the Poſition of the *Nævian* Gate, or *The Gate of Tibur*. *Nardini* pretends that the *Eſquilin* Gate, ſtood between the preſent Gates of *St. Lawrence*, and *Maggiore*. But this is not eaſy to determine. The many Names the Antients gave to the ſame Gate, have cauſed great Confuſion and Perplexity among learned Men.

Year of ROME CCCVII.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Agrippa Furius, Conſuls.

Who is there in the City, that can repair your Loſſes? your Tribunes? *They indeed know how to amuſe you with their Diſcourſes, to invent new Laws, and to uſe the Nobility ill. But what do you carry Home from theſe ſeditious Harangues, more than perſonal Enmities, and ill-will againſt the Government? It was not ſo, when your Fathers, who readily obeyed the Commands of the* Conſuls, *choſe rather to fight in the open Field, than to engage in civil Broils, in Aſſemblies ſummoned by* Tribunes. *They brought Home to their Wives and Children, the Spoils of the conquered Enemy, and the Honours of Victory. But how are the Times changed! The* Æqui *have taken the Place of the* Romans. *They gather in our Harveſts, before our Eyes. How many Wars ſhall we bring upon our ſelves, by endeavouring to avoid one? Shall not we be forced to fight, at leaſt when our Walls are attacked? Shall we then fall foul upon one another like Women, in ſhameful Diſputes, and idle Quarrels? I am ſenſible, many People will not like this Diſcourſe. But I had rather ſave you from Ruin, than pleaſe you. I am not one of thoſe Flatterers, who will neither let you take up Arms, nor live in Peace. They find their Account in our Diſſentions, and turn our Misfortunes to their own Advantage. If you can diſengage your ſelves from their Chains, reaſſume the old* Roman *Spirit. Follow me into the Field, and I dare promiſe my ſelf I ſhall, in a little Time, carry the ſame Deſolation, and Terror, into their Territories, and Cities, which the* Æqui *have ſpread among us.*

Never was the Harangue of any *Tribune* more favourably received by the People, than that of this venerable *Conſul.* The *Roman* Youth no longer thought of refuſing to enroll themſelves. They were now wholly bent upon a War. And their Ardor was increaſed at the Sight of the many unhappy People, who had been plundered and abuſed in the Country, and fled to the City for Refuge. Nay, they fancied the Misfortune to be greater than it appeared to be. So that the Senate was aſſembled, to order the Levies to be made. The Senators ran out into great Encomiums on the *Conſul.* They ſaid his Harangue was worthy of the Poſt he filled, worthy of the Dignity of the old *Conſuls*, and of the Honours he had often received, and oftener merited. They compared the Weakneſs of ſome Magiſtrates, with *Quinctius*'s Steadineſs, and the Pride of others, with his Moderation and Condeſcention. They exhorted him and his Collegue, to undertake to maintain the Intereſts of their Country, and then addreſſed themſelves to the *Tribunes of the People.* Theſe were entreated to give their Conſent, that the Enemy ſhould be driven far from *Rome*, and to engage the People to obey the *Conſuls.* In ſhort, the Decree was paſſed unanimouſly; and the *Conſuls* loſt no Time in completing the Levies. They commanded all the young Men, who were obliged to ſerve, to appear the next Morning in the *Campus Martius.* They declared, that they had not then time to enquire into the Excuſes of thoſe who abſented themſelves, but that, when the Troops returned, all who ſhould have been abſent without lawful Cauſe, ſhould be treated as Deſerters. So that all, without Exception, came to the Place appointed for inliſting the People. Every *Cohort* then conſiſted of ſix *Centuries*, and every *Legion* of ten *Cohorts.* Each *Cohort* had Leave to chooſe their own *Centurions;* and beſides them two Senators were placed at the Head of it, as ſupernumerary Officers. And theſe Bodies were completed with ſuch Expedition, that in four Hours time, the Troops were ready to fetch the *Roman Eagles*, from the *Queſtors* Houſes, to whoſe Care they were committed; and the new Army had Time enough the ſame Day, to go and encamp ten Miles from *Rome.* The next Day it came in ſight of the Enemy near [8] *Corbio*, and the third Day gave Battel. The Generals did not think it proper to ſuffer the Ardor of thoſe Troops to cool, whoſe Shame for their paſt Revolts, and Deſires of making Amends for them, puſhed them on to Conqueſt.

§. IV. Both the *Conſuls* were then in their Army. And their Power muſt be allowed to have been equal; but *Agrippa* did his Collegue Juſtice, and complimented him with the Command. On the other Hand, *Quinctius* made *Agrippa* ſhare his Glory, though he ſuffered him to have no part of the Care and Trouble. He communicated

8 The City of *Corbio*, which the Abridger of *Stephens* calls Κορβιων ſtood in the Territory of the *Æqui*, on the Frontiers of *Latium*, near the Road which led to *Labicum*, on the ſide of *Prænesta*, fifteen Miles Eaſt of *Rome*. *Ortelius* places it, where *Carbognano* now ſtands; but he did not conſider that the Situation of *Corbio*, does not agree with that of *Carbognano*, which is in *Tuſcany*. *Holſtenius* gueſſes it was near the Place, where *Rocca priora* now ſtands. And *Kircher* places the Ruins of this antient City, in the Neighbourhood of *Monfortino*.

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municated all his Deſigns to him, and made him partake of the Honour, both of the Advice and the Execution. *Quinctius* poſted himſelf in the right Wing, and *Agrippa* in the left. *Poſthumius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals, commanded the main Body of the Army; and *Sulpitius*, who was the other, had the Command of the Horſe. The *Conſul Quinctius* was to engage with the *Volſci*, who were poſted in the left Wing of the confederate Army; and who fought with all the Valour, for which their Nation was remarkable, and with all the Art, their Experience had taught them, in the many Battels they had fought with the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs, the latter regained here alſo, the former Superiority they had acquired over them. But after all, *Sulpitius* was the Man who determined the Victory in favour of the *Romans*. He broke into the main Body of the Enemy's Infantry with his Horſe, made his Way through them, and put them into Diſorder. And he had Time enough to return to his Poſt, before the Enemy rallied. But he choſe rather to attack the Confederates in the Rear, or force them to make two Fronts, and fight both Ways. He would have broken a ſecond Time through the main Body of the Enemy's Foot, which he was harraſſing in the Rear; and the united Cavalry of the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, could not have ſuſpended his Victory long: But he went from Squadron to Squadron, and commanded his Horſe to fall upon thoſe of the Enemy, which were ſurrounded on all ſides, and had no Communication with the reſt of their Army. *You muſt not be content*, ſaid he, *with putting them to flight, you muſt ſpare neither Man nor Horſe.* And *Sulpitius* was obeyed. The *Roman* Knights preſented their Darts againſt the Enemy's Horſes, diſmounted their Riders, and made a great Slaughter of them. The Defeat of the Cavalry of the Confederates, was followed with the entire Rout of their Army. Their main Body, which had been already broken by the *Roman* Horſe, firſt gave Way. Then the *Volſci* were defeated by the Wing *Quinctius* commanded. The News *Sulpitius* ſent him of his Victory, had encreaſed the Courage of his *Romans*. But *Agrippa* had not the ſame Advantage over the *Æqui* in the left Wing. He therefore, being in full Heat of Youth, and animated with a laudable Emulation, ſnatched ſome of his Enſigns out of the Hands of thoſe who carried them, and threw them into the midſt of the Enemy's Squadrons. And then, the Efforts of his *Romans* to recover them, made the Advantages of his left Wing, equal to thoſe of the right, and rendered the Victory complete. Before *Agrippa* had done fighting, *Quinctius* advanced towards the Enemy's Camp, to beſiege it. But he deferred beginning the Attack of it, till his Collegue came up to him. He was afraid, that if he had not ſtayed for them, the *Legions* of the left Wing, would have loſt their juſt Share of the Spoil, he was going to take. *Agrippa* came up, and the Camp was taken, almoſt without fighting. The Spoils which had been carried off from the *Roman* Territories were reſerved for the proper Owners, and the reſt given up as Plunder to the Soldiers. So memorable an Action did well deſerve to be rewarded with the Honours of a Triumph. But perhaps the Modeſty of the two Conquerors made them neglect a Diſtinction, of which they were thought worthy. Or perhaps, they wiſely choſe, not to confirm the People in the Right they had uſurped, of decreeing Triumphs. Or elſe their Love of Peace, might perhaps make them unwilling to lead the Senate and *Tribunes* into a ſecond Quarrel. Or elſe laſtly, they might perhaps think they could not deſerve thoſe Honours, by one ſingle Victory, which the Senate had refuſed to grant *Valerius* and *Horatius*, after two. But be the Cauſe what it will, they had no Triumph.

§. V. The Year of *Quinctius*'s *Conſulſhip*, would have been very glorious, without any Allay, if the People had not diſhonoured it a little by an unjuſt Judgment. There had been a Quarrel between the Inhabitants of *Ardea*, and thoſe of [9] *Aricia*, about a conſiderable Tract of Ground, to which each of the Cities pretended a right. They had often diſputed it with their Swords, and being tired with fighting ſo many Battles, both Parties at length agreed to make the People of *Rome* Arbitrators in the Caſe. And the *Tribes* had been already aſſembled by order of the Magiſtrates, both Parties had already pleaded their Cauſes with Zeal; the Witneſſes had been heard, and the People were juſt entering into the Voting-Place to determine the

Livy B. 3. *c.* 71.

9 The City of *Aricia* was ſituated, according to *Strabo B.* 5. in *Latium*, behind the Hill of *Alba*, in the *Appian Way*. It was the ſame Place which is now called *Aricia*. See what we have ſaid of this City, *B.* 5. We have ſpoken of the City of *Ardea*, *B.* 2. *p.* 65. *Note* 50.

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Affair, by their Suffrages; when a *Roman*, named *Scaptius*, ſtood up. He was of the loweſt of the People, but venerable for his Age. He was eighty three Years old. He cried out with a ſtrong Voice, *That if the* Conſuls *and Republick thought fit, he would draw the Arbitrators out of an Error, which might be prejudicial to the* Romans. The *Conſuls* at firſt had no Regard to what he ſaid, and though he cried out, *That the Intereſts of their Country were betrayed*, they ordered him to be driven away, as a troubleſome Fellow. But the *Tribunes* always favoured the common People, and it was a Rule with them, to defend them in all their Intereſts and Privileges, though of never ſo little Moment. The People therefore deſiring that *Scaptius* might be heard, the *Tribunes* gave him leave to ſpeak.

I HAVE known the Diſtrict in Queſtion, ſaid he, *about forty ſeven Years. I bore Arms in it when* [10] Corioli *was taken. I was not then very young. I had already made* [11] *twenty Campaigns. I am not at all ſurprized, that the* Romans *ſhould forget that thoſe Lands belong to them. But for my own part, I remember it perfectly well. The Lands in diſpute belonged to* Corioli, *and by a right of Conqueſt, they now belong to the* Romans. *Is it poſſible, that the Inhabitants of* Ardea *and* Aricia *ſhould contend about a Territory, which neither of them ever claimed, as long as* Corioli *was in being? And what ſeems ſtill more ſtrange, is, that they ſhould chooſe to have their Claims determined by the Suffrages of the* Romans. *But this is a Snare which they lay for us. Their Deſign is to put it out of our Power to demand it again, when once it has been given them by a Decree of the People. I am an old Man*, added he, *and free from Paſſions; but I could not tamely ſee a Territory I helped to conquer, taken from the Conquerors, without ſpeaking. For my part, I am not of Opinion, that a falſe Modeſty ſhould hinder the* Romans *from ſeizing it.* The *Conſuls* could not hear the old Man's Depoſition without Concern, or ſee the Approbation it met with among the People, without Uneaſineſs. With the Help of ſome old Senators, who diſperſed themſelves among the Multitude, they endeavoured to perſuade the *Tribes*, *That it was a dangerous Thing to give the Allies of* Rome *ſo bad an Example, as that of an Uſurpation which would appear to be unjuſt: That the Reputation of Fidelity and Integrity was of more Conſequence to them, than every thing elſe: That to loſe it, would be to alienate the Minds of the neighbouring Nations from them, to give their Enemies an Opportunity to triumph over them, and to give great Uneaſineſs to the Cities in Alliance with them: That the Diſhonour of ſo partial a Judgment, would not fall upon* Scaptius *alone, but upon the whole Republick: That the* Romans *would be thought a covetous People, who took Advantage of the Deference others had for their Judgment, and turned it to their own Intereſt: That no Inſtance had ever been known, of an Arbitrator's appropriating to himſelf, what was ſubmitted to his Judgment; and laſtly, That* Scaptius *himſelf would not act in this manner, in any private Arbitration, wherein he was a Referee.* It could not be denied, but the right of the *Romans* had a pretty good Foundation. It was not eaſy to conceive, how a Territory, which lay near *Corioli*, and was divided from *Ardea* and *Aricia*, by the Lands of *Lanuvium*, ſhould belong to either of the Cities which claimed it. But after all, the *Romans* were obliged in Honour not to take Advantage of a Reference made to their Judgment, and not to deprive the Claimants of an Eſtate, in order to give it to themſelves. However, the People proceeded to determine the Affair by Vote, and three Urns were placed to hold their Ballots. One for thoſe, which favoured the Inhabitants of *Aricia*, another for thoſe who were for the *Ardeates*, and laſtly, the third for thoſe which favoured the Pretenſions of *Rome*. The laſt was immediately filled, and the *Romans*, who were Judges in their own Cauſe, invaded a Territory which they adjudged to themſelves. But we ſhall ſoon ſee the Republick repent of their Covetouſneſs, and generouſly reſtore, what they had appropriated to themſelves in ſuch an infamous manner. This ſhameful Act did not indeed Diſhonour *Quinctius*, but it caſt a Blemiſh on the *Roman* Probity in general.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. p. 729.

10 The City of *Corioli* was taken by *Marcius Coriolanus*, in the Year of *Rome* 260, when *Spurius Caſſius Viſcellinus*, and *Poſthumius Cominius Auruncus* were *Conſuls* a ſecond Time. Now, from the Year 260, to the Year 307, in which we now are, is juſt forty ſeven Years.

11 That is to ſay, *Scaptius* was then thirty ſeven Years old, ſuppoſing he began to bear Arms at the Age of ſeventeen, according to the *Roman* Laws. Now if we add thirty ſeven to forty ſeven, this will make at leaſt eighty three Years complete; which is the Age *Scaptius* makes himſelf to be of, in *Livy B.* 3.

§. VI. THE *Plebeians* had long gained ſuch an Aſcendant over the Nobility, that the *Tribunes of the People* thought themſelves in a Condition to purſue their Pretenſions as far as it was poſſible to carry them. They were jealous of the *Queſtors* being choſen ſolely by the *Conſuls*. The *Queſtorſhip* was originally a Branch of the *Conſul's* Office, and had been diſmembered from it. The Great *Poplicola* diſcharged himſelf of the Care of the publick Money, and committed it to two *Patricians* of his own chooſing; and in the ſame manner, the *Conſuls* in being, had ever ſince nominated the *Queſtors* for their Year. This was an Office of Importance and Honour in the Republick. It was ſometimes given to ſuch as had been *Conſuls*; but more frequently to *Patricians* who aſpired to the *Conſulſhip*. The Juriſdiction of the *Queſtors*, in all Matters relating to the Finances, was abſolute, and their Sentences were without Appeal. They were always of the Party of the *Conſuls*, who had nominated them. To deprive the *Conſuls* therefore of their right of Nomination to the *Queſtorſhip*, was to leſſen the Power and Prerogatives of their Office. Nevertheleſs the *Tribunes of the People* attempted it, and gained their Point. This was the firſt Time the People ever took upon them to name the [11] *Queſtors*. But they ſtill kept to the antient Cuſtom, of nominating none but *Patricians*. They did not introduce *Plebeians* into all the ſuperior Magiſtracies, till afterwards.

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§. VII. THE Encroachments of the People on the Rights of the Nobility were carried to a much greater height, under the ſucceeding *Conſuls*. *M. Genucius Augurinus*, and *C. Curtius Philo*, were no ſooner in their Office, but the new *Tribunes* formed new Deſigns. *Appius* had made a Law in the ſecond Year of the *Decemviri*, and placed it among thoſe of the *Twelve Tables*, which declared it *unlawful for* Patrician *and* Plebeian *Families to intermarry*. And the People who then confirmed it, in Compliance with the Neceſſity of the Times, now thought it in their Power to eaſe themſelves of it. There was a very warm and active Man at the Head of the *Tribunes*. His Name was *Canuleius*.

Year of *ROME* CCCVIII. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS, and C. CURTIUS PHILO, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 1.

HE therefore drew up a Petition to be preſented to the People, in which he deſired the *Appian* Law might be aboliſhed. The *Tribune* gave an odious Turn to the Reaſons upon which a Law, ſo much for the Honour of the Nobility, was founded. *The* Patricians, ſaid he, *think their Blood diſhonoured, if mixed with that of the moſt*

11 It may not be improper to add here, to what we have already ſaid of the *Queſtorſhip*, *B.* 5. as much as may be neceſſary to give the Reader a juſt Idea of this Office. And we ſhall therefore obſerve, 1. That it was very antient. *Ulpian B.* 1. *Dig. Tit.* 13. quotes the Authority of *Junius Gracchanus* in Proof of this, who in his ſeventh Book of Magiſtracies, carries the Origin of the *Queſtors* up as high as *Romulus* and *Numa*. He pretends that even in that Time, there were *Queſtors*, the Election of whom was in the People. But the Offices of theſe *Queſtors* were indeed very different from the Employments of thoſe *Queſtors of Rome*, who are ſaid by the Hiſtorians to have been firſt inſtituted by the Great *Poplicola*, and who were called *Quæſtores Urbani*. The Authority of the former was confined to the taking Cognizance of, and judging criminal Cauſes, in extraordinary Caſes. Such were the *Queſtors* which were appointed in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, to enquire into the Murder committed by young *Horatius*, on his Siſter. 2. That the principal Buſineſs of the *Queſtors* we are here ſpeaking of, was to take care of the publick Money, to receive the conſtant Revenues of the Republick, and the caſual ones that aroſe from Confiſcations, and from the Spoils taken from the Enemy. When the Army returned from any War, the military Enſigns were put into their Hands, to be by them depoſited in the Temple of *Saturn*. 3. That the Choice of theſe Magiſtrates was, according to *Tacitus*, and *Livy Annal. B.* 11. wholly in the *Conſuls*, who named two every Year. But *Plutarch*, *Zonaras*, and ſeveral other Authors ſay, that *Valerius Poplicola* gave the People a Right to chooſe the *Queſtors*. And beſides that there is better Authority for the latter Opinion than the former, it ſeems moſt agreeable to *Poplicola's* Character. Every Body knows what Lengths he went, in favour of the People. When he was *Conſul*, he made no other uſe of his Power, but to favour them, by continually granting them new Privileges. And it is therefore very probable, that *Poplicola* waved his Right of nominating the *Queſtors*, in favour of the Commons, or *Curiæ* aſſembled; and that the ſucceeding *Conſuls*, who had leſs Regard for the People, recovered a Right from them, which they had never enjoyed, but by a voluntary Conceſſion. Indeed, this Right could originally belong to none but the *Conſuls*, ſince the *Queſtorſhip* was only a diſmembered part of their Office, as we have obſerved above. 4. That the People aſſumed the Right of nominating two *Queſtors*, towards the Cloſe of this Year 307; which *Queſtors* were *Lucius Valerius Pontius*, and *Marcus Æmilius Mamercinus*. The latter was the ſame Man who was afterwards a *Military Tribune*, and three Times *Dictator*. The former was Great Grandſon to the Great *Poplicola*, and the Son of that *Lucius Potitus* who declared againſt the Tyranny of *Spurius Caſſius*. And 5thly, That the *Patricians* maintained themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of the *Queſtorſhip*, till the Year 344, as we ſhall obſerve hereafter.

12 *Varro* ſpeaks of theſe two *Conſuls*, *B.* 4. *de Ling. Lat.* on Occaſion of the *Lake Curtius*, which he ſays took its Name from the *Conſul Curtius*, as we have already obſerved, *p.* 40. *Note* 142. In ſeveral Copies of *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*, this *Conſul* is called *Publius*, and *Caius*, *Curiatius*. In ſome Editions of *Dion. Hal.* he is called *C. Quinctius*, and his Collegue *Marcus Minucius*; but it is a Miſtake. *Diodorus* gives *Curtius* the *Prænomen* of *Agrippa*.

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illuſtrious Plebeians. Nay, *Canuleius* ventured to go farther. He added to this a ſecond Requeſt, which was of much greater Conſequence than the former. He propoſed, that the *Plebeians* ſhould have Leave to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, and be made capable of being nominated to it, if the *Comitia* thought fit. Theſe two Claims highly provoked all the *Patrician* Party. One ſingle *Tribune* indeed, did oppoſe the ſtrange Demand of his Collegues, concerning the Advancement of the *Plebeians* to the *Conſular* Dignity. But the Moderation of one was forced to give Way to the Ambition of the other nine. The Diſputes which aroſe upon the two Articles of this Petition, had their uſual Effect. They put the old Enemies of *Rome* in Motion again, and raiſed up new ones. The Defection of the *Ardeates*, who were offended at the Sentence the *Romans* had given againſt them, was followed by a Declaration of War on the part of the *Veientes*. And at the ſame time, the *Æqui* and *Volſci* prepared great Armies to come and fall upon the *Roman* Territory. They had indeed a reaſonable Pretence for renewing their Hoſtilities. The Republick had then juſt fortified [13] *Verrugo*, a little Town of the *Volſci*, for a Barrier againſt their Incurſions. So that *Rome* had Enemies on both ſides the *Tiber*; but the moſt formidable were thoſe ſhe cheriſhed in her own Boſom. Upon the Report of all this bad News, the Nobility ſeemed to triumph. They even exaggerated the Misfortunes the Republick was threatened with, in Hopes that the Apprehenſions of a War Abroad, would put a Stop to the immoderate Deſires of the *Tribunes*. The Senators and their Party were even brought to wiſh, that the *Roman* Territory might be plundered, provided it would but avert the Storm, with which the *Tribunes* threatened them at Home. The *Conſcript Fathers* paſſed a Decree for raiſing Troops, with all the Rigour the Law would admit of. The *Romans* had then a Cuſtom, which both checked the growing Grandeur of the Republick, and favoured the Enterprizes of the *Tribunes*. Their Armies took no Oaths but to the *Conſuls* for the Year; and when therefore they went out of their Offices, the Obligation of the Military Oaths ceaſed. Their Succeſſors were forced to apply to the Senate for new Orders, to make new Levies, if there was Occaſion for them, and to require new Military Oaths, whenever new Troops were raiſed. Indeed this did not hinder the *Roman Legions* from being continually filled with experienced Soldiers. Every *Roman*, of what Quality ſoever, was obliged to ſerve the Republick at leaſt twenty Years, and to take the Field, whenever it fell to his Lot. But the *Tribunes of the People*, by means of the Rights they had given themſelves, had it in their Power to oppoſe the Levies, though ordered to be made both by *Conſul* and Senate. This was the great Defect of the Power of the *Patrician* Magiſtrates, and the Foundation of all the Encroachments the *Tribunes* ſo often made, upon the Authority of the Nobility.

When *Genucius* and *Curtius* would have gone on with the Levies, the *Tribune Canuleius* proteſted againſt it, as unneceſſary. *In vain*, ſaid he, *do the* Conſuls *attempt to draw our Citizens into the Field, in order to make them forget the Laws I have drawn up. There ſhall no Army be raiſed in* Rome, *till my Motion has been received.* Theſe Oppoſitions raiſed a Commotion in the Senate. The Senators firſt tried gentle Methods. They intreated the *Tribunes* to ſuſpend the Purſuit of their ambitious Pretenſions, till Proviſion was firſt made againſt the common Danger. They urged, that *Canuleius* would be equally in a Condition to carry his Point, when the Troops returned, as now. But the *Tribunes* obſtinately inſiſted, that no Body ſhould be enrolled, till the Senate had paſſed a Decree, to authorize them to aſſemble the People, in order to determine whether the two Laws ſhould be accepted. So that the Senate plainly foreſaw, that if on the one Hand the two Articles paſſed, the Nobility would be utterly deprived of all Diſtinctions; and that if, on the other, the *Veientes* entered the *Roman* Territory one Way, and the *Æqui* and *Volſci* another, the Ruin of the State would ſoon be the Conſequence. And much Time was ſpent in Debates. The *Conſuls* ſpoke in the Senate, with the utmoſt Warmth and Vigour. They repreſented, That the extravagant Pretenſions of the *Tribunes* were no longer

[13] *Verrugo* was a little Town belonging to the *Volſci*, on the Borders of the Territories of the *Æqui*, between *Cora*, *Algidus*, and *Velitræ*. It is the ſame Place, which *Diodorus Siculus* calls Ἐρρούνιον. It ſeems to have been conquered by the *Romans*, who fortified it, to put it in a Condition of Defence againſt the Attacks of the Enemy. But neither *Livy* nor *Dion. Hal.* ſay any thing of this Conqueſt. It is probable *Verrugo* was taken, at the ſame time as *Velitræ*, in the Year 259, or the Year following, when *Corioli* was taken from the *Volſci* by *Coriolanus*.

to be indured; That the preceding *Conſuls* had both cauſed and increaſed the Inſolence of their College, which had loſt all Fear of Seditions, becauſe it always found its Account in them; That there would therefore never be any end of them in *Rome*, ſince they always brought certain Advantages along with them; That theſe were the Means by which the People had gained ſo much Ground upon the Nobility, as to bring them all upon a Level with themſelves; That to judge of the future by what was paſſed, the Government of *Rome* would ſoon be brought to a mere Democracy; That *Canuleius*'s two Laws would introduce an infamous Mixture of the Blood of all the *Roman* Families, and ſoon put the right of *Auſpices* into the Hands of the vileſt of the People; That from the Intermarriages of the *Plebeians* and *Patricians*, would ariſe a Race of Monſters, conſiſting, as it were, of two different Natures; That if the *Conſulſhip* fell into the Hands of the *Plebeians*, Men of factious Spirits would be made ſupreme Magiſtrates in the Republick, and ſuch Men as *Canuleius* and *Icilius* be placed at the Head of Affairs. *Avert, O ye Gods*, added they, *ſo great Misfortunes! Let us die rather than ſuffer ſo ſhameful a Law to paſs! If our Forefathers could have foreſeen, how far the People would have carried their Deſires, they would have ſuffered any thing, rather than have given them a Footing in the Government. Their having granted them* Tribunes, *is what has put it in their Power, to demand by Degrees, whatever their Ambition dictates. It is no longer poſſible for a Senate, and* Tribunes of the People, *to ſubſiſt together in* Rome. *One or t'other muſt be deſtroyed. The domeſtick Seditions of the* Tribunes *at Home, bring foreign Enemies upon us: And when there is a Neceſſity for going into a War, theſe very Men oppoſe the raiſing of Troops. Is not this betraying their Country, and being the Cauſes of its Ruin? What have you now to do,* Tribunes, *but to call in the Enemy, and put them in Poſſeſſion of the* Capitol? *To deprive the Republick of its Forces, and to take away the Courage of the* Conſuls, *is to give the* Æqui *Hopes, that by the Help of a* Canuleius *only, they ſhall be able to ſeize our Ramparts.*

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But though theſe Declamations inflamed the Senate, *Canuleius* encouraged the People not to abate any thing of their Pretenſions. *Is it then to no Purpoſe*, ſaid he, *that it has been our Fate to be born in the ſame City with the* Patricians, *and to be joined with them in the ſame Republick? Nothing ever gave me a more juſt Senſe of the Contempt our fellow-Citizens have for us, than the Oppoſition they make to the two Laws I propoſe. We only deſire to be enabled to make thoſe Alliances with them, which they don't refuſe to enter into with Strangers. Beſides, what is there new in requiring, that the* Centuries *ſhall chooſe whomſoever they pleaſe for* Conſuls? *Is there any thing irregular, in leaving them entirely at their Liberty in giving their Suffrages? If not, why then this mighty Warmth in the Senate? One would imagine, by what has been ſaid, that the whole Conſtitution is overturned, and every thing to be given up for loſt. What? Is giving the Publick a Power, to advance any to the higheſt Dignities, whom it judges worthy of them, deſtroying it? Theſe Men ſeem to think it as indecent to place a* Plebeian *in the* Conſulſhip, *as it would be to raiſe a Slave to that Dignity. And won't the Nobility envy us likewiſe the Air we breathe, becauſe we enjoy it in common with them? It is alſo pretended, that Religion excludes us from theſe Dignities, which none are to enjoy without favourable* Auſpices. *One Reaſon given why we ſhould not be admitted to the* Conſulſhip, *is, that the* 14 Patricians *have the Superintendency over Things ſacred, the Appointment of the Feſtivals, and the Direction of the Calendar. Vain Scruples! We ſhall ſoon come to underſtand theſe religious Rites, which are not*

Livy B. 4. c. 3.

14 According to *Numa*'s Inſtitution, the *Pontifex Maximus* had the Superintendency in Things ſacred. He was the ſupreme Interpreter of Religion, and all Things relating to the Worſhip of the Gods, were under his Juriſdiction, as we have more than once obſerved. The *Veſtals* were under his Inſpection, and all other Perſons, who were devoted to ſacred Offices. Neither Dedications of Temples, or Altars, Vows made to any Divinity, Adoptions, Marriages, Teſtaments, nor, in a Word, any Acts which were to be performed with religious Ceremonies, were thought valid, any farther than they had been ratified by the *Pontifex Maximus*. He had likewiſe a Right to oppoſe the Execution of any Decrees of the Senate, or People, when not conformable to the Rules preſcribed by Religion. Nevertheleſs he could grant Diſpenſations, in caſe of need; and it was a part of his Office to appoint Feſtivals, and fix the Days on which they were to be celebrated, in the Calendar; but he was more eſpecially obliged to preſerve the Memory of all Events, in Regiſters, which were called, the *Great Annals*, becauſe the Hiſtory of the Republick was in them digeſted by Years. Now only *Patricians* were ever hitherto, or a great while after, quite down to the Year 454, admitted into this Office. Even the inferior *Pontifees* were then choſen out of the Nobility. So that the *Plebeians* were excluded from the Prieſthood, and had no Share in ſacred Offices. This was a Matter of Complaint, which *Canuleius* made uſe of, in favour of the Commons.

a Secret

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a Secret even to the common People. But after all, what is the Conſulſhip *it ſelf among us, but the Continuation of the Regal Dignity? And were all our* Kings Patricians? Numa *was not ſo much as a* Roman. *The firſt* Tarquin, *was not ſo much as of* Italian *Extraction.* Servius Tullius, *a Man of no Birth, his* [15] *Father no Body knows who, and his Mother a Slave, owed his Advancement to his Merit. Nay, which is more, have we abſolutely excluded all Foreigners from the* Conſulſhip, *ſince the Expulſion of the* Kings? Sabinia *gave Birth to the* Claudii, *and yet* Rome *ſuffered them to riſe to the higheſt Poſts in the Republick. Shall then* Roman *Citizens be treated with more Contempt than* Sabines *or Slaves? Is it impoſſible, that any* Plebeian *ſhould have natural or acquired Endowments enough, to make him a wiſe Politician, or an able Soldier? And what more is neceſſary to deſerve the Honour of the* Conſulſhip? *Would ſuch Heroes as* Numa, Tarquin the Firſt, *and* Servius, *be refuſed Admittance into the higheſt Offices, if they were now alive? Yet what Compariſon is there between theſe great Men, and the* Patrician Decemviri? *But it is a Novelty it ſeems. What! Ought nothing that is new to be allowed of in a Republick, which is it ſelf but newly eſtabliſhed? There was no Regularity obſerved in* Rome *in Affairs of Religion, in* Romulus's *Time, yet* Numa *introduced Order in them. There were no Numberings of the People before* Servius, *yet that wiſe King inſtituted the* Cenſus. *No* Conſuls *before the laſt* Tarquin, *yet* Brutus *eſtabliſhed them. No* Dictators *before* Larcius, *yet it was found abſolutely neceſſary to create them. The* Tribuneſhip, Queſtorſhip, Edileſhip, *and* Decemvirate, *are the Inventions of our Fathers in our own Time. And is it to be doubted, but that in length of Time, many new Things are introduced in all States? Is not even the Law it ſelf, which forbids the Nobility and People to intermarry, a new Inſtitution? Any* Patrician *might, if he pleaſed, diſdain and refuſe to unite his Blood with ours; but to make a Law about it, is in ſome ſort to baniſh us, and exterminate us out of Civil Society. It is to make two Cities within the ſame Walls. And after all, what are theſe Nobles? The greateſt part of them are only ſo by Courteſy. They are People gathered together out of* Alba *and* Sabinia. *And what need had they to refuſe us their Daughters by Law? Could not they have kept them from Intermarrying with* Plebeians, *by their own private Authority? We ſhould not have made any Attempts upon their Honour. Such Audaciouſneſs as that, is the Privilege only of the Nobility. Why don't they likewiſe add another Clauſe to this Law, and forbid the Poor to marry with the Rich? They leave it to the Prudence of every Family, to take Care of its Intereſt in Marriages. And why are not they contented to leave it likewiſe to the Diſcretion of the* Patricians, *whether they will enter into improper Alliances or not? We ſhall not find Fault, if they don't. The Law only is what gives us Offence, and diſgraces us. The* Patricians *have now nothing more to do, but to forbid us living in their Neighbourhood, and going to the* Forum, *which they frequent. Beſides, what Diſorders are to be apprehended from our mutual Alliances? A free-born Child takes the Rank of his Father. A* Patrician *will always be a* Patrician, *though born of a* Plebeian *Woman. Why then ſhould a Law be made, which can have no other Effect but to raiſe Contentions? But to come to the Point. Was the Republick eſtabliſhed only to give the Nobility an independent Authority over us? Have not the People here always had a right of drawing up, and paſſing Laws? Ought the Senate, upon the firſt Report of our deſigning to paſs a Law, immediately to order Levies, under Pretence, whether true or falſe, that we are threatened with a War? Shall they always interrupt the Courſe of our* Comitia, *by ordering the People to go and encamp? Who can ſay, that the Preparations the* Æqui *and* Veientes *are making, will end in actual Hoſtilities? If they do, the* Conſuls *will find us ready to march againſt them, if they reſtore us our antient Liberty of marrying the Daughters of* Patricians, *and leave the* Comitia *free, to raiſe Men of Merit to the* Conſulſhip, *wherever they find them.*

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 731.

This Harangue of *Canuleius* made ſuch an Impreſſion upon the People, that they all bound themſelves by the moſt ſolemn Oaths, not to obey any Orders about enrolling themſelves, till the Senate had given Authority for calling an Aſſembly, in which the two Laws ſhould be reported. This Obſtinacy therefore affrighted the

15 What *Livy* makes *Canuleius* ſay here of *Servius Tullius*, does not agree with what the ſame Author ſays of him, *B.* 1. when he declares himſelf of their Opinion, who ſay, that this King was the Son of *Tullius* and *Ocriſia*, who were both conſiderable for the Nobleneſs of their Extraction, as we have before obſerved, *p.* 134.

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Conſuls. They had private Meetings, to which they invited only the graveſt and oldeſt Senators. In theſe *C. Claudius* gave his Opinion firſt. He was a Man, whoſe Temper inclined him to Severity, and whoſe Education led him to hate the *Plebeians*. He was of Opinion, That as to the *Conſulſhip*, the Senate ought never to ſubmit ſo far as to grant it to the People; That Endeavours might be uſed to perſuade them to deſiſt from their Law; but That, if the People continued inflexible, they themſelves ought to have Recourſe to the Sword, fall upon both *Tribunes* and People, without Diſtinction, and treat theſe Diſturbers of the Peace of the Republick, as common Enemies. But *T. Quinctius*, who ſpoke next, had more Moderation. He ſhewed how much they ought to abhor ſhedding the Blood of their fellow-Citizens, and eſpecially of the *Tribunes*, whoſe Perſons were made ſacred by Religion. And all embracing *Quinctius*'s Opinion, *Claudius* himſelf came over to the Majority. He even propoſed an Expedient, which was embraced. *Let us not ſhed any Blood*, ſaid he, *neither let us ever ſuffer* Plebeians *to be* Conſuls. *If we are forced at laſt, by the Clamours of the People, to yield any Thing in their Favour, let it be in another Way. Inſtead of ſuffering any* Plebeian *to be made* Conſul, *let us make a Propoſal to the Commons, to appoint for the next Year ſix or eight* Military Tribunes, *half* Patricians, *and half* Plebeians, *who ſhall jointly govern the Republick with* Conſular *Authority. We muſt even uſe Art, if we will ſucceed in this Project, which we will never propoſe, till reduced to the laſt Extremity. When we are obliged to aſſemble the Senators, and ask their Advice, with relation to the Demands of the People, we will take Care, that* Valerius *and* Horatius *the two Senators, who are ſo much devoted to the People, ſhall ſpeak firſt. They will carry Things to exceſs in favour of the Commons; and we will hear them with Patience. After this I will ſpeak with my uſual Fire, when I declaim againſt aggrandizing the People. Then* Genucius, *the* Conſul's *Brother, ſhall deliver his Opinion, and by way of reconciling the two Parties, ſhall propoſe to have no more* Conſuls, *but to create* Military Tribunes, *half* Patricians, *and half* Plebeians. *After which the* Conſul *ſhall pronounce the Decree, agreeably to his Brother's Opinion. The People will be ſatisfied, Troops raiſed, and our Country relieved.* This wiſe Advice was followed with Applauſe.

§. VIII. But how ſecretly ſoever the *Conſuls* held their Aſſembly, the *Tribunes* were not ignorant of it: And they endeavoured to guard againſt the ſecret Reſolutions which had been taken in it. In order to this, they alſo aſſembled together ſuch Citizens as they thought moſt zealous and hot in the popular Party; not refuſing Admittance to the *Conſuls* themſelves. Here they at firſt ſpoke ſet Speeches againſt the *Tribunes*, and the Pretenſions of the People, as ſtated in the two Laws. And then the Speakers on both ſides fell to Altercations. *Canuleius* asked the *Conſuls*, *For what Reaſon they pretended to exclude the People from the* Conſulſhip? The *Conſuls* replied, *Becauſe the* Auſpices *are not for* Plebeians. At which Words the Citizens were full of Indignation. *Are we then*, cried they, *ſo much deſpiſed by the Gods, that they refuſe us a Part in the Myſteries of Divination?* And then the Tranſports of the People were ſo violent, and the Obſtinacy of the *Tribunes* ſupported with ſo much Fury, that the *Conſuls* were terrified at it. Their only Refuge was to grant one Article without the other. They promiſed to come into that of mutual Marriages: And by this Compliance, thought to have ſatisfied all the Deſires of the People. But Experience ſhewed them, that the more the People gained upon them, the more they demanded. In the mean time, the Levies became daily more and more neceſſary. Yet ſtill the *Tribunes* perſiſted in oppoſing them, and the Senate was alarmed at it. At length it aſſembled to put an end to the Affair. The ſitting began with ordering the *Tribunes* to explain their Pretenſions, and to give their Reaſons for the two Laws, they deſired to have propoſed to the People. But *Canuleius*, who was their Speaker, did not trouble himſelf to explain the Grounds and Reaſons of his Petition, and expoſe them to the Examination and Cenſure of the *Conſcript Fathers*. He took another Way to gain his Point. His whole Harangue turned upon the Irregularity of ſecret Aſſemblies, which were never before heard of in the Republick, and below the Dignity of the *Roman* People. He inveighed againſt the double-dealing of the *Conſuls*, who after they had come to a Determination in private, propoſed an Affair to the Deliberations of the *Fathers*, which had been already decided. And in the laſt Place, he complained, That *Valerius* and *Horatius*, thoſe antient *Conſuls*, thoſe Deſtroyers of the *Decemvirate*, had not been invited to the private Meeting. The

Livy B. 4. *c.* 6.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 733.

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Reaſon of this was, added he, that they were afraid theſe Men would be too equitable for them, their Deſire being to ſacrifice the Intereſts of the People, without hearing their Defenders. In anſwer to this, *Genucius* endeavoured to appeaſe the *Tribunes*, and thoſe Senators who had not been called to this irregular Council, which was held in a private Houſe; by proteſting, That they had nothing in view in it, but to prepare the Way for Concord; and That they did not invite *Valerius* and *Horatius*, for fear it might ſomewhat leſſen their Intereſt in the People. And he concluded with ſaying, That as a Proof of the Eſteem he had for their Advice, he invited them to ſpeak out of their Turns, and before the moſt antient *Conſular* Senators. *Valerius* therefore began. He juſtified the Conduct his Family had all along obſerved from the Time of the Great *Poplicola*. *It has always*, ſaid he, *been attached to the People, becauſe always full of that Republican Spirit, which it imbibed at the Foundation of the Republick. It has all along been ſenſible, that without a perfect Equality between the two Bodies of which the Republick conſiſts, the weaker will always be oppreſſed by the more powerful. Now the preſent Deſign is to eſtabliſh this Equality, by a reciprocal Communication of Blood, between the ſame fellow-Citizens, and by ſuffering all, indiſcriminately, to enjoy the higheſt Dignities. By this Means there will be an equal Emulation of Virtue, in all the Members of the Society, and the Number of great Men will be increaſed, by the Multitude of Competitors for Glory, and by the Participation of the nobleſt Blood. Not that I am for aſſembling the* Comitia *immediately, and for examining the two Laws, and coming to a Determination about them, upon the Spot. The Levies are more wanted at preſent. The Enemy ought firſt to be conquered, before we hear even the juſt Deſires of the People. But let us at leaſt encourage them to contend for Victory, by giving a preliminary Form to the two Laws, that is, by giving the* Tribunes *Authority, either by a Decree, or at leaſt by a written Promiſe, to propoſe them to the Aſſembly of the People, as ſoon as the Campaign is ended.* This Opinion was embraced by *Horatius*, who ſpoke next. But many who approved of delaying the Concluſion of the Affair of the two Laws, diſliked the making a Decree, or giving a Promiſe, that the People ſhould be aſſembled in order to their being accepted. So that long and warm Debates aroſe upon it. Till at length the *Conſuls* asked *C. Claudius* his Opinion, as had been agreed. And this furious Enemy of the People, laid open all the Innovations upon antient Cuſtoms, which the Commons had from Time to Time demanded, and concluded with declaring, that he was againſt ſuffering the two Laws to be propoſed to the People in *Comitia*, either now or hereafter. But this Opinion was too harſh, and cauſed a greater Ferment than *Valerius*'s had done. At laſt, *T. Genucius* the *Conſul*'s Brother played his Part. He compared the two Misfortunes to which the Republick was expoſed together. *Either*, ſaid he, *our domeſtick Diſſentions will expoſe us defenceleſs to a foreign Enemy, or the ſuperior Order of Men in the State, muſt part with ſome of their Prerogatives in favour of the inferior. One of theſe two Evils is inevitable. Wiſdom therefore adviſes us to chooſe the leaſt. Let us then rather ſhare the Honours of the higheſt Poſts with our fellow-Citizens, than give our Enemies the Glory and Advantage of being ſuperior to us in the Field. Will not the People be ſatisfied, if the* Conſulſhip, *which is now enjoyed by two* Patricians, *ſhould be divided among ſix Perſons, three choſen out of the Nobility, and three out of the People? We will call them* Military Tribunes, *and their Power ſhall be equal to that of the* Conſuls. *And when their Year ſhall be expired, we will then conſider whether it ſhall be moſt proper to continue the ſame kind of Government, or to return to that of* Conſuls. This Advice of *Genucius* was approved of, both by Senate and *Tribunes*. The Decree for changing the *Conſular* Government, was immediately paſſed; and this we may call the third Revolution in the *Roman* State. *Canuleius* inſtantly carried the News of it to the Aſſembly of the People: And in declaring it, highly commended the Moderation of the Senate. So that now there was an univerſal Joy in *Rome*.

Dion. Hal. B. 11. *p.* 734.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 6.

No Time was loſt in holding the *Comitia*, which were to chooſe theſe ſix new Governors of the Republick. And the *Plebeians* were extremely preſſing and ambitious, to have a Share in theſe three new Dignities. The *Tribunes of the People*, and all thoſe in general, who had by their Factions helped to ſink the Nobility, aſpired at this new ſort of *Tribuneſhip*. The Deſires of the *Plebeians* were warm, and their Solicitations earneſt. Whilſt none of the *Patricians* would vouchſafe to ſollicite Offices, which they were to enjoy in common with ſome of the People. The moſt ſenſible of the Nobility were forced to make uſe of all their Authority, to perſuade ſome of their

their own Body, not to deliver up the Government entirely into the Hands of the *Plebeians*. At laſt ſome of them determined to make their Habits *whiter* than ordinary, to ſhew they were *Candidates* for the *Military Tribuneſhip*. How different are the ſame People from themſelves, when ſpirited up by ſeditious Harangues, and when left to their own Reaſon! As ſoon as the Diſturbances among the *Plebeians* were over, they did themſelves Juſtice, and became ſenſible, that it did not belong to them to poſſeſs the higheſt Poſts in the State. When they came to give their Suffrages, they would only promote three *Patricians* to be *Military Tribunes*, and refuſed to nominate any *Plebeians* to be joined with them. They ſeem to have been content with trying their Power, without exerting it to the uttermoſt. The whole Body of the People did themſelves Honour, by a piece of Magnanimity, of which we can find few Inſtances even in ſingle Perſons. As for the foreign Enemies of the Republick, they ſeem to have been diſperſed, as ſoon as Concord was re-eſtabliſhed in *Rome*. For we don't find that in all the remaining part of the Year, there appeared any Neceſſity of raiſing Troops, or marching out and engaging theſe *Æqui*, *Volſci*, *Veientes* and *Ardeates*, from whom the *Romans* had apprehended ſo much Danger.

Year of *ROME* CCCVIII. M. Genucius Augurinus, and C. Curtius Philo, Conſuls. *Dion. Hal. B.* 11. *p.* 736. *Livy B.* 4. *Ibid.*

§. IX. The next Year three *Patricians* [16] were placed at the Head of the Republick with the Title of *Military Tribunes*, whoſe Names were *A. Sempronius* [17], *L. Attilius*, and *T. Clælius*. They having been pitched upon for this Office, ever ſince the laſt Year, entered upon it with all the Solemnity and Authority of *Conſuls*. But theſe Governors of the Republick did not continue long in an Office, which they had not accepted of, without Regret. They ſeem to have conſented to their being diſpoſſeſſed of it, under a vain Pretence of Religion. The third Month after their Eſtabliſhment was not yet expired, when *C. Curtius*, one of the preceding *Conſuls*, thought fit to ſtart a Scruple to them, about their Inſtallation. He was the Man, who had preſided at their Election in the *Campus Martius*. Now this Solemnity ought to have been accompanied with certain religious Ceremonies, the want of any one of which was ſufficient to make the Election void. The Preſident, with the *Augurs*, ought to have conſulted the flying of Birds, before he went out of *Rome*; and if the Omens were inauſpicious, it was unlawful to go out in order to the Election. And farther; when the five *Claſſes*, of which the *Comitia by Centuries* conſiſted, arrived in the *Campus Martius*, in order of Battel, they actually placed themſelves, as in a Camp, round a Tent, which was pitched for the *Preſident* of the *Comitia*, as if he had been a General of an Army. But before the *Preſident* entered this Pavillion, he renewed the *Auguries*, and if they were in the leaſt defective, the *Augurs* declared the Aſſembly unlawful, and then the Election was deemed null. *Curtius* therefore declared to the *Military Tribunes*, three Months after their Election, that the *Auguries* he had conſulted, before he entered into his Tent, had been inauſpicious, which diſannulled their Promotion. This Declaration, was probably an artful Contrivance between the Nobility and *Military Tribunes*, not to let this new Form of Government take Root. The three Magiſtrates readily agreed, that the Scruple which had been ſtarted was juſt, and they all abdicated the Dignity to which they had been promoted. By this Means *Rome* fell into an *Interregnum*. And *T. Quinctius*, who then governed the Republick for a Time, aſſembled the People, and left it to their Choice, either to revive the old *Conſular* Government, or leave *Rome* in the Hands of

Year of *ROME* CCCIX. A. Sempronius, L. Attilius, and T. Clælius, Military Tribunes.

Interregnum. *Dion. Hal. B.* 11. *p.* 736. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 7.

16 We have followed the Order of the *Faſti Capitolini*, in placing the firſt *Military Tribunes* in the Year of *Rome* 309, after the *Conſulſhip* of *Marcus Genucius Augurinus*, and *Caius Curtius Philo*. So that we differ from *Livy*, who places the beginning of this Magiſtracy in the Year 310. *Dion. Hal.* ſays, theſe Magiſtrates began to exerciſe their *Conſular* Power for the firſt Time, in the third Year of the 84th *Olympiad*, while *Diphilus* was *Archon* of *Athens*; *i. e.* about the Year of *Rome* 311. In this Difference of Opinions, we thought the Authority of the *Faſti Capitolini* deciſive. *Suidas* brings down the Eſtabliſhment of the *Military Tribunes*, ſo low as to the 315th Year of *Rome*. Perhaps he overlooked thoſe which were created in the Year 309, becauſe their Election was deemed unlawful.

17 *Aulus Sempronius Atratinus*, *Lucius Attilius Longus*, and *Titus Clælius Siculus*, were then the firſt *Military Tribunes*; for ſo they are called in the *Faſti Capitolini*. Inſtead of *Titus Clælius*, we read in *Livy*, *Titus Cæcilius*, and in ſome *Greek* Copies of *Dion. Hal.* Κλόιος. Some Editions of that Author do likewiſe give *Lucius Attilius* the Surname of Λοῦσκα, which was very improperly put for Λόγγος. According to *Livy*, ſome Hiſtorians pretend, that the Defection of the *Ardeates*, and the Motions of the *Æqui*, *Volſci*, and *Veientes*, who threatened *Rome*, were the only Cauſes that gave Birth to the *Military Tribuneſhip* of this Year; and that, from an Opinion, that two *Conſuls* were not enough to fight ſo many Enemies, all at once. And theſe Authors, adds *Livy*, make no mention of the *Canuleian* Law, which brought about this Revolution.

Year of *ROME* CCCIX. L. Papyrius Mugillanus, and L. Sempronius Atratinus, Conſuls.

of new *Military Tribunes*. The Senate was for the *Conſular* Government, and the *Tribunes of the People*, for continuing the *Military Tribunes*. Whilſt the Commons, who were determined to give the ſupreme Dignity to none but *Patricians*, were very indifferent, whether it had the Name of a *Conſulſhip*, or *Tribuneſhip*. At laſt all agreed to reſtore the old Form of Government. *Patricians* only were permitted to ſtand for the *Conſulſhip*, and the *Centuries* choſe two *Conſuls*; one named [18] *Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus*, the other *L. Sempronius Atratinus*. Thus the *Roman* Nobility, by giving Way a little to the Violences of the People, averted, for ſome Time, the Storm with which they were threatened.

The Union which now reigned among all Orders of Men in the Republick, kept the neighbouring Powers quiet. Even the *Ardeates* returned to their Duty, and ſent a Deputation to the Senate. They offered to make their Submiſſion, provided the *Romans* would reſtore them the Territory which they had adjudged to themſelves. It was abſolutely out of the Power of the Senate to repeal a Decree of the People. They therefore diſmiſſed the *Ardeates* with good Words, telling them they would bring their Reconciliation to bear in due Time, and then uſe their Endeavours to do them Juſtice. But the *Ardeates* renewed their Alliance with *Rome*, a few Months after, without the Reſtitution of their Lands. The *Conſuls Papyrius* and *Sempronius* ſigned this Alliance. Which is a certain Proof of their Advancement to the *Conſulſhip*; but this is not generally obſerved [19] by the antient Hiſtorians. It is uncertain whether they continued in their Office a whole Year, or only nine Months, to complete the Year of the *Military Tribunes*. But it is certain, that the Time of Elections was poſtponed, ſince the following *Conſuls* did not take Poſſeſſion of their Offices till the *Ides of December* [20].

Year of *ROME* CCCX. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Geganius, Conſuls.

§. X. The People having been again conſulted, whether they would keep to the *Conſular* Government, conſented, and the Republick choſe two *Patricians* of great Authority. The firſt was *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, who was now raiſed to the *Conſulſhip* the fifth Time. The ſecond was *M. Geganius*, who had been *Conſul* once before. Theſe two great Men applied themſelves wholly to the Study and Promotion of the Welfare of their Country. It was now ſeventeen Years, that *Rome* had neglected the having any *Cenſus*, which *Servius Tullius* had appointed, ſhould be taken every five Years: And each *Cenſus* was to be cloſed with a *Luſtrum*, which made it an Act of Religion. Wars Abroad, and Diſturbances at Home, had found the *Conſuls* ſo full

18 *Tully* ſpeaks of theſe two *Conſuls*, in a Letter to *Papyrius Pætus* in his *Epiſt. ad Famil. B.* 9. *How can you deny*, ſays he to him, *that there ever was a* Papyrius, *who was not a* Plebeian? *For there were ſeveral* Patricians of the ſecond Order, *of your Name, the Chief of which was* Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus, *who was* Conſul *with* Lucius Sempronius Atratinus, *in the Year of* Rome 312. *But then your Family was called* Papyrian. His Words are theſe. *Sed tamen, mi Pæte, qui tibi venit in mentem negare* Papyrium *quemquam unquam, niſi* Plebeium *fuiſſe? Fuerunt enim* Patricii minorum gentium, *quorum Princeps* Lucius Papyrius Mugillanus, *qui* Conſul *cum* Lucio Sempronio Atratino *fuit, anno poſt* Romam *conditam*, 312. *Sed tum* Papyrii *dicebamini*. We may here obſerve, how uncertain the *Conſular* Years are, ſince the moſt celebrated *Roman* Authors agree ſo little, in the courſe of them. *Dion. Hal.* charges the greateſt part of the *Roman Annals* with being unfaithful. Some ſay nothing of the *Military Tribunes* we have been ſpeaking of, and others ſay nothing of the *Conſuls*, who governed for the remaining part of the Year 309.

19 We neither find the *Conſuls* for this Year, ſays *Livy*, in the antient *Annals*, nor in the Regiſters of the Magiſtrates. Perhaps, adds he, becauſe the *Military Tribunes*, who began the Year, were thought to have completed it. In Proof of this, he quotes *Licinius Macer*, who wrote The *Annals of Rome*. The latter declares, that the Names of theſe two *Conſuls* were to be ſeen in the Treaty which the Republick concluded with the *Ardeates*, and in the *Linnen* Books which were found in the Temple of *Juno Moneta*. For it was not then cuſtomary to write on Tables covered with Wax, or Parchment, or Barks of Trees prepared for that Purpoſe, but on *Linnen Cloths*, which were made fit to write upon. *Pliny* confirms the Truth of this Cuſtom, *B.* 13. *c.* 11. *In palmarum foliis primo ſcriptitatum. Deinde quarumdam arborum libris; poſtea publica monumenta plumbeis voluminibus, & mox privata* Linteis *confici cœpta, aut cæreis.* i. e. *Men firſt wrote on Palm-Leaves, then on Barks of Trees. Afterwards they made uſe of Plates of Lead for publick Monuments, and* Linen *or Tables covered with Wax, for private Uſe.* *Auſonius* deſcribes this Cuſtom thus,

Per licia *texta querelas*
Edidit, & tacitis mandavit crimina telis.
Epiſt. 23.

20 That is the 13th of *December*. The common Diſputes between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians* might probably retard this Election; for we have already obſerved, that ever ſince the Government of the *Decemviri*, the *Conſular* Years ended the 15th of *May*. Whence we may judge what Perplexity and Uncertainty theſe Confuſions and Variations muſt make in Chronology. Here *Dion. Hal.* leaves us. But it is certain, that his Hiſtory originally conſiſted of twenty Books, as we learn from *Photius*. And *Stephen* of *Byzantium* muſt have had them, ſince he quotes the 16th, 17th, 18th, and 19th Books. Only eleven Books now remain of this great Work. The reſt is loſt: And we have not even the 11th entire.

Employment for all that Time, that they had not had Leiſure to diſcharge this part of their Office; though there was ſcarce any part of it, of more Importance to the publick Welfare. For want of this neceſſary Care, the Condition and Circumſtances of Families in *Rome*, were unknown. The *Tribes* were aſſeſſed, without knowing how much each could bear. There was no exact Account taken of the young Men who were at Age to bear Arms. The Habitations of the many Families in *Rome*, who were diſperſed Abroad in the ſeveral Quarters of the City were not known; nor the Situation of their Eſtates, which were diſperſed in the ſeveral *Tribes* in the Country. The moſt cunning eſcaped Contributions, and publick Services, whilſt the more honeſt were overburdened with them. But *Quinctius* and *Geganius* found themſelves in a Condition to remedy this Diſorder. Though after all, they were ſenſible that ſo laborious a Work, was too much for the Strength of two Men, who were already taken up with ſo many other Affairs, both civil and military. And it is probable, that they propoſed to the Senate, to diſcharge themſelves of ſo heavy a Burden, and lay it upon two new Magiſtrates created on Purpoſe, who with the Title of *Cenſors*, ſhould have the Care of numbering the People, and taking an Account of their Effects. The *Cenſorſhip*, at its Inſtitution, ſeemed to the *Fathers* to promiſe more Labour than Honour to the *Cenſors*. Nevertheleſs they conſented to the Eſtabliſhment of it. The more they multiplied the Employments of the *Patricians*, the more they increaſed the Honours of the Nobility. Whilſt on the other Hand, the *Tribunes of the People* made no Oppoſition to it, either becauſe they thought the Employment of little Importance, or becauſe they would not bring a Diſgrace on themſelves, by eternally thwarting the Inclinations of the *Conſuls*, in every the moſt trifling Thing they could propoſe. They did not then foreſee to what a Pitch of Grandeur and Power the Office of *Cenſor* would in Time arrive. So that a Law was paſſed, determining and ſettling what ſhould be the Buſineſs of theſe [21] *Cenſors*. If we may depend on the Account we have of it, it was drawn up in theſe Terms. *Let the* Cenſors *enquire into the Ages, and Number of the Perſons in every Family, and the Value of the Effects, which belong to them. Let them have the Inſpection of the Temples, Streets, Fountains, publick Treaſure, and Taxes. Let them determine to what* Tribe *every Citizen ſhall belong. Let them inform themſelves of every one's Age and Income, that they may place all in their Order. Let them keep a Regiſter of the* Roman *Knights, and of the Foot-Soldiers. Let them take care that no Body lives ſingle. Let them inſpect the Manners of the People, and not ſuffer any Stain to reſt upon the Senate. Let there be two* Cenſors, *and let them continue in their Office five Years, though other Magiſtrates are changed annually. And laſtly, Let this Office continue in the Republick for ever.*

Year of *ROME* CCCX. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Geganius, Conſuls.

Cicero de Leg. B. 3.

But how conſiderable ſoever the Privileges annexed to this new Office were, we don't find any *Patricians* of the firſt Rank offering themſelves for it. So that it was given to *Papyrius* and *Sempronius*, the two *Conſuls* for the laſt Year, whoſe *Conſulſhip* had been in ſome Reſpects defective. They were choſen by the People, to be the firſt *Cenſors*, took a *Cenſus* of the People, and finiſhed the eleventh *Luſtrum*, reckoning from their Inſtitution.

§. XI. In the mean time the *Conſuls*, though eaſed of the Burden of the *Cenſus*, found Buſineſs enough to employ them, Abroad and at Home. The *Ardeates*, who had very lately, and very happily for themſelves, renewed their Confederacy with *Rome*, were now unhappily embroiled in a civil War. It aroſe from a ſlight Cauſe, and ſuch a one, as Men generally aſcribe to Fate, though it be the natural Effect of the Corruption of their own Hearts. Two Citizens of *Ardea*, of different Conditions, both fell in Love with a young Woman of great Beauty, of the ſame City. One was a ſubſtantial Citizen; the other of a noble Family, well eſteemed in *Ardea*. The young Woman was of an honourable *Plebeian* Family. So that it ſeemed more ſuitable to her Station, to give her to the young *Plebeian*. This was a Family-Affair, the Determination of which ſeems to have concerned only the Relations of the Fair

Livy B. 4. *c.* 9.

[21] The Office of *Cenſor* had originally nothing in it, which could flatter the Ambition of the Great. It was then in a manner wholly confined to the right of taking an Account, or *Cenſus* of the *Roman* People; but it afterwards became the higheſt Poſt of Honour, by Means of the Prerogatives which were annexed to it. In the Sequel of this Hiſtory, we ſhall meet with *Cenſors*, inveſted with a Power, in ſome Meaſure arbitrary; and ſuch as made them formidable, to all the different Orders of Men in the Republick.

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T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Geganius, Conſuls.

Ardeate; but they could not agree. The Mother of the Girl, ſo earneſtly courted, was an ambitious Widow, who thought to have raiſed her ſelf, by advancing her Daughter into a noble Family. On the other Hand, the Guardians of the young Woman thought it more decent to marry her to a Man of her own Rank, and of their Body. And the Diſputes about this Marriage engaged all *Ardea* in the Quarrel. The Nobility declared for one of the Suitors, the People for the other. At length, the Affair was brought to a Trial: And it is ſcarce to be imagined, how much Reſpect was then ſhewn to the Authority of Mothers over their Children. The Magiſtrate pronounced Sentence in favour of the Mother, and againſt the Guardians. But the latter would not ſtand to his Determination. They had recourſe to Violence and Sedition. After they had gathered ſome *Plebeians* together, whom they had ſeduced with their Diſcourſes, they entered the Widow's Houſe, and took away her Daughter. The Nobility on the other Hand took part with the Mother, ran to Arms, and fell upon thoſe who had run away with the young Woman. A Battel was fought, and a great deal of Blood ſpilt. The *Plebeians* were repulſed and defeated, ran out of the City like Mad-men, went and encamped upon an Hill in the Nighbourhood; and without ſhewing the ſame Moderation as the *Romans* had done on a like Separation, diſperſed themſelves all over the Lands of the Nobility, and plundered and burnt every Thing they met with. Nor was all this enough to ſatisfy them. The Mutineers ſeduced all the reſt of the Artificers, and other Citizens in *Ardea*, who had not been concerned in the firſt Battel: And with this Reinforcement they prepared to beſiege the City. What horrible Effects were then produced by a Paſſion, which has often been more fatal to great Nations, than either a Famine, or a Peſtilence!

But in the mean time, the Nobility of *Ardea*, who were thus expoſed to the Dangers of a Siege, implored the Aſſiſtance of the *Romans*. Their Deputies repreſented the Goodneſs of their Cauſe to the Senate, and the Danger of their Country, which was like to be utterly ruined by the Tranſports of two young Rivals, who ſeemed to have communicated their Fury, each to his own Party. The Senate therefore ordered an Army to be raiſed, to go and reſtore Peace to a City in Alliance with *Rome*. The *Conſul Geganius* had the Charge of leading the Army into the Field, whilſt the wiſe *T. Quinctius* continued in the City to maintain Peace there. The *Romans* took part with the Nobility of *Ardea*. Beſides that they had the better right on their ſide, the *Romans* were angry that the People of *Ardea* had had recourſe to the *Volſci*, thoſe eternal Enemies of their Republick. And indeed, the Troops of the *Volſci* had already joined thoſe of the Revolters. They had already drawn their Circumvallations round the City. They had choſen themſelves a Commander, an Officer among the *Æqui*, whoſe Name was *Cluilius*. This was their Situation, when the *Roman* Army appeared before *Ardea*. Upon his Arrival, *Geganius* did two Things. 1. He ſurrounded the Circumvallations of the *Volſci* with his Troops, and ſhut them in within their own Entrenchments. This the *Romans* executed with incredible Expedition. And *2dly*, He dug a ſubterraneous Paſſage from the City to his Camp, for a Communication between the Beſieged, and his own Army. *Cluilius* was ſurprized to find himſelf more cloſely inveſted, than the City he beſieged. And having ſate down before *Ardea* in haſte, he had not brought Proviſions enough with him for the Subſiſtence of his Troops. Before the *Romans* arrived, he had maintained the *Volſci* at the Expence of the Country, which he plundered. But now finding himſelf incloſed by the *Roman* Army, and in great Danger of periſhing by Famine, he demanded a Conference with the *Conſul*. He told him with great Confidence, *That if the* Romans *were only come to raiſe the Siege, he would agree to march his Army to another Place.* But *Geganius* underſtood himſelf better. He replied, *It is not for the Conquered to give Law to their Conquerors. The* Volſci *ſhall not go from hence as they came. Let them deliver up their General to me, acknowledge themſelves conquered, and become ſubject to the* Romans. *Without this, I will treat them as Enemies, whether they ſtay or go. I had rather return to* Rome *with a certain Victory, than the Promiſes of a fallacious Peace. Cluilius* was too proud to ſubmit to theſe Conditions. He choſe rather to attempt to break his Way through the *Romans* with his Sword, and try the Fate of a Battel, ſince he had no other Hopes. The Place where he was incloſed, was neither convenient for fighting, or flight. But he had no Choice in theſe Circumſtances. *Cluilius* therefore ventured a Battel; but being inveſted and attacked on all ſides, his Men immediately cried out for Quarter, upon

upon the firſt Onſet. Nevertheleſs the *Romans* refuſed to grant the *Volſci* their Lives, till they had delivered up their General. Then they were ordered to lay down their Arms, were made to *paſs under the Yoke*, were ſtripped, and had Leave to return Home. And in their Way thither, this disbanded, tattered, and mangled Army, made an Halt in the Neighbourhood of *Tuſculum*. Upon which the *Tuſculans* gladly ſeized this Opportunity of revenging themſelves upon their old Enemies. They even glutted their Revenge, and made ſo great a Slaughter of them, that there were ſcarce enough left to carry home the News. As for the *Ardeates*, *Geganius* gave Leave to all, whom the Sword had ſpared, to return into their City. There the Conqueror reconciled the People and the Nobility, after he had cut off the Heads of the chief Authors of the Sedition. Their Goods were likewiſe confiſcated, not to the *Romans*, but to the publick Treaſury of *Ardea*. So that the *Ardeates* now thought ſufficient Amends was made them by this Means, for the Loſs of the Lands, the *Romans* had adjudged to themſelves. But the Senate did not think enough yet done, to wipe off the Stains of that Avarice, which reflected ſo much Diſhonour on the Republick. We ſhall ſoon ſee what Methods they uſed, to take away this Reproach.

Year of *ROME* CCCX. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and M. Geganius, Conſuls.

§. XII. The *Conſul Geganius* returned to *Rome*, with all the Glory of a Conqueror. A Triumph was decreed him, and the Proceſſion made with uncommon Pomp and Solemnity. The Spoils of all the Army which had *paſſed under the Yoke*, were carried before him, and the General of the Conquered in Chains, honoured the Victor's Triumph. And yet it may be truly ſaid, that his Collegue, *Quinctius Capitolinus*, had acquired more Eſteem among the People, than the Conqueror himſelf. Whilſt he continued in *Rome*, he made his Reſidence there more uſeful to the Publick, than if he had obtained a Victory in the open Field. This great Magiſtrate was ſcarce inferior in Merit, to the famous *Quinctius Cincinnatus* his Brother. He was an excellent Soldier, but an incomparable Stateſman. He was not one of thoſe who have no Weight any longer than they are in Office. He ſeemed a *Conſul* in all Parts of Life: And when advanced to the higheſt Poſt, leſs Reſpect was ſhewn to his Office, than his Perſon. And indeed, his Conduct was uniform, in all his *Conſulſhips*. There always appeared in him a Mixture of Severity and Sweetneſs, which no Body ever knew how to temper together, ſo perfectly as himſelf. The Senators themſelves thought him too ſevere to the People, and yet the People were perfectly ſatisfied with his Goodneſs to them. He kept the *Tribunes* within Bounds, not ſo much by any Victories over them in the *Comitia*, as by their Awe of his Authority: And it is eaſy to imagine, that during his wiſe Adminiſtration, the People did not think of changing the old Government, and creating *Military Tribunes*. In this happy *Conſulſhip*, *Herodotus* came into *Italy*. He reſided there ſome time in the City of [22] *Thurium*, *Pliny B.* 12. *c.* 4.

22 *Strabo B.* 6. places *Thurium* between the two Rivers, *Crathis* and *Sybaris*, now *Crati*, and *Cochile*. This City, which was at firſt called *Sybaris*, arrived, according to him, at ſo great a Degree of Power, that it commanded four neighbouring Nations. Within its Territory, ſays he, were reckoned twenty five Cities, and its Compaſs was fifty *Stadia*, or ſix thouſand two hundred and fifty geometrical Paces, *i. e.* about 2 ½ Leagues. In the War it carried on againſt the Inhabitants of *Croton*, it raiſed an Army of three hundred thouſand Men. But at laſt, its Inhabitants being worn out with Debauches, were not able to withſtand the Attacks of the *Crotoniates*. Theſe, after they had made themſelves Maſters of the City, drowned it, and covered it with the Waters of the *Crathis*, the Courſe of which they had turned. But ſome who eſcaped the common Deſtruction, did, in ſome Senſe, repair the Ruins of *Sybaris*. In order to this, they aſſociated to themſelves a Colony of *Athenians*, and other *Greeks*, who, by a moſt infamous Act of Treachery, exterminated the miſerable Remains of the *Sybarites*. And in the ſame Neighbourhood, the new Colony built another City, called *Thurium*, from the Name of a Fountain, which ran near the Place. In proceſs of Time the *Thurians* were ſubdued by the People of *Luconia*, and were much oppreſſed by thoſe of *Tarentum*. Then they choſe to have recourſe to the *Romans*, who ſent a Colony to repeople their City, which had loſt a great Number of its Inhabitants. Ever ſince that time it was called *Copiæ*. The Place where *Thurium* formerly ſtood, is now called *Sybari Rovinata*. The City of *Sybaris*, which was ruined by the *Crotoniates*, ſtood, ſays Father *Briet*, on the right Bank of the River of the ſame Name, in the Place where *Torre Brodogneto* is at preſent. As to the laſt Name of *Copiæ*, which was given this City, *Cluverius* ſays, that ſome Footſteps of it were found in his Time, about the Mouth of the *Crati*. There, ſays he, is a ſort of Tower, which the People of the Country commonly called *Torre del Cupo*. *Ariſtotle*, *in Mirandis*, *Ptolomy*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, *B.* 11. and 12. all mention *Sybaris*. The Luxury and Effeminacy of the *Sybarites*, were formerly proverbial. According to *Pliny*, *B.* 12. *c.* 4. it was in the City of *Thurium*, that *Herodotus* began his Hiſtory, in the Year of *Rome*, 310: *i. e.* according to Father *Petau*, *B.* 15. *De Doctrina Temporum*, in the firſt Year of the 84th *Olympiad*. But *Lucian* does not agree with *Pliny* in this Particular. And *Suidas*, and *Euſebius* in his *Chronicon*, differ from them both.

Year of *ROME* CCCXI. M. Fabius, and Posthumus Ebutius, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 11.

near *Tarentum*, and it is probable, that he there compoſed a part at leaſt of his Hiſtory.

§. XIII. The Republick was then enjoying the Peace, which *Quinctius* had eſtabliſhed at Home by his Prudence, and *Geganius* ſecured Abroad by his Victory, when *M.* [23] *Fabius*, and *Poſthumus Ebutius* were made *Conſuls*. And it lay incumbent upon them to maintain the Glory of the preceding Year, which the Affair of the *Ardeates* had exceedingly raiſed among all the neighbouring Nations. They talked of nothing, but the Aſſiſtance the *Romans* had ſo ſeaſonably ſent to their Allies. The *Conſuls* therefore made it their Buſineſs to bury the Remains of that Infamy in Oblivion, which the *Roman* People had brought upon themſelves, by the unjuſt Judgment they had formerly paſſed againſt the *Ardeates*. They prevailed on the Senate to paſs ſuch a Decree, as was very proper to preſerve the *Romans* an unſpotted Reputation for Juſtice. The Decree was, that a Colony of *Roman* Citizens ſhould be ſent to *Ardea*, to defend and repeople the City, which was a little depopulated by the the late civil War. The Deſign of the *Conſuls* in this, was to reſtore the *Ardeates* the Lands which had been taken from them. But for fear of diſobliging the *Tribunes*, nothing more was expreſſed in the Decree, but the Deſign of repeopling the City. Nevertheleſs there were two ſecret Articles agreed on. The firſt, That nothing but the Lands, formerly in Diſpute with the *Ardeates*, ſhould be diſtributed among the new Colony; and the ſecond, That none of theſe ſhould be diſtributed among the *Romans*, till the beſt part of them had firſt been diſtributed among the *Ardeates*, who were more numerous than they. Three Senators were deputed to carry the Colony, and make the Diſtribution of the Lands. Theſe were *Agrippa Menenius*, *T. Clælius*, and *M. Ebutius*. It ſeemed to be a dangerous Commiſſion that they were entruſted with, and ſcarce poſſible to be put in Execution, according to the Orders of the Senate, without drawing upon themſelves the Reſentment of the People. It was indeed diſannulling their Judgment, by an Act of Power; and the three Commiſſioners brought Enemies upon themſelves by their equitable Diſcharge of their Truſt. They had no Regard in the Diſtribution of the Lands, to the Recommendations of the greateſt *Patricians*: So that the *Tribunes* did not fail of citing them to appear before the People. And the Expedient they made uſe of, to avoid the Proſecution, was natural enough. They declared themſelves Citizens of *Ardea*, and continued there. So that the Colony was enriched with three illuſtrious *Roman Patricians*, and the Territory, which had been invaded by the *Roman* People, was reſtored to its proper Owners.

Year of *ROME* CCCXII. C. Furius, and M. Papirius, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 12.

§. XIV. This Year, which was diſtinguiſhed only by Works of Peace, was followed by another as pacifick. *C.* [24] *Furius*, and *M. Papirius* were choſen *Conſuls*. They amuſed the People with publick Shews, which Religion required of them, and which had hitherto been deferred. In the Time of the *Decemviri*, when the People were thinking of making a new Separation, the Senate made a Vow to celebrate Games, in Honour of the immortal Gods. But this Vow was never performed, till the preſent Times of ſettled Peace, which one of the *Tribunes of the People*, called *Petelius*, endeavoured to diſturb. He was a Man of a turbulent and factious Spirit. He was the Author of the Perſecution begun laſt Year againſt the three Commiſſioners, nominated to conduct the Colony to *Ardea*. And the only Means by which he continued himſelf in the *Tribuneſhip* the ſecond Year, was the Hopes he had given the People of getting ſome Lands to be diſtributed among them. He laid his Deſign before the *Conſuls*, and would have engaged them to preſent his Petition to the Senate. But his Attempts were fruitleſs. It was in vain for him to threaten that he would oppoſe the raiſing any Levies among the People. There was no Reaſon to be apprehenſive of any foreign War at preſent. So that his Threatnings were frivolous, and his Schemes vaniſhed. He likewiſe attempted to get it propoſed to the Senate, whether it would not be better to chooſe *Military Tribunes*, than *Conſuls*; but with the like Succeſs. The *Romans* adhered to their old Government.

23 *Marcus Fabius*, ſurnamed *Vibulanus*, was the Son of that *Quintus Fabius*, who had eſcaped in the bloody Battel of the *Cremera*. *Livy* gives the other *Conſul* the *Prænomen* of *Poſthumius*, inſtead of *Poſthumus*, and the Surname of *Cornicen*, as well as that of *Elva*.

24 *Livy* and the *Greek Tables* give *C. Furius* the Surnames of *Pacilus*, and *Fuſus*. *Diodorus* has changed the *Prænomen Marcus* (which *Livy* and the *Faſti Capitolini* give *Papirius*) into that of *Manius*. This *Conſul* has the Surname of *Craſſus* in the *Faſti Conſulares*.

§. XV. THE next Year *Proculus* [25] *Geganius*, and *L. Menenius Agrippa*, were promoted to the *Conſulſhip:* And under their Adminiſtration, the Republick wanted nothing to complete its Ruin, but to be attacked by a foreign Enemy. The Famine, the Plague, and Seditions, were the ſeveral Scourges, with which it was ſucceſſively chaſtiſed. The Citizens of *Rome*, of whom we often form falſe Ideas, were then almoſt all Husbandmen, who manured with their own Hands, the Lands which lay near the City. Husbandry was eſteemed an honourable Employment. But the Harangues of the *Tribunes*, and the Storms of the *Comitia*, ſo diſtracted the Minds of the Citizens at this Time, that their Lands were but indifferently cultivated. Beſides it was a bad Year. So that the Famine began to be very ſenſibly felt; and to prevent the ill Conſequences of it, the People, with the Conſent of the Senators, created an extraordinary Magiſtrate, who was called *The Superintendant* [26] *of Proviſions*. His Name was *Minucius*. But this new Office was of more uſe in appeaſing Seditions, than in abating the Scarcity. The Senate had murmured loudly againſt the People, and the People, in their Turn, againſt the *Conſuls*. The Senators ſaid, the People loſt the Time they ſhould have ſpent at Work, in the Aſſemblies called by the *Tribunes*; and the People accuſed the *Conſuls*, either of neglecting to provide for the Wants of the People, or of leſſening the Plenty of Proviſions maliciouſly, and with Deſign. Whilſt *Minucius* was neither wanting in Zeal, or Activity, in endeavouring to remove this publick Calamity. He ſent into ſeveral Provinces, both by Sea and Land, in queſt of Corn: But all in vain. No Supplies could be got from any foreign Country, except *Hetruria*, which furniſhed the Republick with a ſmall Quantity. The *Romans* were therefore obliged to manage the few Proviſions they had left in their City, with the beſt OEconomy they could. They obliged all private Perſons to declare what Corn they had, and to ſell all but one Month's Proviſion for their Families. They gave the Slaves but half their uſual Allowance of Bread, and delivered up the Corn-Merchants, to the Accuſations and Fury of the People. But theſe Enquiries ſerved only to make the Famine the more apparent, and not to abate it. So that the *Romans* ſunk into Deſpair; And ſeveral of them choſe rather to throw themſelves into the *Tyber*, than drag on a languiſhing and hopeleſs Life.

Year of *ROME* CCCXIII.

PROCULUS GEGANIUS, and L. MENENIUS AGRIPPA, Conſuls.

Zonar. Annal. B. 7. Auguſt. de Civit. B. 3. and *Livy B. 4. Ibid.*

AND who would imagine that *Sp. Mælius*'s Ambition ſhould contribute more to the Relief of the famiſhed *Romans*, than the moſt earneſt Care of the Magiſtrates? If his Compaſſion had been diſintereſted, and his Intentions pure, his Liberalities to the indigent People would have immortalized his Name. *Mælius* had ſo much Wealth, that his Riches had raiſed him to the Rank of a *Roman* Knight. He traded in Corn, and had Correſpondents in *Hetruria*. When therefore the Famine was very great in *Rome*, he employed his Clients and Correſpondents, and cauſed ſo much Corn to be brought from *Hetruria* on his own Account, that this was the Reaſon, why *The Superintendant of Proviſions* could get very little from thence on account of the Publick. He had been partly the Cauſe of the Scarcity; and he in part removed it; but with ill Views, in order to gain an Intereſt in the Citizens by that Means, and make himſelf a Party among them. To ſome he gave Corn *gratis*; to others he ſold it, at a low Price. The People crowded to his Houſe in great Multitudes. Whenever this publick Benefactor went through the Streets, he was attended with a numerous Train of People, and gave himſelf the Airs of a Man, above a private Condition: And indeed, he immediately aſpired at being made *Conſul*. He had Reaſon to hope for it, from the great Intereſt he had gained, and after all, it was but a ſmall Fault in him to ſtand Candidate for it. But can the Heart of Man ſet any Bounds to its Deſires? When *Mælius* had conſidered that the Time of the *Comitia* for electing *Conſuls* drew near, and that his Party was not ſufficiently formed, he carried his Views beyond the *Conſulſhip*. He would indeed have found it very difficult to have obtained it from the *Patricians*, without extorting it from them by Violence. And he therefore thought it would be as eaſy to invade the *Regal*, as the *Conſular* Authority, and

25 *Geganius*, ſurnamed *Macerinus*, had the *Prænomen* of *Proculus*, as *Plutarch* conjectures in his *Life of Coriolanus*, either becauſe his Father was very old, *Procul ab ætate florente*, when he came into the World; or becauſe he was born when his Father was Abroad, *Patre procul a patria degente*. This *Prænomen Proculus* was the Surname of the *Plautian* Family, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. *Diodorus* changes *Lucius*, the *Prænomen* of *Menenius Agrippa*, into that of *Titus*. But it is a Miſtake. This *Conſul* was the Son of *Titus Menenius*, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 301.

26 *Suetonius* informs us, that the Office of *Superintendant of Proviſions* was common in *Rome*, in *Auguſtus*'s Time.

Year of ROME CCCXIV.

T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Agrippa Menenius, Conſuls.

looked on the former as more worthy of his Purſuit. So that he did not appear among the Candidates for the *Conſulſhip*; and *Comitia* were held as uſual, without any Thoughts of chooſing *Mælius*.

§. XVI. It was happy for the Republick, that the famous *T. Quinctius* was now elected the ſixth Time. His Collegue was [27] *Agrippa Menenius*. The Government could not have fallen into better Hands in ſo critical a Conjuncture. Who more ſagacious to diſcover a Conſpiracy, of more Ability to ſtop the Progreſs of it, and more reſolute to puniſh the Authors of it, than *Quinctius Capitolinus?* Yet he was not the firſt who diſcovered *Mælius*'s Plot. This Glory was reſerved for *Minucius*. This *Superintendant of Proviſions* continued in his Office, becauſe it was not a ſettled Employment in the State, but only an occaſional one, which was to laſt as long as it was wanted. *Minucius* therefore executed that Commiſſion as long as Proviſions continued dear at *Rome*; and by that Means had an Opportunity of getting Light into the ill Deſigns of *Mælius*. Indeed, the ſame Perſons who frequented the Corn-Merchant's Houſe, came likewiſe ſometimes to the *Superintendant of Proviſions*. They ſometimes ſupplied themſelves with Neceſſaries at the Houſe of the one, ſometimes at that of the other. *Minucius* therefore was informed by ſeveral Witneſſes, That a great Number of Arms were brought to *Mælius*'s Houſe; That private Meetings were held there; That Meaſures were concerting there to make him King; That the Time for putting this in Execution was not yet fixed; but that all other Matters were agreed on; That ſome of the *Tribunes of the People* were in the Plot; and That certain Leaders of the Faction had their Orders, and Stations, already aſſigned them. To which the Witneſſes added, That if they were a little late in their Informations, it was becauſe they choſe rather to give their Evidence upon ſure Grounds, than to run the Hazard of accuſing Men upon mere Suſpicions. *Minucius* made a Report to the Senate of the Conſpiracy he had diſcovered: And it is not eaſy to be imagined, how far the old Senators carried their Reſentments. They inveighed againſt the *Conſuls* of the laſt Year. It was their Buſineſs, ſaid they, to have put a Stop to *Mælius*'s Liberalities, and to have forbidden any Meetings at his Houſe. And they accuſed the preſent *Conſuls* of want of Vigilance, and being dilatory in puniſhing. *Should they,* ſaid the Senators, *have ſuffered themſelves to have been prevented by* Minucius's *Diſcoveries? Should not the* Axes *of the* Lictors *have put an end to the Conſpiracy, by the Death of the Conſpirators, before this Time?* But *T. Quinctius* made a wiſe Anſwer to the Complaints of the Senate in relation to what was paſt; and took very proper Meaſures, to prevent the future Misfortunes which threatened them. *If we have not yet revenged the Injuries done the Republick,* ſaid he, *it ought not to be imputed ſo much to the weak Conduct of the* Conſuls, *as to the narrow Compaſs within which the Power of the* Conſuls *is now confined. The People have a right of appealing from our Sentences to the* Tribunes: *And this Uſurpation cuts all the Sinews of the Government. What then can we do? Our Laws themſelves are ſo ordered, that they are a Clog to us. I therefore declare my ſelf for creating a* Dictator, *who has a ſovereign Authority, without Appeal. And to this Purpoſe, I now lay down the* Conſulſhip, *and as it is my right to appoint a* Dictator, *I nominate my Brother* Quinctius Cincinnatus.

This Step was applauded, but *Cincinnatus* at firſt declined the Office. He excuſed himſelf on accout of his great Age: For he was now fourſcore. *Shall I have Vigour enough,* ſaid he, *to ſuſtain the furious Attacks which will be made upon me?* But all the *Conſcript Fathers* encouraged him, heaped Praiſes on him, and aſſured him, that his preſent Virtue and paſt Glory would be a better Support to him, than any other Man could find. So that he at laſt conſented to take upon him the Office of *Dictator* a ſecond Time, after he had offered up his Prayers to the Gods, that his old Age might not prove prejudicial to the Republick. And as it was of the utmoſt Conſequence, not to ſuffer the Alteration which had been made to the Senate, to be known in *Rome:* To prevent therefore the divulging the Secret, no body was ſuffered to leave the Houſe, which continued ſitting all the Day. In the Night *Cincinnatus* choſe himſelf a General of Horſe, and gave this important Employment

Zonar. B. 7. c. 20.

27 This was the ſixth time *Titus Quinctius*, ſurnamed *Capitolinus*, was made *Conſul*. Some Copies of *Diodorus Siculus* call *Menenius* ſometimes *Memnius*, and ſometimes *Menutius*. He was Brother to *Lucius Menenius*, who had been *Conſul* the Year before.

Year of *ROME* CCCXIV.
QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator.

to a brave Officer, named [28] *Servilius Ahala.* Then the *Dictator* ſeized the *Capitol*, and poſted his Horſe to guard it. And as ſoon as it was Day, he came down from the Citadel, and ſhewed himſelf to the *Romans*, in the Habit, and with all the *Inſignia* of a *Dictator*. The whole City was ſurprized at this unexpected Change. *Mælius*'s Confidents ſuſpected that theſe Preparations were made againſt them; but thoſe who were Strangers to the Conſpiracy, asked one another, what urgent Neceſſity at Home, or what News from Abroad it was, that had forced the Republick to put a Man of fourſcore at the Head of it? In the mean time *Mælius* was gone from his Houſe with a Company of his Friends. *Servilius Ahala* immediately accoſts him, and commands him to come and appear before the *Dictator*. What has he to ſay to me, replied *Mælius*, in great Confuſion. *He requires you*, ſaid *Servilius*, *to anſwer to the Crimes laid to your Charge, and of which Complaint has been made to the Senate.* At theſe Words *Mælius* retires, and runs into the middle of his Friends. *Servilius* follows him, and orders an Officer to ſeize, and carry him before the *Dictator*. *Mælius* reſiſts, his Friends reſcue him out of the Hands of the Officer, he flies, and as he paſſes, begs the Aſſiſtance of the Multitude. *The Senate would oppreſs me*, ſaid he, *for having been liberal to the People.* But as he is flying and crying out, *Servilius* comes up to him [29], and with his Sabre cuts [30] off his Head. Whether *Servilius* did this of his own Motion, or by *Cincinnatus*'s Order, is uncertain. However, he returns to the *Dictator*, ſurrounded by a Company of young *Patricians*, and covered with the Blood he had juſt ſpilt, and tells him, that being forced to it by *Mælius*'s Rebellion, and the Violence he offered to the Officers of Juſtice, he had freed the City of ſo pernicious a Citizen. This News filled the generous old Man with Joy. He thanked *Servilius*, and congratulated him upon his Courage, and the Liberty he had reſtored to his Country. In the mean time, as *Mælius*'s ill Deſigns were not generally known in *Rome*, and as he was beloved by the Commonalty, People [31] judged differently of what *Servilius* had done. It was therefore neceſſary that the *Dictator* himſelf ſhould become an Apologiſt for his General of Horſe. Accordingly he aſſem-

Zonar. B. 4.

Livy B. 4. c. 14.

Silver

28 The *Faſti Capitolini* and *Livy* give *Servilius* the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. *Tully* muſt therefore be miſtaken, when he calls him *Quintus Servilius* in his firſt *Oration againſt Cataline*. This General was diſtinguiſhed by the two Surnames of *Structus*, and *Ahala*. Some have ſubſtituted that of *Axilla*, in the room of the latter, and given it to another *Caius Servilius*, who was General of Horſe, when *Quintus Servilius* was *Dictator*, in the Year of *Rome* 335, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. Beſides, the *Servilian* Family was originally of *Alba*, and came from thence to *Rome*, in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*. *Dion. Hal.* and *Livy* declare, it was there a *Patrician* Family of Diſtinction. But upon the Credit of ſome antient Medals, it muſt be granted, that there was a collateral Branch of the *Servilian* Family, which was *Plebeian*.

29 A Medal repreſenting the Head of *Servilius Ahala* has perpetuated the Memory of this *Roman*. It is the Opinion of the moſt celebrated Writers, that that *Brutus*, who was one of *Julius Cæſar*'s Murderers, cauſed it to be ſtruck together with another, in Honour of the old *Brutus* who reſtored the *Romans* their Liberty, by expelling the *Tarquins*. We have given the Impreſſion of the former, *p.* 203. The laſt *Brutus* boaſted of having aboliſhed Tyranny after the Examples of *Servilius Ahala*, from whom he pretended to be deſcended by the Mother's ſide, and of the firſt *Brutus*, whom he gloried in, as one of his Anceſtors But others Conjecture, and not without ſome Probability, that the Medal above, of *Servilius Ahala*, was ſtruck by two Brothers, *Publius*, and *Caius Servilius*, who were concerned in the Conſpiracy againſt *Julius Cæſar*.

30 *Plutarch* in his *Life of Brutus* relates the Circumſtances of this Action a little differently from what *Livy* does. He ſays, that *Servilius Ahala* being informed of *Spurius Mælius*'s Deſigns, armed himſelf with a Dagger, and coming into the *Forum*, drew near to him, under Pretence of having ſome private Buſineſs with him. *Spurius*, continues the Hiſtorian, at the ſame Time leaned his Head towards him, to hearken to what *Servilius* had to ſay, and the latter ſeized this Opportunity, of ſtriking the Dagger into his Breaſt. But *Livy*'s Account ſeems more probable, and more agreeable to the Genius of the *Romans*.

31 According to *Valerius Maximus*, *B.* 4. *c.* 2. the People condemned this Action of *Servilius Ahala*, by which he had delivered *Rome* from the Tyranny of *Spurius Mælius*, as a Crime; *Mælius*'s Memory being dear to the *Plebeians*, whoſe Affections he had gained by his Benefactions to them. According to this Author, Baniſhment was the Reward, aſſigned the Defender of the Liberty of the *Romans*.

Year of ROME CCCXIV. Quinctius Cincinnatus, Dictator.

bled the People, and addreſſed himſelf to them, in this manner. *Let not the Death of the Rebel* Mælius *ſurprize you! Had he not been guilty of deſigning to uſurp the Authority of a* King, *his Diſobedience to the Commands of a* Dictator, *would have been ſufficiently criminal of it ſelf. I had ſeated my ſelf upon the Tribunal to judge him, and I was to have condemned or acquitted him, according as he appeared guilty, or innocent: But he made uſe of Violence, in order to eſcape being tried. What did he think himſelf a* King *already? Had the Traytor forgot the Severity of the* Romans *in puniſhing Tyrants, and thoſe who protect them? Did he not remember, that* [32] Brutus *ſacrificed to our new-born Liberty, two of his own Children, who were Great-Grandſons to one of our* Kings? *Had he entirely forgot, that* Collatinus Tarquinius *the* Conſul *was baniſhed* Rome, *merely for bearing an odious Name? Had he no Remembrance of the Puniſhment of* Sp. Caſſius, *who was accuſed of having had a Deſign to make himſelf a* King? *Was not he at all affrighted at the Death of the* Decemviri, *whoſe Tyranny he was ambitious of uſurping? But who was this* Mælius? *A Man without Birth, Honour, or Merit, and yet he pretended to give himſelf a Sceptre. If the* Claudii *and* Caſſii *attempted to rule over us, the* Conſulſhip *was to them one Step towards mounting the Throne. But for a vile Corn-Merchant, who was fitter to canvaſs for the* Tribuneſhip, *than obtain it, for him to attempt to buy himſelf a Crown, by a few Meaſures of Wheat! What Impudence! Was it poſſible that a People who have conquered ſo many Nations, ſhould be willing to ſell their Liberty for Bread? What? For a Wretch, whom we could not have admitted into the Senate, without bluſhing; for him to dare to take the Place of* Romulus, *that Son of a God, that God himſelf! How monſtrous! How horrible! No, his Death is not a ſufficient Expiation of his Crime. Let the Houſe, where ſo factious a Scheme was formed, be laid level with the Ground! Let the Effects, which ſerved to cheriſh his monſtrous Ambition, be confiſcated, and let the* Queſtors *ſell them for the Uſe of the Publick!*

The *Dictator*'s Decree was put in Execution. *Mælius*'s Houſe was razed; the Ground on which it ſtood, continued void, and from that Time afterwards was called [33] *Æquimelium*; and laſtly, his Corn which remained, was ſold to the Citizens at a very low Price. By this Means a Stop was put to the Commotions of the People. Being comforted with the Diſtribution that was made among them of their Benefactor's Corn, they ſoon forgot him. And they likewiſe eaſily ſuffered Honours to be paid to *Minucius*, *Mælius*'s Accuſer. A Statue [34] was erected to him without the

Silver

[32] *Brutus* his Mother was *Tarquinia*, the Daughter of *Tarquin the Firſt*, and Siſter, according to ſome, or Aunt, according to others, to *Tarquin the Proud*. The Children of *Brutus* were therefore Grand-Children to *Tarquinia*, and Great-Grand-Children to *Tarquin the Firſt*; if it be true, that *Tarquinia* was indeed Siſter to *Tarquin the Proud*.

[33] This Ground retained the Name of *Æquimelium* long after. It lay between the *Capitol*, and the Place called *Velabrum*.

[34] *Pliny* ſays, *B.* 18. *c.* 3. and *B.* 34. *c.* 5. that the Price of Corn was conſiderably abated by the Care and Vigilance of *Minucius*. The People therefore in Gratitude to him, raiſed a Tax among themſelves, in order to erect a Statue to him. Whether this Honour, continues he, was decreed him by the Senate, as had hitherto been uſual, is uncertain. However, moſt Antiquaries are of Opinion, that *Caius Minucius* Augurinus, a Deſcendant of the *Minucian* Family, ſtruck the Medal above, as a Monument of the Regard, which had been ſhewn to *L. Minucius*, one of his Anceſtors. The two Ears of Corn on the Medal repreſent the Office he exerciſed, with the Title of *Superintendant of Proviſions*. His Inſpection and Overſight of Proviſions, Weights, and Meaſures, are repreſented by the Buſhel in the Man's Hand. The *Augural* Staff may have been deſigned to ſignify the *Auguriſhip* of *Minucius Feſtus*, the firſt *Plebeian*, who was raiſed to the Dignity of an *Augur*, in the Year of *Rome* 453, according to *Livy*. The Statue on the Pillar is the Figure of that which was erected to *Lucius Minucius*. What *Pliny*, and others before him, have added concerning the *Tribuneſhip* of *L. Minucius*, is queſtioned by *Livy*. This Hiſtorian expreſſes himſelf thus. *I have read, that* Minucius *of a* Patrician *became a* Plebeian, *and incorporated himſelf among the* Plebeians; *that ſoon after he was made an eleventh* Tribune of the People; *and that while*

the Gate 35 *Trigemina*, and a Field, and an Ox 36, were given him for his Reward. But three of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were doubtleſs the Confidents and Accomplices of *Mælius*, did not forgive *Minucius*, and *Servilius Ahala*, the Death of the Head of their Conſpiracy. They would never ſuffer the People to confirm by a Law the Honours paid to *Minucius*. As to *Servilius*, they waited for another Opportunity of making him feel the Effects of their Hatred. Nay, the *Tribunes of the People*, to revenge themſelves on the *Patricians* in general, endeavoured to revive the *Military Tribuneſhip*, at the next Election, and to aboliſh the *Conſulſhip*. They hoped that the People would now be better inclined than formerly, to divide the Government of the Republick, between three *Patricians*, and three *Plebeians*. But their Hopes were vain. *Military Tribunes* were indeed preferred to *Conſuls*, but the People named only three *Patricians* to be their ſupreme Magiſtrates.

Year of ROME CCCXIV. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, Dictator. *Val. Max. B. 5. c. 3.*

§. XVII. *MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS* was the firſt *Military Tribune* the People choſe at this Time, and he was a Man of extraordinary Merit. After him the Republick choſe *L. Quinctius*. He was the Son of the famous *Dictator Cincinnatus*, and by his Election, the People ſhewed, that they did not retain their Reſentments for the Murder of *Mælius*. The third was one 37 *Julius*, ſurnamed *Iülus*. The Tranquillity of their Government was diſturbed by the Defection of the *Fidenates*. The City of *Fidenæ*, was the neareſt City to *Rome*, on the ſide of *Sabinia*, and was ſcarce five Miles diſtant from it. It had been originally founded, either by the *Hetrurians*, or *Albans*, and had been a *Roman* Colony ever ſince *Romulus*'s Time. But it at laſt grew weary of the Republick, and revolted to King 38 *Tolumnius*, the Head of the *Hetrurian* Nation, and to the *Veientes* his Subjects. The *Romans* therefore ſent four Ambaſſadors to the *Fidenates*, to know the Reaſons for which they revolted. And they took a Reſolution upon it, which was barbarous in it ſelf, and contrary to the Law of Nations. They had Thoughts of putting the *Roman* Ambaſſadors to Death; but did not execute this Deſign, till *Tolumnius* had agreed to it. They ſent Deputies to the *King*, who found him playing at a Game like our Dice; for the *Teſſeræ* had ſix Sides. The Envoys propoſed their Scheme to *Tolumnius*, and he being more intent upon his Play, than their Queſtion, ſaid to him who was playing with him, *Kill*. This was a Term commonly uſed by Players, in their Caſts; but the *Fidenates* took

Year of ROME CCCXV. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, LUCIUS QUINCTIUS, and JULIUS IULUS, Military Tribunes. *Livy B. 4. c. 17.*

Livy B. 4. c. 17.

while he was Tribune, *he appeaſed the Fury of the People, who had mutinied on Account of the Death of* Spurius Mælius. *But*, adds he, *it is not probable that the* Patricians *would ſuffer ſuch an Innovation. Nor is it more credible, that a* Roman, *who was deſcended of a* Patrician *Family, would degrade himſelf in ſuch a manner, in order to increaſe the Number of the* Tribunes, *and to make himſelf the eleventh in their College. Beſides, if this was true, how comes it to paſs, that there were no more than ten* Tribunes *afterwards? If the People had once actually had eleven* Tribunes, *inſtead of ten, would not they always have had the ſame Number, or at leaſt have endeavoured it?* But other Hiſtorians ſay nothing at all of it. As to the Inſcription under the Statue, *Livy* ſpeaks of it, as if it had been forged. *Sed ante omnia refellit falſum imaginis titulum paucis ante annis lege cautum.* NE TRIBUNIS COLLEGAM COOPTARE LICERET. That is, *That the Law made againſt the* Tribunes, *ſome Years before, was a ſufficient Proof of the Falſhood of the Inſcription. By this Law they were forbidden* TO CHOOSE THEIR OWN COLLEGUES, AS THEY PLEASED. But it is asked, on what Occaſion this new Regulation, which *Livy* himſelf ſays not one Word of before, was made; and what relation it could have to the Inſcription of the Statue?

35 *Ammianus*, *Procopius*, and their cotemporary Authors, make no Difference between the Gate *Trigemina*, and that of *Oſtia*. It is the ſame which is now called *St. Paul's Gate*. Some Authors pretend that the three *Horatii* went out thro' this Gate to fight the *Curiatii*; but they don't conſider, that *Rome* ſtood upon ſo little Ground in the Reign of *Tullus Hoſtilius*, that it reached but very little beyond the *Capitol*. Now the Gate *Trigemina* was between the Hills *Cælius* and *Aventinus*.

36 *Livy*'s Words are, *Lucius Minucius bove aurato extra portam Trigeminam eſt donatus*. What does the Hiſtorian mean by this *gilded Ox, erected without the Gate* Trigemina, in Honour of *Minucius*, and to perpetuate the Memory of a Magiſtrate, who reſtored Plenty to *Rome*? We rather think with *Gronovius*, that the Paſſage has been altered by the Copyiſts, and that inſtead of *Bove Aurato*, it ſhould be *Bóve & Arvo*. That is, that in order to reward the Vigilance of the Magiſtrate, *an Ox, and a Piece of arable Ground* were given him. This Preſent was agreeable to the Inclinations of the firſt *Romans*, who employed themſelves in manuring their own Lands. Beſides, this Correction agrees with *Val. Maximus*, *B.* 2. and *Ammianus* 14. who declare, that no gilded Statue was ever ſeen in *Italy*, before *Marcus Acilius Glabrio*'s Time, who erected one to his Father, in the Temple of *Piety*, in the Year of *Rome* 562.

37 We ought not to confound this *Julius Iülus*, with *Caius Julius Iülus*, one of the four Ambaſſadors whom the *Romans* ſent to the *Fidenates*, to demand Satisfaction for their Revolt. This Ambaſſador is called *Clælius Tullus* in ſeveral Editions of *Livy*. And *Tully*, in his ninth *Philippick*, gives him the Name of *Tullus Clivius*.

38 *Tolumnius* commanded the whole Nation of the *Hetrurians*, with the Title of *Lar*. This was the Name given to that *Hetrurian Lucumo*, whom the People of the Country had made the Head of all the *Lucumones*, in a Diet held in the Temple of *Voltumna*. He enjoyed this Superiority for Life, whereas the other *Lucumones* were removable every Year.

Year of *ROME* CCCXV. Mamercus Æmilius, Lucius Quinctius, and Julius Iulus, Military Tribunes. *Val. Max. B.* 9. *c.* 9. *Livy B.* 4. *Ibid.* *Cicer.* 9. *Phil.*

it for an Anſwer to their Queſtion. Or perhaps, the cunning *Veian*, deſignedly made uſe of this equivocal Word, to attach the *Fidenates* the more firmly to himſelf, after he had made them commit an unpardonable Crime againſt the *Romans*. But be that as it will, the *Fidenates* [39] maſſacred the Ambaſſadors, without Pity. And the *Romans* erected [40] four Statues to their Memory, which were ſtanding in the *Forum*, near *The Tribune for Harangues*, in *Tully*'s Time. It was therefore readily foreſeen, that ſo enormous a Villany would be followed by a cruel War. And it was, for that Reaſon, thought more proper to chooſe two *Conſuls*, than three *Military Tribunes* for the enſuing Year. They were elected very peaceably, the *Tribunes of the People* giving no Oppoſition to it.

Year of *ROME* CCCXVI. M. Geganius, and L. Sergius, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *Ibid.* Mamercus Æmilius, Dictator.

§. XVIII. *MARCUS GEGANIUS* was choſen *Conſul* the third Time, and *L. Sergius* was his Collegue. It fell by Lot to the latter, to make War with the *Hetrurian* King, who was already encamped on this ſide the *Anio*. The *Romans* gave him Battel, and had ſome Advantage over him; but their Victory coſt them dear. They loſt a great many Men. Nevertheleſs it is ſaid that *Sergius* took the Surname [41] of *Fidenas* from this Victory. However, the *Romans* did not think proper to continue a General at the Head of their Army, who was ſo prodigal of *Roman* Blood. The Senate commanded a *Dictator* to be created, as was uſual, in Times of Danger. Accordingly *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated to the *Dictatorſhip* by the *Conſuls*; and he, according to Cuſtom, appointed young *Quinctius* to be General of Horſe, who ſeemed then to give the Republick Reaſon to expect from him all the Virtues of *Cincinnatus* his Father. The *Dictator* choſe two great Commanders for his Lieutenant-Generals, who had formerly been *Conſuls*. Theſe were *Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *M. Fabius Vibulanus*. And the bare News of the Election of a General, whoſe Merit was ſuperior to his Employment, abated the Confidence of the Enemy. *Tolumnius* had at firſt advanced towards *Rome*, and paſſed the River *Anio*. But he repaſſed it with his Troops, and came and encamped on the Hills, between the *Anio* and *Fidenæ*. And then the *Veientes* dared not appear any more in the Field, till their Army had received a Reinforcement of *Faliſci* from *Hetruria*. Some time after this, they changed their Camp again, and retired quite under *Fidenæ*. As for the *Dictator*, he entrenched himſelf in the Angle, made by the Conflux of the *Tyber*, and the *Anio*. *Æmilius* was not far from the Enemy, being ſeparated from them only by a large Plain, which he could enter at any Time, by keeping along the Banks of the two Rivers, and ſtill continue covered on one ſide with his own Entrenchments. As ſoon therefore as the *Dictator* had finiſhed his Camp, he marched into the Plain, and drew up his Army in order of Battel. This he did, to give the Enemy a Challenge; but the three Nations, of which their Army conſiſted, were not all equally inclined to accept it. The *Faliſci*, who were fartheſt from Home, were very preſſing to make a ſpeedy end of the Campaign, that they might return into their own Country. Whilſt *Tolumnius* and the *Fidenates* were afraid of ſtanding the firſt furious Shock of the *Romans*. But at length the Council of War agreed, that the Ardor of the *Faliſci* ſhould be ſatisfied, and the General gave Notice to his own Troops, that he would give Battel the next Day. However, the Enemy's firſt Refuſal to come to a Battel was interpreted by the *Romans* in their own Favour, and their Courage was raiſed by it. The next Day *Tolumnius* kept his Word. He drew up his Troops in the Plain: And as they were ſuperior in Number to thoſe of the *Romans*, he ſent away a Detachment of them, with Orders to march round behind the Hills, and come and fall upon the *Roman* Camp, in the Heat of the Battel, and ſurprize it. The Order in which *Tolumnius* drew up his Army,

39 *Caïus Fulcinius*, *Caïus Julius*, (not *Clælius Tullus*) *Spurius Ancius*, and *Lucius Poſcius*, were the four Deputies the *Romans* ſent to the *Fidenates*.

40 Statues were never erected in Honour to any, but ſuch as had done the Republick important Services, or diſtinguiſhed themſelves by ſome very remarkable Action. Thoſe who died in promoting the Intereſts of their Country, were, above all others, honoured with this Diſtinction. In this manner the *Athenians*, and *Alexander the Great*, honoured the Memory of the brave Soldiers who periſhed at the Battel of *Marathon*, and upon the Banks of the *Granicus*.

41 *Livy* thinks the Surname of *Fidenas* was not given to *Sergius*, till after the War of the *Romans* with the *Fidenates*. *Sergius* begun it, and at firſt gained a Victory over the King of the *Veientes*, which coſt the *Roman* Army a great deal of Blood. And this Surname of *Fidenas* ſeems to have been continued in that Branch of the *Sergian* Family, which was derived from the *Conſul*. At leaſt we ſee one *Marcus Sergius Fidenas*, the Son of him here mentioned, made *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome*, 361.

was

was this. He poſted himſelf and his *Veientes* in the right Wing. He placed the *Faliſci* in the left Wing, and the *Fidenates* in the Center. The *Dictator* poſted *Quinctius Capitolinus* in his left Wing, to engage the *Veientes*. He himſelf choſe to be in his right Wing, to face the *Faliſci*. And laſtly, He placed his General of Horſe in the Center, to engage with the *Fidenates*. The two Armies quietly faced each other for ſome Time, before they began the Attack. *Tolumnius* did not care for coming to an Action, unleſs forced to it; and the *Dictator* waited for a Signal, which the *Augurs* were to give him from the *Capitol*, by hoiſting a Flag on the Top of it, as ſoon as they obſerved an auſpicious Flight of Birds. This was, without doubt, a private Agreement between the *Dictator*, and the *Augurs*, in which there was more Policy than Religion. As ſoon as the *Roman* Soldiers ſaw the Standard, they thought themſelves already victorious. The Horſe began the Attack in the Center, with a great Shout. And they were followed by a Body of Foot, who all fell on together with Fury. So that the *Hetrurians* and *Fidenates* could no where withſtand the Efforts of the brave *Romans*. The Enemy's Horſe indeed made more Reſiſtance. King *Tolumnius* commanded them, and was continually flying round the *Romans* with them, being in a manner every where at once, and retarding their Victory. And then the famous [42] *Cornelius Coſſus* gained immortal Glory. He was a *Roman Knight*, and *Legionary* [43] *Tribune*, well made, tall, and a Man of known Valour. His Family [44] was one of the moſt illuſtrious in *Rome*; yet he increaſed the Glory of it, by an Action, for which no Precedent had yet been ſeen but in *Romulus* himſelf. He ſaw the *Roman* Squadrons give Way, when they met *Tolumnius*; he obſerved that the *King*, who was very richly dreſſed, made a great Figure in the middle of his Troop, and ſtruck Terror wherever he appeared. *Coſſus* cried out, *There he is, that Murderer of our Ambaſſadors! Enable me, O ye Gods, the Avengers of the Laws of Nations, to ſacrifice him, as a Victim to the* Manes *of our* Romans. This ſaid, he levelled his Lance, and flies towards *Tolumnius*, wholly diſregarding every Body elſe. He comes up to him, runs him through, and diſmounts him. Then leaning upon his Spear, he leaped off his Horſe himſelf, and returns upon his Enemy. The wounded *Tolumnius* did what he could to raiſe himſelf, and fight. But *Coſſus*, with one Stroke with his Buckler, laid him flat upon the Sand a ſecond Time, and redoubling his Blows with Vigour, diſpatched him. When he was dead, *Coſſus* ſtripped him of his Royal Robes, cut off his Head, and ſtuck it on the Top of his Lance. When the Cavalry of the *Veientes*, who alone made any Reſiſtance ſaw this, they were ſo terrified, that they held out no longer. Then the *Hetrurian* Battalions diſperſed themſelves, and fled towards their Camp. There the *Dictator* renewed the Fight, and made a prodigious Slaughter of them. As for the *Fidenates*, as they were acquainted with the Country, they fled for Refuge to their Mountains. In the mean time *Coſſus* had paſſed the *Tyber*, and overrunning the Lands of the *Veientes* with his Horſe, carried off a great deal of Spoil. Nor was this all. Whilſt the *Roman* Army was routing that of the *Veientes*, ſome of their Troops, after they had marched round the Hills, came to beſiege the *Dictator*'s Camp. *Fabius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals, was left to defend it. And he at firſt contented himſelf with fighting the Enemy from the Top of his Ramparts. But afterwards he made a Sally, at the right Hand [45] Gate of the Camp,

Year of ROME CCCXVI.
MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

Val. Max. B. 3. c. 2.

Livy B. 4. c. 19.

42 The Surname of *Coſſus* was given to thoſe who had rough Skins, and Wrinkles in their Faces. *Coſſi*, ſays *Faſtus*, *ab antiquis dicebantur natum rugoſi corporis homines, atque aſpera facie: a ſimilitudine vermium ligno editorum, qui Coſſi appellantur.* Such probably was one of the Anceſtors of this *Cornelius Coſſus*, of whom we are ſpeaking.

43 In this manner, we think *Livy*'s Words, *inter Equites Tribunus Militum*, ought to be explained. It cannot be ſaid that *Cornelius Coſſus* was then a *Military Tribune*, ſince the Republick was this Year governed by two *Conſuls*, and a *Dictator* ſucceſſively. *Cornelius* had therefore been taken out of the Horſe to be made a *Legionary Tribune*. Nevertheleſs *Valerius Maximus*, and the Author of *The Lives of Illuſtrious Men*, ſay, that *Coſſus* was then Captain-General of the Horſe. Which neither agrees with the *Conſular Annals*, nor *Livy*, who give this Poſt to *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*.

44 The *Cornelian* Family, which abounded ſo much with great Men, as will appear in the Sequel of this Hiſtory, was then divided into two Branches, one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. The firſt comprehended the *Blaſio's*, the *Lentuli*, the *Scipio's*, the *Cinna's*, the *Siſenna's*, the *Sylla's*, the *Merula's*, and the *Coſſi*, whoſe Memory has been preſerved to our Time by Medals. *Goltzius* produces ſeveral Stamps of Medals, in which are alſo the Names of *Dolabella*, and *Cethegus*. But there is Reaſon to believe them forged, till the Originals appear.

45 The antient *Romans* made, at leaſt, four Gates to their Camps; the *Prætorian Gate*, which was over againſt the General's Tent, which was called *Prætorium*; two Gates, one on the right, and

Year of *ROME* CCCXVI. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

Camp, whilſt the Enemy were buſy in attacking his Entrenchments; and he vigorouſly fell upon the Beſiegers with his *Triarii*. Then Fear ſeized the Enemy; they were defeated, and fled. If *Fabius* did not kill as many Men, as fell in the general Battel, it was only becauſe he had not ſo many Enemies to engage with.

THE *Dictator* therefore having merited the Honours of a Triumph by ſo complete a Victory, they were unanimouſly granted him both by Senate and People. So that *Æmilius* entered *Rome* in great Pomp, and was the firſt of the many triumphing Victors, his [46] Family produced. The Sight, which moſt attracted the Eyes of the People in the Proceſſion, was that of *Cornelius Coſſus*, loaded with the Spoils of King *Tolumnius*, whom he had killed with his own Hands. The Soldiers ſung ſome very ſorry Verſes, made after their Faſhion, in Honour to him, and equalled this brave Subaltern to *Romulus* himſelf. He went and depoſited his [47] Trophy in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*, in the Place where the Founder of *Rome* had laid up the Spoils of King *Acron*, whom he had killed in Battel. Theſe Spoils were the ſecond of the ſort, which had been ſeen in *Rome*, and the Name which had been given them was that of *illuſtrious*, or *rich Spoils*. It may even be ſaid, that *Æmilius* was almoſt forgotten in the triumphal Proceſſion, and that the Eyes of the *Romans* were fixed only on *Coſſus*. And this remarkable Victory was the beginning of the War, which laſted ſo long between the *Romans* and the *Veientes*. But before the *Dictator* would lay down his Office, he ordered a Crown of Gold, of a Pound Weight, to be made at the Expence of the Publick, and offered it up to *Jupiter* in the *Capitol*, with the Conſent of the People. This was a laſting Monument of his *Dictatorſhip*, and his Victory.

Opima Spolia.

Year of *ROME* CCCXVII. M. CORNELIUS, and L. PAPIRIUS, Conſuls.

§. XIX. *M.* [48] *Cornelius* and *L. Papirius*, who were *Conſuls* the next Year, continued to treat the *Veientes* as Enemies. They marched Troops into their Country; but all their Exploits amounted to no more, than the making ſome Priſoners, and carrying away Cattle. It was not poſſible for them to lay Siege to any of the Cities, in which the Enemy had ſhut themſelves up. There was a Plague among the Troops, which ſpread itſelf in the *Roman* Territories. The Inactivity of the Army Abroad, produced ſome Troubles at Home. There was among the *Tribunes of the People*, one *Sp. Mælius;* He (being related to the famous *Sp. Mælius*, who had been puniſhed as one guilty of Tyranny) pretended to revenge himſelf upon his Relation's Accuſer, and Aſſaſſin, and to juſtify his Memory In order to this, he cited *Minucius* to appear, for having brought a falſe Accuſation againſt the unfortunate *Sp. Mælius*. *Servilius Ahala* was alſo ſummoned to appear before the People, for having cut off the Head of a *Roman* Citizen, before he had been condemned. But if we may believe ſome Hiſtorians, the Attempts of this weak *Tribune* were ſo fruitleſs, that he brought himſelf into Contempt by them. Whilſt others, in greater Numbers declare, that *Servilius Ahala* was condemned to Baniſhment; but was afterwards recalled. As for *Minucius*, we don't find that the Reſentments of the *Tribunes* were fatal to him. The *Romans* in general were now chiefly concerned about preſerving themſelves from the Plague. But the Plague was not the only Scourge with which they were afflicted. A violent Earthquake had overturned many Houſes in the Country. So that

Livy B. 4. *c.* 21.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

and the other on the left, of the *Prætorian*, called *Portæ Principales*, or *Principal Gates*, either becauſe they were at the Head of the Camp, *In Principiis*, or becauſe the *Principal* Officers had their Tents near them; and a fourth Gate, which was called *Porta Decumana*, or the *Decuman Gate*, which ſome pretend was the ſame with the *Quæſtorian Gate*, which was oppoſite to the *Prætorian*. We ſhall hereafter enquire into the Number and Situation of theſe Gates, when we come to the Times, in which the *Romans* had brought the Art of War to Perfection.

46 The *Æmilian* Family was of conſiderable Rank among the *Patricians* of *Rome*. The *Scauri*, the *Lepidi*, and the *Buca's*, were three conſiderable Branches which came from the ſame Stock; not to mention thoſe which are taken Notice of in the Hiſtorians, and antient Marbles.

47 *Livy* ſeems to doubt of the Truth of this glorious Action of *Cornelius Coſſus*, though ſupported by the Teſtimony of antient Authors. I have, ſays he, followed the Opinion of all the Hiſtorians who have written before me, as to the Trophy which *Cornelius* conſecrated in the Temple of *Jupiter Feretrius*. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that this Honour ought not to have been granted to any but a General, who had killed the Enemy's General, and ſtripped him of his Arms. Whereas *Cornelius* was but a Subaltern: And the Inſcription at the Bottom of the Trophy ſhews, that *Coſſus* was *Conſul*, when he thus ſignalized himſelf againſt *Tolumnius*. And yet *Livy* himſelf confeſſes it to be beſt to adhere to the common Opinion, to avoid the Trouble of a very difficult Diſcuſſion. To which we may add, that there is no carrying back this Fact ſo far as to *Coſſus*'s firſt *Conſulſhip*, that is, to the Year 325, without confounding the Order of Events.

48 *Diodorus* changes the Surname of *Malugineſis*, which the Hiſtorians, and the *Faſti Conſulares* give this *Conſul*, into that of *Macerinus*. *Papirius*'s Surname was *Craſſus*.

publick

publick Prayers were offered up to the Gods, by order of the *Decemviri*, whom the laſt *Tarquin* had made Guardians of the *Sybilline* Books. But theſe Superſtitions did not at all abate the publick Calamities. Year of *ROME* CCCXVIII.

§. XX. THE next Year, 49 *Julius Iülus* was *Conſul* the ſecond Time, with *L. Virginius;* and in their Time the Plague raged with greater Fury than before. It ſwept away very great Multitudes of People, both in City and Country. The *Romans* therefore laid aſide all Thoughts of making Inroads upon their Neighbours, and kept themſelves within their own Territory. The paſſionate Deſire of War ſeemed to be extinguiſhed in all their Breaſts. As for the *Fidenates*, they would fain have made their Advantage of theſe calamitous Times; but by endeavouring it, haſtened their own Ruin. Ever ſince their laſt Defeat, they had ſhut themſelves up in their Cities, Towns, and Mountains. But now they came out of theſe Places, and ſpread themſelves all over the Lands of the *Romans*. The *Veientes* likewiſe aſſembling, upon their Invitation, joined them, and the two Armies paſſed the *Anio* together. As for the *Faliſci*, they would not hearken to the preſſing Inſtances of their Allies; the Miſery of *Rome* was not attractive enough with them, to induce them to appear againſt her. The *Rendezvous* of the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*, was very near *Rome*, on the ſide of the Gate *Collina*. So that the Terror they ſpread both in the Country and City, obliged the *Conſul Julius* to line the Ramparts with Troops; whilſt *Virginius* his Collegue aſſembled the Senate in the Temple of *Quirinus*. There the *Conſcript Fathers* were of Opinion, that it was neceſſary to nominate a *Dictator:* And the *Conſuls* pitched upon *Quintus Servilius Priſcus*, who choſe *Poſthumius Ębutius* to be his General of Horſe. The *Dictator* had not been nominated till towards Night; and to prevent Loſs of Time, as ſoon as it was Light the next Morning, he commanded all thoſe, whoſe Health would admit of it, to march out of the City, through the Gate *Collina*. And accordingly *Servilius* was obeyed. The *Roman Eagles* were taken out of the Temple of *Saturn*, where the publick Treaſury was kept: And theſe Preparations obliged the Enemy to retire, and encamp upon Eminencies at a greater Diſtance. Thither *Servilius* followed them with all his Forces; and came up with them about *Nomentum*, where he gave them Battel. Here the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were all routed; but they found a Refuge within the Walls of *Fidenæ*, which was not far off. This rebellious City ſeemed too well fortified, for the *Romans* to take it ſoon. The Walls were high, and in no Danger of being ſcaled, and it was very plentifully ſtocked with Proviſions. Care had been taken to ſtock it againſt all Events. The *Dictator* therefore had no Thoughts either of beſieging it in Form, or taking it by Aſſault. He choſe to blockade it, and that only on that part of the Town, where it ſeemed to be leaſt in Danger of an Attack, and where it was ſufficiently fortified by Nature. This was that part of the Upper-City, which the Inhabitants guarded with leaſt Care. So that *Servilius* dug a ſubterraneous Paſſage through the Mountain it ſelf, which was to be continued till it came and opened into the Upper-Town, and by this Means the *Romans* were to ſtart out all on a ſudden, in the midſt of *Fidenæ*. When the Work was ſufficiently advanced, the *Dictator* divided his Army into four Parts, and marching his Troops different Ways, brought them all before the lower City, in order to attack it at four Places at once. So that the Beſieged were all wholly taken up with reſiſting the Beſiegers, on that ſide where they threatened them; and deſerted the Upper-City, which they thought in no Danger. But the *Romans* coming out of the Earth all on a ſudden, through their Mines, diſcovered by their Shouts that they were Maſters of the Place. The *Fidenates* were yet engaged in a vain Defence, when they ſaw the Enemy coming from the Upper-City, to fall upon them. Thus periſhed the Inhabitants of this Place, who were doubly guilty, both by their Revolt, and the ſhameful Maſſacre of four *Roman* Ambaſſadors. It is ſurprizing, that the *Dictator Servilius* ſhould not have been rewarded with a Triumph, for ſo glorious a Victory, which was likewiſe followed with the taking of ſo important a Place. But, I believe, this was looked upon as a civil War. *Fidenæ* was, after all, both a *Roman* City and Colony. And it is well known, that no Triumph was ever granted to any Man, for having gained Advantages over the rebellious Citizens of

JULIUS IULUS, and L. VIRGINIUS, Conſuls.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

Year of *ROME* CCCXVIII. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, Dictator.

49 *Caius Julius* had been *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 306. He was now *Conſul* the ſecond Time. We muſt take care not to confound him with another *Caius Julius*, who was one of the *Decemviri*, in the Year 302. The *Faſti Capitolini* give *Virginius* the Surname of *Tricoſtus*.

Year of ROME CCCXVIII. Q. Servilius Priscus, Dictator. *Fast. Cap. Livy B. 4. c. 22. Var. B. 3. de re rust.*

Rome. To have overcome them, was rather Matter of Grief than Joy to the Republick. Nevertheless,, it is most probable, that from hence *Servilius* had the Surname of *Fidenas*, which was ever after a Mark of Distinction for himself and his Posterity.

And now the Time was come for making another *Census* of the *Roman* People. After the *Censors* were established, the *Census* never failed to be renewed every five Years. The present *Censors* were *Fur. Pacilus*, and *M. Geganius*. There was a House just built in the *Campus Martius*, for the more convenient taking the Number of the People on these Occasions; but it was afterwards applied to another Purpose, as well as this. The *Consuls* likewise made use of it, for the Review of the Troops. The *Censors* went to view this Building, approved of it, and made use of it, for the first time, in taking this *Census* 50, which was followed by the twelfth *Lustrum*.

Year of ROME CCCXIX. Marcus Manlius, Quintus Sulpitius Prætextatus, and Servius Cornelius Cossus, Military Tribunes. * *Licinius Macer. Valer. Antias.* and *Q. Tubero. apud Liv.*

§. XXI. It is exceeding difficult, either to ascertain the Names of the *Consuls* for the next Year, or to determine, whether *Rome* was then governed by *Consuls*, or *Military Tribunes*. Some old Historians, who were before *Livy*'s Time, pretend, that the *Consuls* for the last Year were continued in their Offices; and that therefore *Julius Iülus* was now *Consul* a third Time, and *L. Virginius* a second. Whilst others declare, that new ones were chosen, whose Names were *M. Manlius*, and *Q. Sulpicius*. But what is most surprizing is, that these contradictory Authors do each, in his own Defence, quote those very old Linnen Books, which the *Romans* thought the surest Foundations of their History. And the third Opinion, which is, that *Rome* was this Year governed by three *Military Tribunes*, is indeed as probable in it self, and as well supported in point of Authority, as either of the former. The old * Historians all agree, that this was the antient Tradition, and *Diodorus of Sicily* mentions these three 51 *Military Tribunes*, only altering their Names a little, as he generally does all Names. And if one might be permitted to embrace a fourth Opinion, notwithstanding that *Livy* has not ventured to advance it, why might not it be said, in order to reconcile the Historians with one another, that *Military Tribunes* were first chosen, who did not continue in Office the whole Year; and that the People returned to their *Consuls* before the Year ended, as they had done nine Years before? But be that as it will, it is plain these *Tribunes*, or *Consuls*, were so little concerned in the Events of the Year, that they were soon forgotten. And indeed the Senate did at this Time cause a *Dictator* to be appointed, whose sovereign Authority swallowed up all other Offices. The Destruction of *Fidenæ*, had filled all the *Hetrurians* with Terror. The *Veientes* and *Falisci* especially, were afraid the same Fate would attend *Veii*, and *Falerii*, their respective Capitals. They therefore joined together, and sent Deputies to all the *Hetrurian Lucumonies*, to demand a general Diet of the whole Nation: And Orders were given that it should assemble in the Temple of 52 *Voltumna*, or *Vulturna*, a Goddess

Livy B. 4. c. 23.

50 The *Censors* held their Sittings in this great Building. Near it the *Roman* People assembled, sometimes *by Centuries*, and sometimes *by Tribes*, to declare what they were worth, according to the antient Custom established by *Servius Tullius*. The publick Crier waited for the Order of the *Censor* to convene the *Classes*, or *Tribes*. *Varro* has given us the Form of Words the *Censors* then pronounced, as he collected it from the *Censors Tables*. The *Censors*, says he, after they had consulted the *Auguries*, commanded an Herald to assemble all the Citizens in the *Campus Martius*. His Words are these. QUOD BONUM, FORTUNATUM, FÆLIXQUE, SALUTAREQUE SIET POPULO ROMANO QUIRITIUM, REIQUE PUBLICÆ POPULI ROMANI QUIRITIUM, MIHIQUE, COLLEGÆQUE MEO, FIDEI, MAGISTRATUIQUE NOSTRO, OMNES QUIRITES PEDITES ARMATOS, PRIVATOSQUE CURATORES OMNIUM TRIBUUM, SI QUIS PRO SE, SIVE ALTERO DARE RATIONEM VOLET.——These last Words shew, that the Citizens, who were absent, had a right of making their Declaration by Proxy, provided they gave this Commission to Men of Probity, and give a Reason for their Absence. We have already observed, that the *Census* was usually followed by a *Lustrum*. In this case, the Troops which were appointed to guard the City, marched into the *Campus Martius*, and there divided themselves into *Centuries*. The *Censors* reviewed them, and the Ceremony ended with the Sacrifice, called *Suovetaurilia:* With Respect to which Sacrifice, two Things are to be observed. First, That the *Romans* were exceeding nice and scrupulous, in the Choice of those who were to lead the Victims. Especial Care was taken, that they should, above all Things, have lucky Names, from whence good Presages might be drawn, of what was to come. And Secondly, new Vows were made, for the Prosperity of the *Roman* People, and the old ones made in the former *Lustrum*, were always performed. After which, the *Censor*, to whose Lot it fell to officiate that Day, came crowned with Flowers, and dressed in his *Prætexta*, to sacrifice the Victim. And as soon as the Sacrifice was over, the Troops returned to *Rome*, with Colours flying, and the *Censor* marching at the Head of them.

51 These three *Military Tribunes*, according to *Diodorus of Sicily*, were *Marcus Manlius*, *Quintus Sulpitius Prætextus*, and *Servius Cornelius Cossus*.

52 The Temple of *Voltumna* was the general *Rendezvous* of all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. They assembled there in a national Body, as the *Latins* did at *Ferentinum*, to deliberate upon any Matters relating

Year of ROME CCCXIX.
MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

Goddeſs the *Hetrurians* worſhiped. As then the *Romans* ſuſpected what Reſolutions might be taken in the Diet, they had the Precaution to create a *Dictator*. *Mamercus Æmilius* was nominated by the *Conſuls* to this Dignity, which he now enjoyed a ſecond Time. The General of Horſe he choſe was *Poſthumius Tubertus:* And the Preparations the *Dictator* made for War, were proportioned to the Greatneſs of the Nation, with whom he was to contend. But this Care of the *Romans*, though prudent, was uſeleſs. *Hetruria* refuſed to declare War with the Republick, in a national Body. The *Hetrurian* Diet anſwered the *Veientes*, That as they had begun the War with *Rome*, without imparting to the Nation their Views and Hopes, the Nation was not concerned to take part in their Dangers; and That if they would continue to be Enemies to the *Romans*, it would be at their own Perils only. This News was publiſhed at *Rome* by the Merchants. So that the *Dictator* laid aſide all Hopes of gaining himſelf any Glory in Battel: But thought nevertheleſs to ſignalize himſelf by a Work of Peace. The *Cenſorſhip* was originally thought a contemptible Office. But the *Romans* had now had Time to undeceive themſelves. The vaſt Power it carried with it, and eſpecially its Continuance in the ſame Hands for five Years together, made the *Cenſors* formidable to all Orders of Men in the State. The *Dictator* therefore being prejudiced againſt an Inſtitution which he thought prejudicial to the Republick, aſſembled the People, and addreſſed himſelf to them thus. Romans, *you have choſen me to ſecure the publick Tranquillity, againſt Enemies Abroad; but the Gods have prevented your Wants, and removed your Fears. What then remains for me to do, but to eſtabliſh your Liberty at Home? Now the moſt proper Means to preſerve it entire, is not to ſuffer thoſe whom we raiſe to the higheſt Dignities, to enjoy them too long. If we cannot ſet Bounds to the Juriſdiction* 53 *of the* Cenſors, *we may at leaſt ſhorten the Time of their Continuance in Office. The* Conſuls *enjoy their Dignities but one Year, the* Cenſors *five. Is not it hard to be ſubject to the Correction of the ſame Men, for a great part of our Lives? As for my ſelf, I am reſolved to make a Law, which ſhall confine the Duration of the* Cenſorſhip *to eighteen Months.* This Diſcourſe of the *Dictator* was received with Applauſe, and the next Day he made the Law, without farther Delay. And as the People were then aſſembled on that Occaſion, he took that Opportunity of laying down the *Dictatorſhip. To ſhew you*, ſays he, *by my own Example, what an Enemy I am to a long Continuance in Offices, I voluntarily lay down my own, before the uſual Time.* Thus *Æmilius*, after he had ſet Bounds to his own, and other Mens Ambition, was reconducted to his Houſe, with the Acclamations of the People. Nevertheleſs, this wiſe Law coſt him dear, who made it. The *Cenſors*, who were the Inſpectors of the Manners of all the People, perſecuted *Æmilius*, and made him feel the Effects of their Reſentment. They ſtruck him out of the Roll 54 of his *Tribe*; took away from him the Privileges of Citizenſhip, reduced him to the Condition of thoſe, who were ſubject to all publick Taxes, without enjoying the Rights of Citizens; and laſtly, increaſed his Taxes an eighth Part. The Reaſon of their Sentence was, that he had leſſened the Dignity of an honourable Office. However, this Great Man bore theſe Indignities with ſingular Moderation. He comforted himſelf, under the Affronts he had received, with conſidering the Cauſe of them. Indeed the greateſt part of the Senators did not approve of *Æmilius*'s Law; but then they ſtill leſs approved of the Severities of the *Cenſors* to him.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 24.

relating to the common Intereſt of the twelve *Lucumonies*. The moſt skilful Geographers conjecture, not without Reaſon, that this Place lay in the Center of *Hetruria*, at a little Diſtance from the Territory, in which the City of *Viterbo* now ſtands. *Voltumna*, or *Vulturna*, or as *Lilius Gyraldus* has it, *Vertuna*, was an *Hetrurian* Divinity which preſided over theſe Aſſemblies. The Temple of this Goddeſs, was nothing but the Place it ſelf, or the Ground conſecrated by the *Augurs*. *Varro* and *Feſtus* tell us, this is the proper Signification of the *Latin* Word *Fanum*. But nevertheleſs it is probable, that *Voltumna* had there a particular Sanctuary, which was appointed for the offering up of Sacrifices both to her Honour, and by way of Ratification of the Determinations of the Diet.

53 Though the Power and Juriſdiction of the *Cenſors* extended over all Citizens, without Diſtinction, yet an Appeal lay from their Decrees to the Tribunals, either of the *Prætor*, or People. Hiſtory gives us more Inſtances than one, of thoſe who were reinſtated in their Characters and Fortunes, after they had been ſtigmatized by the *Cenſors*. *Cicero* in his *Oration for Cluentius*, and *Val. Maximus*, *B.* 2. *c.* 9. tell us, that *Quius Geta*, and *Marcus Valerius Meſſala*, were raiſed to the *Cenſorſhip*, though they had been expelled the Senate by the preceding *Cenſors*.

54 This is what was called, *Inter ærarios referri*. A Man who was thus degraded, loſt all the Privileges belonging to him, as a *Roman* Citizen. He could not make a Will, or inherit: He had no right of Suffrage in the *Comitia*, nor was he ſuffered to incorporate himſelf in the *Legions* for the Service of the Republick.

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Every one made it his own Caſe. For the *Patricians*, to whom alone the *Cenſorſhip* was confined, and but few of whom could hope to enjoy it, muſt naturally live longer out of this Office, than in it. And as for the People, they were full of Reſentments againſt the Authors of the Misfortunes *Æmilius* ſuffered. Inſomuch, that he was forced to make uſe of all his Intereſt with the Commons, to prevent their declaring openly againſt the *Cenſors*. And we ſhall in a little while, ſee *Æmilius* raiſed from under the Oppreſſion of this unjuſt Sentence, and honoured with the *Dictatorſhip* a third Time.

§. XXII. THE *Tribunes of the People* were on their Parts very buſy. They, by their Harangues, prevailed to have the *Comitia* for the Election of the chief Magiſtrates poſtponed beyond the uſual Time. Their Oppoſition was ſo warm and obſtinate, that the Government had very like to have fallen into an *Interregnum*. They demanded that the Republick ſhould again be governed by *Military Tribunes*, hoping that ſome of them would be choſen out of the *Plebeians:* And, at their Importunity, the People choſe *Military Tribunes*, but were wiſe enough to elect only *Patricians*.

Year of ROME CCCXX. M. FABIUS, M. FOSLIUS, and L. SERGIUS, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 25.

THE Names of thoſe who were choſen, were *M. Fabius*, *M. Foſlius* [55], and *L. Sergius*. The moſt remarkable Event which happened in their Year, was a cruel Plague in the City, and as great a Mortality among the Cattle in the Country. The *Romans* therefore fearing that, for want of Husbandmen, a Famine would follow the Peſtilence, they ſent for Corn to *Hetruria*, to the *Pontin-Lake*, to *Cumæ*, and even as far as *Sicily*. And laſtly, to put an end to the Contagion, a Vow was made to build a Temple to *Apollo* the God of Phyſick. The *Duumviri* learned many Practices to appeaſe the Gods, and ſtay the Plague, from the *Sybylline* Books, which were committed to their Cuſtody. And in theſe calamitous Times, no Alteration was made in the Form of the Government for the next Year: Which proved a happy one, under three new *Military Tribunes*, which were [56] *L. Penarius*, *L. Furius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*. The Plague ceaſed in *Rome*, and the Proviſions which had been brought thither, preſerved it from a Famine. Indeed the *Æqui*, together with the *Volſci*, and the *Hetrurian* Diet, in an Aſſembly held near the Temple of *Voltumna*, made ſome Propoſals about entering into a War with the Republick. But the Determination was poſtponed till the next Year. The *Veientes* in vain complained, that their City was threatened with the ſame Fate, as *Fidenæ* had undergone. The *Hetrurian* Diets could be aſſembled but once a Year. So that Peace, Health, and Plenty, made *Rome* a delightful Habitation at preſent; but Ambition raiſed ſome freſh Diſturbances in it. The moſt wealthy, and moſt eſteemed of the *Plebeians*, complained of the inferior People. They did not think them well enough affected to their Intereſts. They therefore held Aſſemblies at the Houſes of the *Tribunes of the People*, and declared themſelves in this manner. *As much as the inferior Citizens of* Rome *are obliged to unite themſelves to us, ſince we are of the ſame Body with them, we have not yet experienced any of their Zeal for us. We have a Law indeed, which gives them leave to chooſe one half of the* Military Tribunes *out of the* Patricians, *and the other out of the* Plebeians. *But have they ever ſhewn any Regard for us by their voting? Not one* Plebeian *has yet been advanced to this firſt Dignity in the Republick. This plainly ſhews us, why our Forefathers would never ſuffer the* Patricians *to be made* Tribunes of the People. *Had this been done, they would, by the Aſſiſtance of the inferior Citizens, have kept this important Office likewiſe, in their own Poſſeſſion. But after all, it is not ſo much the Fault of the People, as the Ambition of the Nobility, which excludes us from Poſts of the greateſt Honour. The* Patricians *are continually making Intereſt among the poorer Citizens. They intreat, they threaten them. If the inferior People could once get free from theſe Importunities, they would perhaps have more Regard for the Honour of a Body, of which they themſelves are a part.* And theſe Words were followed with a Scheme, which was propoſed to the *Tribunes*. This was to prevail on the *Comitia* when aſſembled, to paſs a Law againſt the Nobilities making Intereſt in Elections. It had been a Cuſtom for ſome Time in *Rome*, for thoſe who ſtood for the ſuperior Of-

Year of ROME CCCXXI. L. PINARIUS, L. FURIUS, and SP. POSTHUMIUS, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

Cic. de Petit. Conſ. and *Macr. B.* 1. *c.* 16.

55 The firſt of theſe three *Military Tribunes*, was ſurnamed *Vibulanus*; the ſecond *Flaccinator*; the third *Fidenas*. The firſt had been *Conſul* nine Years before. He was the Son of *Quintus Fabius*, who was three Times *Conſul*, and one of the *Decemviri*. From him the *Fabii Ambuſti* deſcended.

56 The Names of theſe three *Military Tribunes* are ſo diſfigured by *Diodorus of Sicily*, that it is impoſſible to know them. In the *Faſti Capitolini*, the firſt is ſurnamed *Rufus*, and *Mamercinus*; the ſecond *Medullinus*; and the third *Albus*, *Regillenſis*.

fices

fices in the State, to wear Cloaths of a ſhining white. For this Reaſon they were called *Candidati*, or *Candidates*, from the Word *Candidus*, which ſignifies *White*. Not that all the reſt of the People were not cloathed in white, when they were out of Mourning. But thoſe who ſtood for Offices, made their Habits whiter than ordinary by Art, and thereby diſtinguiſhed themſelves from the reſt of the Citizens. In this Dreſs, which they always kept clean, they ſhewed themſelves to the People, on Market-days, careſſed the meaneſt of the Citizens, called them by their Names, ſqueezed them by the Hand, and went up upon an Eminence which overlooked the *Forum*, that they might be ſeen at a greater Diſtance. But this Way of canvaſſing was uſed only by the Nobility. The Deſign therefore of the principal *Plebeians* was to aboliſh this Cuſtom by a Law, which they deſired the *Tribunes* to get paſſed. It was indeed an Affair of very little Conſequence, and yet it raiſed great Conteſts between the Senate and People. However, the Law was at length paſſed, to the Satisfaction of the *Plebeians*, and it was the firſt Law which was made at *Rome* againſt canvaſſing at Elections. But it did not continue long in force. The Cuſtom of wearing Habits of a ſhining White was revived, with more Affectation than ever, and the Candidates for Offices appeared in them, as formerly. Nevertheleſs the Quarrels which happened about the Habits of *Candidates*, made the chief of the People hope, they ſhould ſome of them be choſen *Military Tribunes*, and the Senate fear, there would be a Mixture of *Plebeians* with the Nobility, in the chief Offices of the State. But the *Conſcript Fathers* artfully averted a Blow, which would have affected them ſo ſenſibly. They came to a Determination, that only *Conſuls* ſhould be choſen in the next *Comitia*. Their Pretence for reviving the old Form of Government was this, that the Republick was threatened with a War by the *Æqui* and *Volſci*, and that the Allies of *Rome* had given them Information of it.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXI. L. PINARIUS, L. FURIUS, and SP. POSTHUMIUS, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

§. XXIII. ACCORDINGLY, the *Centuries* choſe *T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus*, and *Caius Julius Mento*, for *Conſuls*, in the *Campus Martius*. The former of theſe was the Son of the famous *Cincinnatus*, who had been taken from the Plough, and raiſed to the *Dictatorſhip*, whether he would or not. As to the Reports which had been ſpread Abroad the laſt Year, of the Motions of the *Æqui*, and *Volſci*, they proved but too true. Theſe two confederate Nations had aſſembled together all their Forces, and had now more numerous Armies than ever. It was even ſaid, that they had made a Law, condemning all their Countrymen to Death, who refuſed to take up Arms. So that the two Nations were entirely exhauſted of Men, in order to make their laſt Effort againſt the *Romans*. And theſe Enemies had already poſted themſelves near the *Algidus*, where they had entrenched themſelves in two different Camps. The Commanders of theſe Confederates had likewiſe taken more Care in fortifying themſelves, and exerciſing their Men, than ever. The *Romans* were not ignorant of theſe formidable Preparations; and the Republick was alarmed at them. Theſe People had indeed been ſeveral Times overcome, and had *paſſed under the Yoke;* but *Rome* was now a little weakened by the Loſs of the many young Men the Plague had carried off. And therefore though the *Conſuls*, eſpecially *Cincinnatus*, had great Reputation for Valour, yet the Senate thought it neceſſary to create a *Dictator*. This had been very frequently done, for ſome Time laſt paſt, and the Republick had found its Account in it. The Choice of this ſupreme Magiſtrate, belonged neither to the People, nor the Senate. The *Conſuls* had the ſole Right of nominating him, when they laid down their own Offices, or made themſelves his Subalterns. Some Hiſtorians indeed ſay, that the preſent *Conſuls* firſt attempted to fight the Enemy; and that having been worſted, they were then forced to put the Command of the Army into other Hands. But however that be, it is certain the *Conſuls* did not think fit to comply with the Senate in nominating a *Dictator*. They were, without doubt, angry at the little Confidence the Republick ſeemed to have in their Experience and Valour. Inſomuch, that they perſiſted in keeping their Offices, and though they had ſome Differences with one another, yet they agreed, with Regard to a Point of Honour, in which they were equally concerned. In the mean time, bad News was daily brought to *Rome*, of the Progreſs of the Enemy. And therefore, in order to bring the *Conſuls* to Reaſon, the Senators had Recourſe to the College of *Tribunes*; and *Servilius* addreſſed himſelf to them in the following manner. He was a Man of very great Weight, who had diſmantled *Fidenæ* in his *Dictatorſhip*, and had thereby obtained the Surname of *Fidenas*. *I don't diſpute*, ſays he, *the* Conſuls *ſole right of nominating a* Dictator. *I know the*

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Livy B. 4. *c.* 26.

Year of ROME CCCXXII. T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus, and C. Julius Mento, Conſuls.

Senate can't force them to it; but in the preſent Extremity, it is your Buſineſs, who are Tribunes of the People, *to oblige them to lay down the Command of the Army, and put it into the Hands of a* Dictator. The *Tribunes* were charmed with this Propoſal. It was giving their College more Authority. So that they, after a ſhort Deliberation, commanded the *Conſuls* to obey the Senate, and threatened them with Impriſonment, if they continued obſtinate in their Refuſal. At length the *Conſuls* complied, having, perhaps, more Deference for the *Tribunes*, than the Senate. But at the ſame Time, they reproached the Senators with having betrayed the Intereſts of their own Body, and brought the *Conſular* Dignity upon a Level with any private Station in Life. And indeed it was a hard Caſe for them to authorize the *Tribunes of the People*, to ſend the *Conſuls* to a Priſon. However, there was ſtill another Difficulty, when the *Conſuls* came to nominate a *Dictator*. They could not agree upon a Man: And it was therefore determined by Lot. It fell to *T. Quinctius* to nominate, who declared *A. Poſthumius Tubertus Dictator*. He was a ſevere General, with Reſpect to military Diſcipline, and was Father-in-law to *Quinctius*. He nominated *L. Julius Vopiſcus* to be his General of Horſe.

Year of ROME CCCXXII. A. Posthumius Tubertus, Dictator.

In order to haſten the Preparations for War, *Poſthumius* ſhut up all the Tribunals: And the City was wholly employed about the Levies. All thoſe, who owed the Republick any Service, were obliged to march, and the hearing of the Reaſons of thoſe who abſented themſelves was poſtponed, till after the Troops returned, and then all thoſe, whoſe Excuſes ſhould be deemed frivolous, were to be puniſhed as Deſerters. For this Reaſon, even thoſe who had only dubious Excuſes to make for Abſence, enrolled themſelves, as well as the reſt. *Poſthumius* alſo ordered the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, to furniſh their Contingents of Auxiliaries: And the *Dictator* found a ready Obedience every where. So that the Army was complete in a few Days. But *Poſthumius* ſeems not to have forced the *Conſuls* to abdicate entirely: Or at leaſt he did not leave them without Employments. For *C. Julius* was left in *Rome* to govern it, and ſupply the Army with Proviſions: And *Quinctius* had the Command of a part of the Republick's Forces. As for the General of Horſe, it lay incumbent upon him to provide for the immediate Neceſſities of the Army, that nothing might retard their Expedition. And when they were ready to ſet out, *Poſthumius* firſt ſignalized himſelf by his Piety, before he did ſo by his Arms. The *Dictator* made a Vow to the Gods, to celebrate *Great Games* to their Honour, in a Form of Words firſt pronounced by the *Pontifex Maximus*; then he took the Field; and at length came within reach of the Enemy. And as the *Æqui* were entrenched on one ſide, and the *Volſci* on the other, he alſo divided his Army into two Bodies, one of which he commanded himſelf, and committed the other to the Conduct of *Quinctius*, who encamped ſeparately. The *Dictator* poſted himſelf on this ſide *Tuſculum*; the *Conſul*, on this ſide *Lanuvium*. Between the Enemy's Camps and the *Roman*, there lay a Plain, which was large enough, not only for Skirmiſhes, but alſo for a general Battel. However, *Poſthumius* did not judge it proper to run the Hazard of one too haſtily. He only ſuffered his Men to make Trial of the Enemy in Skirmiſhes, and to learn by their Succeſs in ſmall Fights, to overcome them in a general Action. But the Confederates were more impatient than the *Romans*. They, finding it impoſſible to bring them ſo ſoon to a Battel, formed a Deſign of coming in the Night, and attacking *Quinctius* in his Camp. And this they undertook to do, at all Events, not knowing what might be the Conſequence. As ſoon therefore as the Enemy was perceived, the Centinels, who were watching on the Ramparts, made an Outcry, which awakened the *Conſul*, and his Soldiers, and was heard by the *Dictator* in his Camp. Then *Quinctius Cincinnatus* did all that could be expected from a brave Man, and a great General. He ſtrengthened his Guards at the Gates of his Camp, and lined his Ramparts with Soldiers: Whilſt the *Dictator*, who was not beſieged, had Time to take more deliberate Reſolutions. He firſt ſent a Reinforcement to *Quinctius*, under the Command of *Poſthumius Albus*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals. And then he marched out of his Camp himſelf, with a part of his Army, and went a great Way about, through by-Roads, in order to come and fall ſuddenly on the Enemy, and ſurprize them. He left his Lieutenant-General *Quinctius Sulpitius* to guard his Camp, and *M. Fabius* to command the Cavalry. The latter had Orders not to begin his March with his Squadrons till it was Day, becauſe it would have been difficult to have led them on without Danger in the dark. But though theſe wiſe Diſpoſitions ſhewed the Prudence of the *Roman* General, yet nothing

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thing did him more Honour, than the Reſolution he took, to ſend and ſurprize the Camp of the *Æqui*. He knew they had ſent out almoſt all their Forces from it, and imagined, that the few Men, who remained in it, would ſpend the Night in an abſolute Security. The *Dictator* therefore ſent *M. Geganius* thither, with ſome choſen *Cohorts*: And he found that the ſleepy *Volſci*, in Dependence on the Danger to which the *Romans* were going to be expoſed, had neglected to ſet Centinels on their Ramparts. So that *Geganius* entered their Camp without Difficulty, and almoſt before they perceived him. As ſoon as he was Maſter of their Entrenchments, he lighted Fires; which was the Signal agreed on between him and the *Dictator*. Immediately therefore *Poſthumius* told his Men, that the Enemy's Camp was taken, and the News of it was ſpread through the whole Army: And when Day began to break, *Fabius* came and fell on the Enemy with his Horſe. At the ſame inſtant, the beſieged *Conſul* made a Sally upon the Beſiegers; and the *Dictator*, on his part, fell on the Rear of the Enemy's hindermoſt Line, which was their *Corps-de-reſerve*. They being ſurrounded on all ſides, and obliged to face about every Way, were every where broken through, by both a victorious Infantry, and Cavalry. So that the Confederates, who were encompaſſed by the *Romans*, found themſelves in inevitable Danger on all ſides. And they had all periſhed on the Spot, if one of the *Volſci*, named *Vectius Meſſius*, who was more remarkable for his Exploits than his Birth, had not encouraged his Countrymen, who had already formed a Circle, with a Reſolution to die, defending themſelves. *Have we then*, ſaid he to them, *Swords in our Hands for nothing? We muſt make our ſelves a Paſſage, to return to our Wives and Children, through the midſt of the Enemy.* This ſaid, *Meſſius* broke through the Body of *Romans*, which *Albus Poſthumius* commanded. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* followed him with great Shouts, and with the Fury of Men in Deſpair. They gave the *Romans* a terrible Shock, which coſt them dear. Almoſt all the General Officers were wounded in it. The *Dictator* received a Blow on his Shoulder. *Fabius* was run through the Thigh with a Dart, which almoſt penetrated into the Side of his Horſe. The *Conſul Cincinnatus* was wounded in the Arm. But notwithſtanding this, neither of them left the Field. *Poſthumius* only was carried out of the Battel, after receiving a Blow on the Head with a Stone, which hurt his Skull. Then *Meſſius*, become the Deliverer of his Countrymen, performed wonderful Acts of Valour. After he had beaten down every thing that oppoſed him, and forced his Way, with his Followers, through the *Roman* Battalions, he gained the Enemy's other Camp, which had not been taken. This was the only *Aſylum*, which was left for the Conquered, who fled thither after their Rout; and they were not eaſily diſpoſeſſed of this Poſt. The Conquerors haſtened thither to beſiege it. The *Conſul* attacked it on one ſide, and the *Dictator* on the other: And if the Ardour of the *Romans* was not abated in this new Engagement, neither did the *Volſci* behave themſelves leſs bravely in their Defence, than they had done in their Retreat. It is ſaid the *Conſul* threw one of his Standards upon the Enemy's Ramparts, in order to make his Men go thither to recover it, whilſt the *Dictator* was levelling the Entrenchments on his ſide, in order to paſs them. At length he made a Breach in them, entered them, and after a ſlight Engagement, forced the Enemy to lay down their Arms, and ſubmit to the Mercy of the Conqueror. So that the ſecond Camp of the Enemy being now taken, all the *Volſci* in it were made Priſoners of War, and were all, except their Senators, ſold to the beſt Bidder. The *Hernici* and the *Latins* had the Spoils, which had been taken from them, reſtored them; and the reſt was ſold.

Whilst the *Dictator Poſthumius* was gaining this complete Victory, and the *Conſul Quinctius* was ſharing his Glory with him in the Army, his Collegue *Julius*, who was left at *Rome*, obtained a Mark of Diſtinction, of which the moſt illuſtrious *Romans* were ambitious. He was nominated to conſecrate [57] the Temple of *Apollo*. Regularly indeed the two *Conſuls* ought to have drawn Lots for this Honour: But the Senate conferred it on *Julius*, in *Quinctius*'s Abſence. Which gives ſome room to conjecture, that the two *Conſuls* did not lay down their Offices during the *Dictatorſhip*, but preſerved both the Name and Functions of *Conſuls*, only in Subjection to a ſuperior Ma-

57 A Vow had been made to build this Temple two Years before (when *Marcus Fabius Vibulanus*, *Marcus Foſlius*, and *L. Sergius*, were *Military Tribunes*) in order to obtain a Deliverance from the Plague.

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giſtrate. *Quinctius* was uneaſy at the Preference given to his Collegue, and complained of it to the Senate; but ſtill continued in the Camp. As for the *Dictator*, he returned to the City, entered it in Triumph, the 14*th* of the *Calends of July*, and laid down his *Dictatorſhip*. But moſt Hiſtorians agree, that *Poſthumius* made his Victory odious, by an Act of Severity, which was afterwards imitated by *Manlius*. He had one Son, whoſe Perfections are much celebrated: He was the Hopes of his Family, and 58 the Head of the domeſtick Religion of his Anceſtors. His Father had taken upon himſelf the Care of his Education in his Infancy. He had taught him Letters in his Youth, and when he grew towards Manhood, inſtructed him in the Buſineſs of Arms. Being therefore thus brought up under the Father's Eye, his Manners were well formed, his Heart filled with Virtue, and the Love of his Country was become his only Paſſion. This dear, this accompliſhed Son, add they, marched out of the Camp one Day, contrary to the Orders of the *Dictator* his Father, to fight a Party of the Enemy, which he conquered: Nevertheleſs, *Poſthumius* ordered him to be beheaded. But the beſt Hiſtorian we have, thinks all this a fabulous Story. According to him, *Rome* never produced but two ſuch Inſtances of Inhumanity. What was only true of *Manlius Torquatus*, ſeems to have been aſcribed to the *Dictator Poſthumius*, before it happened. But after all, though this Hiſtorian's 59 Criticiſm has ſomething of Probability in it, yet it is not abſolutely convincing: And indeed he leaves his Readers at Liberty to judge of it as they think fit.

Livy B. 4. c. 29.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXIII. C. Papirius, and L. Julius Vopiscus, Conſuls.

§. XXIV. The next Year 60 was a Year of Peace at *Rome*, and produced few memorable Events. *C. Papirius* 61, and *L. Julius Vopiſcus*, were choſen *Conſuls*, in ſpight of the *Tribunes of the People*, who were for chooſing *Military Tribunes*. The *Æqui* had received ſo terrible a Blow in the preceding Wars, that they had now nothing to do, but to ſubmit. They therefore ſent Deputies to *Rome*, to deſire the Republick to enter into a Treaty of Alliance with them, upon the ſame Foot as thoſe made with the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*. But they perceived that the *Romans* were not inclined to receive them upon any other Terms, than a Submiſſion at Diſcretion. So that the Envoys only propoſed a Truce, which they obtained for eight Years. As to the *Volſci*, their Defeat was followed with domeſtick Broils. Thoſe who had oppoſed the War with *Rome*, reproached the Conquered with their ſhameful Defeat,

58 The antient *Romans* gave this Title to the preſumptive Heir of any Family. We have already obſerved, that the chief Heir enjoyed all the Rights of his Predeceſſor, and at the ſame time took upon him all the Burdens annexed to the Inheritance. Among which this was one, that he was obliged to preſide in all domeſtick Feſtivals, and to defray the Expences of the Sacrifices, and other religious Ceremonies, which were uſed on theſe ſolemn Occaſions.

59 Poſterity, ſays the *Roman* Hiſtorian, never reproached *Poſthumius* with this extravagant Severity. Of this, ſays he, we need no other Proof, than that the antient Tradition, which made *Manlius*'s exceſſive Rigor to his own Son proverbial, made no mention of *Poſthumius*. *Et argumento eſt quod imperia Manliana, non Poſthumiana appellata ſint.* If this Story of *Poſthumius* were true, continues *Livy*, he would have been the firſt Object of the Peoples Curſes, and would have founded the Proverb, ſince his was the firſt terrible Example of this kind, ſeveral Years before *Manlius*'s Time. But if this reaſoning were juſt, it would follow, that *Brutus* did not put his own Children to Death (and *Livy* muſt neceſſarily contradict his own Account of that Execution in the firſt Book of his Hiſtory) ſince his Act was not become proverbial, like that of *Manlius*.

60 *Livy* places the firſt Expedition of the *Carthaginians* into *Sicily*, in this Year of *Rome* 323. They went over thither the firſt Time, ſays he, at the Sollicitation of one of the Parties, which contended for the Government of that Iſland. But *Diodorus of Sicily* places it much earlier. He aſſures us, that the *Carthaginians* had attempted the Conqueſt of *Sicily*, at the Inſtigation of *Xerxes*, King of *Perſia*, but that the Enterprize was unſucceſsful, and they were all cut in pieces. *Amilcar* their General, and 150000 Men periſhed in the Battel which was fought on the Banks of the *Himera*, the ſame Day that the famous Battel of *Thermopylæ* was fought, in the *Conſulſhip* of *Spurius Caſſius*, and *Proculus Virginius*, *i. e.* in the Year of *Rome* 268, according to *Livy*, or 267, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*; and conſequently above half a Century before the Year in which we are. And if *Livy* only means ſome other Irruption of the *Carthaginians*, in favour of the Inhabitants of the Iſland, who deſired their Aſſiſtance, we ſhall find all his Calculations in his Hiſtory wrong. In ſhort, *Thucydides* and *Diodorus* tell us, that the Inhabitants of *Egeſta* called in the *Carthaginians* to their Aſſiſtance, who went over into the Iſland, when the *Athenians* had been entirely defeated, after having in vain attempted to make themſelves Maſters of *Syracuſe*. Theſe Authors place this Event in the 22d Year of the *Peloponneſian* War. Which Year agrees with the 343d, and not the 323d Year of *Rome*.

61 *Livy* gives *Papirius Craſſus* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, and not that of *Caius*. This Miſtake ought therefore to be rectified, upon the Credit of the *Faſti Capitolini*. This Magiſtrate ſeems to have been the Grandfather of *Spurius Craſſus*, who was a *Military Tribune* in the Year of *Rome*, 384; and to have been a different Man from that *Lucius Craſſus*, who was *Conſul* in the Year 317. Without this Suppoſition, we can never make out the thirteen *Papirii*, which *Cicero* reckons up, *Ep. ad Pætum*, between *Lucius Papirius Mugillanus*, the Head of the *Papirian* Family, who firſt executed the Office of *Cenſor*, and *Lucius Papirius Craſſus*, who was *Dictator*, and *Prætor*.

and the Misfortunes it had brought on the Publick. From Conteſts, and Reproaches, they came at laſt to Seditions, and Battels. By this Means, *Rome* again enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity. And nothing new was done there, but the making a Law, to ſettle the Value of Fines. *Poplicola* had formerly condemned thoſe who diſobeyed the *Conſuls*, to pay five Oxen, and two Sheep. Afterwards all thoſe who rebelled againſt any Magiſtrates whatſoever, were fined [62], and forced to pay two Oxen [63], and thirty Sheep. And the *Conſuls* for this [64] Year ordered theſe Fines, which before were paid in kind, to be paid in Money for the future. They valued each Sheep [65] at ten *Aſſes* of Braſs, and each Ox at a hundred. The *Tribunes* were the Authors of this Valuation, and were ready to have ſettled it by a Law, but they were betrayed by one of their Collegues. And as ſoon as the *Conſuls* underſtood the Deſign, they prevented them, made the Law themſelves, and thereby gained the Favour of the People. This was the only remarkable Thing they did in their *Conſulſhip*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXIII. C. Papirius, and L. Julius Vopiſcus, Conſuls.

LUCIUS SERGIUS [66] choſen *Conſul* a ſecond Time, and *Hoſtus Lucretius* his Collegue, paſſed their Year in yet greater Inactions than their Predeceſſors. The publick Tranquillity, which the *Romans* enjoyed, was not at all diſturbed in it, even by the Ambition of the *Tribunes*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXIV. L. Sergius, and Hostus Lucretius, Conſuls.

§. XXV. The next Year ſcarce abounded in any thing but Calamities. *Titus Quinctius* was raiſed to the *Conſulate* a ſecond Time, and his Collegue was that *Cornelius Coſſus*, who was ſo famous for the Spoils he took from King *Tolumnius*. Some Hiſtorians indeed pretend, that he did not gain this Victory till the Year of his *Conſulſhip*, when he himſelf was chief Magiſtrate: And their Opinion is pretty well founded. At leaſt, it is not doubted, but the *Veientes* and *Fidenates* were in Motion again, when he was *Conſul*. The *Romans* accuſed the latter of having ſtirred up the former to enter into the *Roman* Territories, and plunder them; and of having joined with them in their Incurſions. So that the Senate ſent Commiſſioners to enquire into this new Breach of Faith in the *Fidenates*. And they found that ſome of the Inhabitants of *Fidenæ* were not at Home at the Time of the Pillaging; nor could they give any good Account of their Abſence. Upon which Suſpicions, they were baniſhed to *Oſtia*. As for the City, the *Roman* Colony, which was in it by way of Garriſon, was reinforced; and for its better Subſiſtence, the Lands of the *Fidenates*, who had been killed in Battel, were diſtributed among them. There was at this Time an exceeding great Drought in *Italy*. The Rivers and Fountains were dried up, which produced a terrible Deſolation in the Territory of the *Romans*. Their Cattle in the Country periſhed with Thirſt, and the Drineſs of the Ground brought Diſtempers among the Beaſts, which ſpread from them to the Peaſants, and from them to the Citizens of *Rome*. It is very common for People to grow very pious in times of publick Calamity; but then it often happens, that their Piety turns into Superſtition on ſuch Occaſions. In the preſent Inſtance, all thoſe Men who uſually take Advantage of the Credulity of the Vulgar, mixed unuſual Ceremonies with their old religious Worſhip, and propagated Impoſtures. Nothing was ſeen in the Streets, or Temples, but new Ways of Expiation, brought for the moſt part, from foreign Countries. Till at length theſe ſuperſtitious Innovations brought a Reproach upon the Governors of the Republick. They therefore commanded the *Ædiles* to take Care, that none worſhiped any Gods, but thoſe of the Country, or with any other than the uſual Rites. This was reviving the old Law of *Romulus*, which was alſo inſerted among thoſe of the *Twelve Tables*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXV. Titus Quinctius, and Cornelius Cossus, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 30.

62 This Law was made in the Year of *Rome* 299, by the *Conſul Aulus Æternius*, or according to others by his Collegue *Spurius Tarpeius*. And for this Reaſon, it is ſometimes called the *Æternian*, and ſometimes the *Tarpeian* Law.

63 *Feſtus* and *Aulus Gellius*, ſay on the contrary, that this Fine was two Sheep, and thirty Oxen, becauſe Sheep were more ſcarce in *Italy*, than Oxen.

64 *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Livy*, and *Feſtus*, falſely aſcribe this Law to *Titus Menenius Agrippa*, and *Publius Sextius* in their *Conſulſhip*, which was in the Year of *Rome* 301.

65 *Plutarch* is miſtaken in making *Valerius Poplicola* the Author of this Law. And *Feſtus* and *Aulus Gellius* have confounded it with the Law made twenty four Years before, by the *Conſuls Æternius* and *Tarpeius*.

66 *Diodorus Siculus* has ſtrangely diſfigured the Names of theſe *Conſuls*. He gives *Lucretius* the *Prænomen* of *Opiter*, which we don't find ever uſed in the *Lucretian* Family. Antient Authors give this *Conſul* the *Prænomen* of *Hoſtus*, which *Valerius Maximus* has improperly changed, in his little Work of *Roman Names*, into that of *Hoſpes*. The Name of *Hoſtus* was given to thoſe, who were born in *foreign* Countries.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVI. L. Papirius, and Servilius Ahala, Conſuls.

§. XXVI. But the Reſentments the *Romans* had conceived againſt the *Veientes*, ſignally appeared in the *Conſulſhip* of *L. Papirius*, and *Servilius* [67] *Ahala*. The Senate was diſpoſed not to defer inflicting on them the Puniſhment they had deſerved; but ſome religious Scruples, and the Oppoſitions of the *Tribunes of the People* gave theſe unfaithful *Hetrurians* a Year's Reſpite. They had obtained a Truce of the *Romans* for eight Years, after their Defeat near *Nomentum*. And before this Time was expired, they had ravaged the Lands of the *Romans*, with the Aſſiſtance, and at the Perſuaſion of the *Fidenates*. But the *Romans*, though injured, continued ſtill to obſerve the Truce more religiouſly, than the *Veientes* did, who had broken it. The Senate thought it neceſſary to proceed in a legal Way againſt them, before they took up Arms, and to ſend ſome *Feciales* to them. The Orders of theſe Heralds at Arms were, to go and demand Reparation of the Aggreſſors, for all the Injuries they had done the Republick; and to make a Report of their Negotiation to the Senate. However, the *Veientes* would not hearken to the juſt Complaints of the *Romans*, and ſent back the *Feciales*, without giving them Satisfaction. And therefore the only Queſtion then was, in what manner War ſhould be declared againſt them. The Senate pretended, that their Decree would be ſufficient to declare them Enemies to the Republick. On the other hand, the People pretended, that to determine Affairs of Peace and War was their Province, and that a Decree of the Senate was not ſufficient for raiſing an Army. The People had indeed been in Poſſeſſion of the Right of declaring War, ever ſince *Romulus*'s Time; but the Senators pretended, That the Queſtion at preſent was not about a new Enemy; That the *Veientes* had been already ſuch; and That the Hoſtilities had only been ſuſpended by a Truce. And on theſe Occaſions, the *Tribunes of the People* always had it in their Power to carry it againſt the Senate. They threatened to hinder the Levies, if the *Conſuls* did not apply themſelves to the People, and deſire them to declare War with the *Veientes*. But theſe Diſputes produced ill Effects. They delayed the Vengeance of the *Romans*, and made the People inſiſt, that the Government of the Republick ſhould be placed in the Hands of *Military Tribunes*, and not of *Conſuls*.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVII. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, and A. Cornelius Cossus, Military Tribunes.

§. XXVII. Instead of two Governors for the Republick, with the Title of *Conſuls*, the People choſe four, with that of *Military Tribunes*. It is eaſy to ſee, upon the mention of them, that they were all *Patricians*, and had moſt of them been *Conſuls*, and famous for military Exploits. They were *T. Quinctius* [68] *Cincinnatus*, *C. Furius*, *M. Poſthumius*, and *A. Cornelius Coſſus*. The Intention of the People, in chooſing ſo many brave Commanders to act againſt the *Veientes*, is not to be blamed. But the *Romans* found by Experience, That it is often inconvenient, to have a Number of great Men, all inveſted with equal Power, to govern an Army; and That one experienced General, is preferable to many skilful Commanders. Before the *Military Tribunes* ſet out for the Army, they took their Employments by Lot. And it was doubtleſs *Coſſus*'s Lot to continue in *Rome*, to guard the City: For his three Collegues led the *Roman* Army againſt the *Veientes*. But each particular General had his own Views in carrying on the Campaign; which being ſometimes very different, the Troops had contradictory Orders. This the Enemy perceived, and very well underſtood how to make their Advantage of it. They made all the Haſte they could to come to a Battel, pretty near the *Roman* Camp. And the Generals not acting in concert in the Engagement, it became fatal to the *Roman* Troops. One commanded a Retreat, another a Charge, to be ſounded, at the ſame Time. The Orders were different, and conſequently the Obedience paid to them was directed to different Ends:

Livy B. 4. *c.* 31.

67 This *Caius Servilius* was the Man who cut off *Spurius Mælius*'s Head. The *Greek Tables* give him the Surname of *Axilla*. So that they confound him with another Man of the ſame Surname, who was afterwards *Military Tribune* three Times.

68 *Livy* ſeems to make no Difference, in point of Time, between the ſecond *Conſulſhip* of *Titus Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus*, and his *Military Tribuneſhip*; which was in this Year 327, according to the *Faſti Capitolini*. The Hiſtorian's Words are theſe. *Tribuni Militum conſulari poteſtate quatuor creati ſunt*; *Titus Quinctius Pennus, ex Conſulatu*, &c. Nevertheleſs, it is certain, that *Lucius Papirius*, and *Caius Servilius Ahala* were *Conſuls* the Year before this; as *Diodorus Siculus* himſelf acknowledges. Concerning which it is proper to obſerve, that this laſt Author is miſtaken, as uſual, in ſaying, that *T. Quinctius Pennus* was *Conſul* for thoſe two Years ſucceſſively, which immediately preceded the *Conſulſhip* of *Papirius*, and *Servilius Ahala*. At this rate, we ſhould be forced to confound the whole Order of the Chronology of the *Conſuls*, and add a Year to it more than we find in the *Faſti Capitolini*. Beſides, we ſhould likewiſe be compelled to ſay, contrary to the expreſs Declarations of the moſt celebrated Hiſtorians, that *Quinctius* was three Times *Conſul*, before this Year of *Rome* 327, in which he was *Tribune*.

So that it is not at all to be wondered at, that an Army, ſo ill conducted, ſhould be put to the Rout. However, it happened very fortunately, that the Nearneſs of the *Roman* Camp ſaved the Troops from Slaughter, and their Diſgrace was greater than their Loſs. But it had not been uſual for them to give Way at all; and the whole City was in a Conſternation at the News of this ſhameful Action. It had been long accuſtomed to nothing but Victories, and almoſt every Battel had been followed with a Triumph. So that the Hatred the three *Tribunes* incurred, was proportionable to the Diſreputation they had brought upon the *Roman* Name. The People demanded their Depoſition, and the Nomination of a *Dictator* at the ſame time. This they thought the only Remedy the Republick had left; but there was a Scruple in the Way, which obſtructed the Completion of their Deſires. It belonged only to the *Conſuls* to nominate a *Dictator*, and there were no *Conſuls* now in being. The *Romans* therefore had Recourſe to the *Augurs:* And their Anſwers were accommodated to the preſent Wants. They agreed, that *Cornelius Coſſus*, the only *Military Tribune*, who had had no Share in the late publick Diſaſter, ſhould act the part of a *Conſul*, and nominate a *Dictator*. Accordingly, he choſe *Mamercus Æmilius*, that great Man who had been promoted to this Honour twice already. The *Cenſors* had indeed degraded him, and ſunk him below the common People. But *Coſſus* raiſed him from the Duſt, and ventured to reſcue oppreſſed Virtue, for the ſake of the publick Good. *Æmilius* therefore appeared again, with Dignity; and in Gratitude, made *Coſſus* his General of Horſe.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVII. T. Quinctius Cincinnatus, C. Furius, M. Posthumius, and A. Cornelius Coſſus, Military Tribunes.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVII. Mamercus Æmilius, Dictator.

§. XXVIII. And whilſt *Rome* was preparing for new Battels, under the Command of one ſingle, ſupreme, and independent General, the *Veientes* ſent the News of their Victory to all the Cantons of *Hetruria*. They talked very big of the Defeat of the three *Roman* Generals: And would fain have engaged the whole *Hetrurian* Body, by that Means, in their own private Quarrel. But they found the *Lucumonies* little inclined to declare openly againſt *Rome*. All they could do, was to draw a good Number of Voluntiers into their Troops from *Hetruria*, in Hopes of Plunder. As for the *Fidenates*, they once more ſignalized their Revolt from *Rome*, by the *Roman* Blood they ſhed. They had formerly maſſacred four of their Ambaſſadors, and now they cut the Throats of all their new Inhabitants, which had been ſent them from *Rome*. And when thus polluted with ſo many Murders, they joined the *Veientes;* and their Territory became the Seat of the War. The *Veientes* paſſed the *Tyber*, and came and encamped near *Fidenæ*. On the other Hand, the *Roman* Army left its Poſt in the Neighbourhood of *Veii*, and encamped without the Gate *Collina*, almoſt under the Walls of *Rome*. The Conſternation in the City was great, and the Ramparts were lined with Soldiers, as if the Citizens had been afraid of a Siege. The Senate ſuſpended their Aſſemblies, the Shops were ſhut up, and *Rome*, being full of Soldiers, looked more like a Camp, than a City. Nevertheleſs the *Dictator* aſſembled the People together, and addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *How exceſſive are our Fears, only on account of a ſlight Diſgrace? The Check we have received, did not proceed ſo much from any want of Courage in our Troops, as from a Miſunderſtanding between our Commanders. Ought we to be diſheartened by every little Frown of Fortune? The* Veientes *have ſunk ſix Times under our Arms, and yet is their Confidence leſſened by it?* Fidenæ *has been taken as often as we have beſieged it, and yet is her Treachery abated? Have our Enemies changed their Natures; or are not our* Romans, Romans *ſtill? Have not we the ſame Courage, the ſame Vigour, and the ſame Arms, as heretofore? Is not the* Dictator, *whom you have choſen, the ſame* Æmilius, *who defeated the* Veientes, *and the joint Forces of the* Fidenates *and* Faliſci, *near* Nomentum? *Is not the General of Horſe the ſame* Cornelius Coſſus, *who killed the King of the* Veientes *with his own Hands, and dedicated the Spoils he took from him to* Jupiter? *Be aſſured,* Romans, *That we carry Victory with us; That we ſhall enjoy the Spoils of the Enemy, and the Honours of a Triumph, the uſual Conſequences of our Battels; and That we ſhall revenge the Death of our Ambaſſadors, the Maſſacre of a* Roman *Colony, and the ſeventh Revolt of a faithleſs City. Arm then, and follow us. The Enemy will no ſooner ſee us in their Neighbourhood, but this Joy of theirs at Victory, which they are not uſed to, will be abated: And* Rome *will, perhaps, very ſoon have Cauſe not to repent of having wiped off the Stains, which the* Cenſors *threw upon my Honour, after my ſecond* Dictatorſhip.

Thus

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVII. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

THUS ſpake *Æmilius*, and when he had performed certain Duties of Religion, he ſet out for the Army, encamped fifteen hundred Paces on this ſide *Fidenæ*, and was there covered on his right with Hills, and by the *Tyber* on his left: And he ordered *T. Quinctius*, one of his Lieutenant-Generals, to go without Noiſe and poſſeſs himſelf of that Hill, which was behind the Enemy. Early the next Morning the *Veientes* appeared in the Plain, with the ſame Confidence, as when they had much more Reaſon for it. But the *Dictator* was not in haſte to enter upon Action, till he knew that *Quinctius* had gained the Eminence which overlooked *Fidenæ*. And then he diſplayed his Standards, and marched with his Infantry very faſt, and in good Order. As for the General of Horſe, his Inſtructions were not to begin the Attack till farther Orders; and then to do it with the ſame Courage, by which he had ſo highly diſtinguiſhed himſelf againſt King *Tolumnius*. And now the *Roman* Infantry ruſh furiouſly upon the *Veientes*, and *Fidenates*, and treat the one as Robbers, the other as perfidious Allies, and timorous Enemies. Blows followed Reproaches. The *Romans* both uttered and glutted their Hatred, but in the Heat of the Action, the *Fidenates* ſhewed the *Romans* a new Sight, and affrighted them, for a little while, with an unuſual way of fighting. They opened one of the Gates of the City, and ſent out ſome fighting Men with lighted Flambeaux in their Hands, who were dreſſed in Habits, pretty like thoſe which are uſually given the Furies. Theſe ran like mad Enthuſiaſts through the *Roman* Battalions, threatning them both with Fire and Sword at the ſame time. They fell upon the left Wing of the *Roman* Army, affrighted it, and made it retire. Inſtantly therefore the *Dictator* flies thither, and commands *Quinctius* to come down from the Hill he had poſted himſelf upon, and advance with his Cavalry. *What*, ſaid he to his terrified Soldiers, *are you as much afraid of Smoke, as a ſwarm of Bees? Make uſe of your Swords, to wreſt theſe Flambeaux out of the Enemy's Hands, and then go with them, and ſet fire to the City, from whence they came.* At which Words, the *Romans* recovered their Courage. They gathered up the Fire-brands, which had been thrown among them, or took away the reſt by force, from thoſe who carried them. So that the Fire began to ſhine in both Armies. Then *Coſſus* ordered his Cavalry to give their Horſes the Reins; he himſelf firſt puſhed on towards thoſe Battalions of the Enemy, where the Fire gave moſt Light: And the Horſes were not frighted at the Sight which had terrified the Men. *Coſſus*'s Squadrons followed him: And the Duſt raiſed with the Horſes Feet, mixed with the Smoke of the Flambeaux, made a Cloud, which darkened the Day. The *Roman* Horſe mowed down all that ſtood in their Way. They beat down their Enemies on both ſides of them, and covered the Ground with them: And in the midſt of their Hurry, and Purſuits, the *Romans* heard a Cry, which made them look behind them. It was the *Dictator*, who was with a loud Voice, telling his Men, that *Quinctius* had fallen upon the Enemy in the Rear, and ordering them to purſue the Charge with yet greater Vigour. So that the two *Roman* Armies, which were one in the Front, and the other in the Rear of the Enemy, obliged them to maintain a double Fight: And being thus ſurrounded on all ſides, they in vain ſought a Paſſage to eſcape. There was no Retreat to be had to the Hills, *Quinctius* had poſſeſſed himſelf of them. No Refuge to be had in the Camp; it was ſurrounded by the *Romans*. No Horſe to cover a Retreat, they were already diſperſed by the *Roman* Cavalry: And therefore the *Veientes* made it their Buſineſs to gain the *Tyber*, and the *Fidenates* their City. But the Flight of the former coſt them dear. Some of them were killed upon the Banks of the *Tyber*, and others threw themſelves into it: And though they knew how to ſwim, their Wounds, and their Fears, drowned them. Some old Hiſtorians ſay [69], there was a Naval-fight here, on this Occaſion. But however that be (for *Livy* upon good Reaſons thinks it improbable) it is at leaſt certain, that few of this great Number of *Hetrurians* returned into their own Country. And the

Florus. B. 1. *c.* 12, and 13. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 33.

69 *Livy*, upon the Credit of ſome old Annals, ſpeaks of a naval Fight upon the *Tyber*, near *Fidenæ*, between the *Romans*, and the *Veientes*. But he does not believe the Fact to be true; on the contrary, he ranks it among ſuch as deſerve no Credit. It is impoſſible, ſays he, that this River, ſo narrow as it then was, ſhould have carried a Naval Armament. The moſt that can be ſaid, adds he, is this, that ſome Boats lay croſs the River, when the two Parties diſputed the Paſſage of it. By the help of this ſingle Circumſtance, this Action has been called by the pompous Title of a Naval-fight. *Claſſibus quoque ad Fidenas pugnatum cum Veientibus quidam Annales retulere; rem æque difficilem, atque incredibilem, nec nunc lato ſatis ad hoc amne, & tum aliquanto, ut a veteribus accepimus, arctiore; niſi in trajectu forte fluminis prohibendo, aliquarum navium concurſum in majus, ut ſit, celebrantes, navalis victoriæ vanum titulum appetivere.*

Fate of the *Fidenates* was yet more unhappy. In order to return into their City, it neceſſary for them to croſs the Camp of the *Veientes*: And the ſame Impetuoſity which hurried them on thither, made the *Romans* as quick in their Purſuit. As ſoon as they were got through the Camp, they were purſued by *Quinctius*'s Men, who were yet freſh, they having been the laſt who came to the Engagement. The Gate of their City was thrown open; The *Romans* entered it with the *Fidenates;* and *Quinctius*'s firſt Care was, to ſet up the *Roman* Standard upon the Ramparts, to give the *Dictator* Notice that the City was taken. *Æmilius* obſerved it, and though his Troops were ready to begin plundering the Camp of the *Veientes*, he led them on to *Fidenæ*, giving them Hopes of a better Booty. He came to the City, entered it, and there began another Fight, which was almoſt as furious as that in the Plain. The *Fidenates* made a deſperate Defence in the upper City: But being at length fatigued, and overcome, they threw down their Arms, and ſurrendered at Diſcretion. Then *Fidenæ*, and the Camp of the *Veientes*, were both given up to be plundered by the *Roman* Soldiers. The Priſoners were diſtributed by Lot, one to each *Roman* Officer, from the *Knights* to the *Centurions*. But two were given to ſuch as had diſtinguiſhed themſelves in the Battel: The reſt were ſet to Sale. After this glorious Expedition, the *Dictator* returned to *Rome*, led back his Troops thither, laden with Spoils, and there received the Honours of a Triumph: And all this was done in ſixteen Days. *Æmilius* held the *Dictatorſhip* no longer. In this ſhort Space of Time, he ſubdued the Enemies of the Republick, and re-eſtabliſhed Tranquillity in *Rome*, the Government of which he had taken upon him, in a Time of great Trouble and Conſternation. So that the Republick owed the Revival of her Glory to a Man branded with Infamy, and who roſe at once from the loweſt State, to the higheſt Honours.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVII. MAMERCUS ÆMILIUS, Dictator.

§. XXIX. AT this Time, the *Tribunes of the People* muſt have been in great Credit; ſince, notwithſtanding that the laſt Year had ſhewn the Inconvenience of the Republick's being governed by *Military Tribunes*, yet four new ones were again choſen. They were, *A.* 70 *Sempronius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Quinctius*, and *L. Horatius*, who were all *Patricians*. *Æmilius*'s Victory had made the *Romans* formidable to their Enemies. They were all earneſt to come and deſire Truces: And accordingly one was made with the *Veientes* for twenty Years. But the *Romans* would only prolong that granted to the *Æqui* for three Years, though they deſired a longer, that they might enjoy the longer Calm after the Storm. So that, the *Romans* were at preſent wholly taken up with theſe Negotiations.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXVIII. A. SEMPRONIUS, L. FURIUS, LUCIUS QUINCTIUS, and L. HORATIUS, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 35.

THE next Year was well nigh as peaceable as the paſt. The Republick was then governed by four *Military Tribunes*, whoſe Names were *Ap.* 71 *Claudius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *L. Sergius*, and *Sex. Julius*, all *Patricians*. It is certain, that the People were then entertained with the *Great Games*, that is, with Chariot-races in the *Circus*. It is pretended, that *Æmilius*, before the Battel with the *Veientes*, had made a Vow to celebrate them. But the Hiſtorians don't ſay it in direct Terms. With reſpect to *Poſthumius Tubertus*, we are indeed expreſly told, that he promiſed the Gods to celebrate the *Great Games* to their Honour, before he went on his Expedition againſt the *Æqui* and *Volſci*. But we don't find, that this ſolemn Promiſe was performed at any other time; and it was probably done in theſe happy Days, when the *Romans* enjoyed a perfect Tranquillity. Theſe *Games* were celebrated with all the Pomp and Magnificence, of which *Rome* was then capable. And as it was expected that Spectators would come from all the neighbouring Countries on this Occaſion, Orders were iſſued out, after publick Deliberation, that all Strangers ſhould be entertained *gratis*. Which Hoſpitality was ſo perfectly well maintained in *Rome*, that the People, who came out of the Neighbourhood, ſcarce knew which gave them moſt Pleaſure, whe-

Year of *ROME* CCCXXIX. AP. CLAUDIUS, SP. NAUTIUS, L. SERGIUS, and SEX. JULIUS, Military Tribunes.

70 In the oldeſt Editions of *Livy*, we find only three *Military Tribunes* mentioned for this Year. *Lucius Furius Medullinus*, (who was now choſen *Tribune* the ſecond time, as well as *Lucius Quinctius Cincinnatus*) is omitted. This was the firſt time *Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Lucius Horatius Barbatus* were choſen *Tribunes*. *Cuſpinian* and *Diodorus Siculus*, do likewiſe reckon no more than three *Tribunes* for this Year. Beſides, their Names are ſo altered in ſome Copies of the latter, that inſtead of *L. Quinctius*, we there read *Caius Corinthius*.

71 *Appius Claudius* is diſtinguiſhed by the Surnames of *Craſſus* and *Regillenſis*. Inſtead of *Spurius Nautius Rutilus*, ſome Editions of *Livy* have the Name of *Nævius*. *Diodorus*, inſtead of *Sergius*, has *Sentius*. But it is manifeſt, that the *Sentii*, and the *Nævii*, who were of *Plebeian* Families, could not then pretend to the Honours of the *Conſulſhip*, and other great Offices. According to the *Faſti Conſulares*, this was the ſecond time *Sergius* was *Tribune*.

Year of ROME CCCXXIX.

Ap. Claudius, Sp. Nautius, L. Sergius, and Sex. Julius, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

ther the Show it ſelf, or the cordial and welcome Reception they met with among the *Romans*. Nevertheleſs it was not poſſible for the Republick to enjoy a ſettled Peace. Immediately after the *Games*, the *Tribunes of the People* renewed their ſeditious Harangues. They remonſtrated to the Commons their extreme Stupidity, in the following manner. *You deliver your ſelves up to be Slaves, to Men who hate you, and whom you hate. You not only don't aſpire at the* Conſulſhip, *which you might reaſonably hope to have a Share in; but you deprive your ſelves of the right the Law it ſelf gives you, to the* Military Tribuneſhip. *What* Plebeian *has yet been choſen? Have you yet nominated any but* Patricians *to that Office? Have you ever remembered us in your Elections? And can you, notwithſtanding this, expect that your* Tribunes *ſhould concern themſelves for you? Can you hope, that Men will ſacrifice all their Time and Labour continually to ſerve you, when there is neither Honour nor Profit to be got by ſo doing? Rewards encourage Labour, and Zeal is quickened by grateful Returns. Shall we always dare the Dangers of an inteſtine War with the* Patricians, *without any Advantage, and run all the Hazards of it, for nothing? No; don't hope for ſuch Things as theſe any longer; or expect them at our Hands. You have no other Way to animate us, to exert our Courage in your Defence, but by propoſing great Honours for us. Can it be otherwiſe, than that you muſt fall into Contempt your ſelves, if you ſuffer us to be the Contempt of the Nobility? Why don't you try, by chooſing two or three* Plebeians, *whether it be ſo difficult, as is pretended, to find Men of Merit enough among them, to qualify them for the Office of a* Military Tribune? *What Pains did we not take to obtain the Law, which allows the Governors of the Republick to be choſen indifferently, either out of the People, or the Nobility? And for ſome Years, immediately after the Law was made,* Plebeians *of known Merit, and Valour, offered themſelves to you, for your Votes. But your Refuſal to grant them, and the Railleries of the* Patricians, *interrupted our Purſuits. Would it not be better to abrogate a Law, which empowers us to enjoy, what you never give us? It would ſurely be leſs ſhameful not to hope at all, than to go on hoping for what we cannot obtain.*

These Diſcourſes being often repeated, made an Impreſſion of the People: And the *Patricians* were afraid, that the higheſt Dignity in the State would at laſt fall into the Hands of *Plebeians*. This was ſuch a Blow, as the Nobility thought they could not take too much Pains to avert; and the Danger of the *Patrician* Party was indeed imminent. Some *Plebeians* had already offered themſelves to the People, deſiring their Suffrages. They gave the Citizens hopes, that if they were choſen, they would ſtudy the Welfare of the Commons, would cauſe ſome Lands to be diſtributed among them, and procure the Eſtabliſhment of ſome new Colonies. And laſtly, they promiſed, that in Times of War, they would lay the Burden of it upon the landed-Men, and leſſen the Capitation-Tax of the Citizens. The *Military Tribunes* therefore, in order to ward off the Blow which threatened the Nobility, embraced an Opportunity which accidentally fell in their Way. News was brought to *Rome*, that the *Volſci* were entered into the Territories of the *Hernici*, and committed Hoſtilities there. It was now Autumn, when the *Romans* uſually retired into the Country: And the *Military Tribunes*, ſent private Expreſſes to the Senators, who were ſcattered about in the Neighbourhood of the City, deſiring them to repair to Town, on a Day appointed: So that the Senate was aſſembled, unknown to the *Tribunes of the People*, and when it met, paſſed a Decree, that two *Conſuls* ſhould be choſen to govern the Republick the next Year. Now none except *Patricians* could lawfully be choſen *Conſuls*: And by this Means therefore, the Hopes of the *Tribunes of the People* vaniſhed. By the ſame Decree of the Senate, three of the preſent *Military Tribunes* were likewiſe ordered to march to the Frontiers, to ſuccour the Allies. Only one was left at *Rome*, to oppoſe the Factions of the *Tribunes of the People*; which was *Ap. Claudius*. He was a young Man, and had all the uſual Steadineſs of the *Claudian* Family, which ever oppoſed the *Plebeians*, and their *Tribunes*. By this Management of the Nobility, the *Tribunes of the People*, were diſappointed of their Expectations, and yet had no room to complain. The *Centuries* choſe two *Conſuls* in the *Campus Martius*, who were *C.* [72] *Sempronius*, and *Q. Fabius*.

72 *Diodorus of Sicily* paſſes over this Year in Silence, and makes no mention of the *Conſuls*, *Caius Sempronius Atratinus*, and *Q. Fabius Vibulanus*. *Livy* ſays, that in their Year, the *Samnites* made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Vulturnum*; which, according to him, was formerly built by a Colony of *Hetrurians*; and that it was afterwards called *Capua*, either from the Name of one *Capys*, who was the Head of the *Samnites*, or from the Openneſs of the Country, *A campeſtri loco*.

§. XXX. But

§. XXX. But the new Magiſtrates did not enter upon their Office till the *Ides of December*: And they found by Experience, how much the *Tribunes of the People* were exaſperated againſt the *Patricians*. It was now three Years ſince the three *Military Tribunes*, *T. Quinctius*. *C. Furius*, and *M. Poſthumius*, had ſuffered themſelves to be beaten by the *Veientes*. Their want of a good Underſtanding among themſelves, had occaſioned the Overthrow of the *Roman* Army, and without doubt, their Conduct was blameable. But after all, three Years were now paſſed, without calling them to any Account before the People, as Criminals; and their Fault ſeemed to be forgotten. Nevertheleſs, the Revenge of the *Tribunes*, brought on an Accuſation againſt them, though late. *T. Quinctius*, and *M. Poſthumius*. were accuſed before the People, of having ſacrificed a *Roman* Army to their Jealouſy, and Miſunderſtanding. And if *C. Furius* was not included in the Impeachment, it was doubtleſs, becauſe Death had delivered him from the Purſuits of the *Tribunes*. The Proſecution was brought near to a Concluſion, when a more urgent Affair ſuſpended the Determination of it. Some Deputies from the *Hernici*, and the *Latins*, brought Intelligence, that the *Volſci* now threatened the Republick with as cruel a War as ever; and were very buſy in chooſing good Generals, and raiſing a numerous Army. They were heard to ſay, that they muſt either receive the *Roman* Yoke, and never more pretend to declare themſelves againſt *Rome*, or reſolve to equal in Courage, Steadineſs, and Experience in War, thoſe to whom they refuſed to ſubmit. And theſe Advices which were brought the Senate, proved very true; but the Senators too much neglected an Affair of ſuch Conſequence. The *Conſul Sempronius* likewiſe, to whoſe Lot it fell to go upon this Expedition againſt the *Volſci*, undertook it with too much Indifference. He depended upon the Conſtancy of Fortune. He looked with Contempt on Enemies, which had been ſo often overcome, and his Confidence made him indolent, in his Preparations for War, in the raiſing of his Troops, and the keeping them to Diſcipline. Vigilance and good Order ſeemed to be now transferred from the *Roman* Camp, to that of the Enemy: And Fortune does commonly declare her ſelf on the ſide of the Vigilant. But the *Conſul Sempronius* was very faulty in his Conduct, on many other Accounts, as well as this Negligence. He came to a Battel inconſiderately, and without taking proper Precautions. He ſet apart no *Corps-de-reſerve*, in caſe of Need. He poſted his Cavalry ill: And the Diſtruſt of the *Romans*, and the Confidence of the *Volſci*, were very viſible, from the Shouts of the firſt Onſet, which was made near *Verrugo*. The Shouts of the *Conſul*'s Army were faint, unequal, and interrupted. Thoſe of the Enemy were more vigorous, and more gay: And the Impetuoſity of the *Volſci* was as great, as their Shouts were loud. They ran againſt the Enemy with their Bucklers, and attacked them with their Swords. On the other hand, the Helmets of the *Romans* tottered on their Heads. They were fearful, irreſolute, and crouded againſt one another. Sometimes the Enſigns kept their Ground, but were forſaken. Sometimes they were forced to retire, into the Center of the *Manipuli*. The *Roman Cohorts* did not indeed yet fly, and give up the Victory for loſt; but they rather faced the Enemy, than fought them: Whilſt the *Volſci* preſſed upon them, made them retire, and cut them in pieces, though they could not make them fly. A conſiderable Slaughter was every where made of the *Romans*: So that notwithſtanding the Exhortations and Reproaches of the *Conſul*, they would have been entirely routed, if a *Decurion* 73 *of Horſe*, named *Tempanius*, had not a little recovered the Affairs of the *Romans*, by his great Preſence of Mind. He, contrary to the Cuſtom in Battel, ventured to take upon him the Command of the Horſe, and adviſed them to diſmount: And he was obeyed, as if he had been General. *We are loſt*, cried he, *if the Horſe don't diſmount, and make Head againſt the Enemy. Follow my Lance; that ſhall be your Guide. Let us run and ſhew the* Volſci *how formidable we are, whether we engage on Horſeback, or on Foot.* And theſe Words being approved by a Shout, *Tempanius* held his Lance high, and ruſhed upon the Enemy. The reſt followed him, broke the firſt Lines of the Enemy, and made their Way through them: So that the Enemy was repulſed in

Year of *ROME* CCCXXX.

C. SEMPRONIUS, and Q. FABIUS, Conſuls.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 37.

Val. Max. B. 3. *c.* 2.

73 The Horſe belonging to each *Legion* were formerly divided into ten Companies, each of which uſually conſiſted of thirty Horſe, more or leſs, according to the Number of the whole Body. Theſe Companies were ſubdivided, into three *Decuriæ* each, and each *Decuria* had its *Decurion* to command it. *Primi ſingularum decuriarum* Decuriones *dicti, qui ab eo in ſingulis turmis ſunt etiam nunc terni. Var. B.* 4. *de ling. Lat.* The firſt of theſe three *Decurions* had the Command of the whole Troop; the other two were but his Subalterns.

the

Year of *ROME* CCCXXX. C. Sempronius, and Q. Fabius, Conſuls.

the Place, where they were making the *Roman* Infantry give Way. Theſe Horſemen were diſtinguiſhed by their Bucklers, which were little and light: And wherever they engaged, they recovered the Diſadvantages the *Romans* lay under in the Fight. Inſomuch, that could they have engaged in all Places, it is not to be doubted, but the Enemy would have been routed. But, unfortunately for the *Romans*, the General of the *Volſci* ſaw, whence the Fright of his Troops proceeded. And he ordered the attacked Battalions to open, and let the *Roman* Horſe-men penetrate into the Center of his Troops, in order to ſurround them there. Accordingly, the Impetuoſity of theſe brave Men hurried them on ſo far, that they were at laſt out of the reach of any Aſſiſtance their Infantry could give them. They were cloſely ſurrounded on every ſide, the Paſſage they made themſelves was ſhut up, and no Way left for them to return. Then the *Conſul* looked about him for this brave Troop, which had juſt been covering and defending his Army: And not ſeeing it, he and his Followers threw themſelves upon the Enemy, at all Adventures, in order to reſcue thoſe brave Defenders of their Country. Upon which one part of the *Volſci* turned againſt the *Conſul*, and the other againſt *Tempanius*. And all the Efforts the latter made to return, and lead back his Horſe-men to the *Roman* Army, were in vain. However, he gained a little Hill, rallied his Troop upon it, drew them up in a Circle, and defended himſelf like a Man reſolved to ſell his Life very dear. The brave *Decurion* continued fighting, till Night made him loſe ſight of the Enemy; and the *Conſul* likewiſe held on the Engagement, as long as the Light would give him Leave: So that the Night only parted the two Armies, which were both doubtful, who had the Victory. And the Terror in both was ſo great, that both *Romans* and *Volſci* decamped in the Night, leaving nothing but their Wounded in their Camps, and retired to the Mountains. *Tempanius* and his Horſe-men remained alone on the Field of Battel, ſtill poſted upon his little Hill, and ſurrounded with Enemies. Till at length the latter were tired, and being informed about Midnight, that their Camp was deſerted, they diſperſed. But the prudent *Tempanius*, fearing an Ambuſcade, kept his Men in the ſame Poſt, till Day-break. Then he took the Way to the *Roman* Camp, and was informed by the Wounded, that the *Volſci* had quitted theirs. He therefore entered the *Roman* Entrenchments with great Joy; but found the *Conſul* had been guilty of the ſame ſcandalous Retreat, as the Enemy. He ſaw the Camp utterly deſerted. In great Affliction therefore he haſtened towards *Rome*, for fear the Enemy ſhould recover their Fright, and intercept him in his Return. He carried with him as many of the wounded *Romans* as he could, and took the ſhorteſt Way to the City; not knowing to what Place the *Conſul* was fled for Refuge.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 39. *Val. Max. B.* 3. *c.* 2.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

As ſoon as Soldiers appeared drawing near to *Rome* in order of Battel, the City was in a great Fright. It had been already reported there, that *Sempronius* had been put to flight, and the *Roman* Cavalry cut in pieces: So that the ſight of Troops, which were not yet near enough to be known, made the *Conſul Fabius* take proper Precautions to prevent a Surprize. He placed advanced-Guards in the Avenues to the City: And when that Cavalry arrived, the Loſs of which had been ſo much lamented, both in private, and in publick, an univerſal Joy enſued. The Wives and Mothers of theſe brave Men, no longer kept within the Bounds of Decency. They leaped upon the Necks of their Husbands, and Sons, in the open Streets, and congratulated them, as if they had returned from the Grave. The Abſence of *Sempronius*, and his Army, who had diſappeared, was the only thing that gave the *Romans* Diſquiet. And of this the *Tribunes of the People* took Advantage, in order to forward the Affair they had begun againſt *Quinctius*, and *Poſthumius*, who had formerly been overcome by the *Veientes*. *If* Sempronius *has betrayed the Republick*, ſaid they, *it is owing to the Effect of our Dilatorineſs, in puniſhing the Treachery of our guilty Generals. The Impunity of ſome has occaſioned the Treaſon of others.* In this general Uneaſineſs of Mind, *Tempanius* was brought before the People, to be examined concerning the Conduct of the *Conſul Sempronius*. The chief Perſon concerned in interrogating him, was one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *C. Julius*. *Do you think*, ſaid he to him, *that* Sempronius *gave Battel prudently? Did he prepare a* Corps-de-reſerve, *and do the Duty of a good General? When you had prevailed on the Horſe to diſmount, and was ſurrounded by the Enemy, did* Sempronius *come to your Relief? Did he ſend you any Troops, the Day after the Battel, to ſecure your Retreat? When you returned to the Camp, was the* Conſul *there, or did you not rather find it deſerted by every Body but the*

the Wounded, who were left without Aſſiſtance? Theſe are the Queſtions you are to anſwer. Exert then the ſame Courage and the ſame Fidelity to your Country, on this Occaſion, which have already prompted you to ſave the Republick. Tell us, where is the Conſul? *What is become of his* Legions? *Did you quit the Camp, or the Army forſake you? In a Word, are you the Conquerors, or the Conquered?* Tempanius was not eloquent. But he anſwered, with the Frankneſs and Simplicity of a Soldier, and the Diſcretion of a Man of Senſe. *It is not my Buſineſs,* ſaid he, *to determine, whether* Sempronius *has the Qualifications, which are neceſſary for the Command of an Army, or not. You were the proper Judges of that, when you choſe him* Conſul. *I ſhall only declare to you, what I ſaw. In the beginning of the Battel* Sempronius *appeared at the Head of his Men, exhorting and encouraging them with his Words to fight, and fighting himſelf, ſometimes in the midſt of our* Cohorts, *and ſometimes ſurrounded with the Darts of the Enemy. Afterwards I loſt ſight of him: But by the Shouts of the two Armies, I judged that he fought till Night. If he did not reſcue me, I have Reaſon to believe, he was prevented by the great Numbers of the Enemy, which ſurrounded me. What is become of his Army, I know not: But I ſuppoſe they are retired into ſome ſafe Place, as is uſual in doubtful Caſes of this kind, and that they choſe rather to retreat to the Mountains, than continue in their Camp. And I cannot believe, that the Affairs of the* Volſci *are in any better Condition than ours. The Night filled both Camps with Terror, and Uncertainty.* When *Tempanius* had done ſpeaking, he deſired Leave to go and refreſh himſelf after his Fatigue, and to have his Wounds dreſſed. All preſent gave him the Applauſes he had deſerved by his Valour, and by the Moderation with which he ſpoke of his General. And immediately after, News was brought, that *Sempronius* and his Troops had been ſeen in the Road between *Lavicum* and *Rome*, and that they halted near 74 the Temple of *Peace*. Horſes therefore and Carriages were diſpatched to him in all Haſte, for the Conveyance of his Men, who were fatigued with the Battel, and with ſo long a March. As ſoon as *Sempronius* returned, he did his utmoſt, both to clear himſelf, and extol the Exploits of *Tempanius*. But notwithſtanding all he could ſay, or do, the People were ſo much out of Humour with their bad Generals, that they haſtened the Condemnation of *Poſthumius*. He paid 75 a large Fine. But the People favoured *Quinctius*: He was unanimouſly acquitted by all the *Tribes*. They had a Regard to the brave Exploits, by which he had made Amends for his Fault, and to the Services his Father *Cincinnatus* had done the Republick. Beſides, his Uncle, a famous old Man, whom *Livy* calls alſo *Cincinnatus*, and who had likewiſe the Surname of *Capitolinus*, deſired that he might not be ſent to the Shades below, to the great *Cincinnatus* his Brother, with the melancholy News, of his Son's having a Mark of Infamy ſet upon him by the *Roman* People. Nothing now remained but to reward *Tempanius*. In order to which, he was choſen *Tribune of the People* in his Abſence; and with him 76 three other brave Horſe-men, whom the Cavalry had choſen for their Leaders, at his Recommendation.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXX. C. Sempronius, and Q. Fabius, Conſuls.

§. XXXI. *SEMPRONIUS* had ſo incenſed the Commonalty againſt him, that they could no longer bear the Name of *Conſul*. Inſomuch, that the Senate it ſelf thought it proper to let them chuſe *Military Tribunes* for the next Year. The 77 four the People choſe were, *L. Manlius*, *Q. Antonius*, *L. Papirius*, and *L. Servilius*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXI. L. Manlius, Q. Antonius, L. Papirius, and L. Servilius, Military Tribunes.

74 This Temple of *Peace*, or of *Reſt*, *Fanum Quietis*, ſtood, according to *Ferrari*, in his *Deſcription of antient Rome*, without the Gate *Collina*, near the Place, where the Churches of *St. Peter*, *St. Paul*, and *St. Marcellinus*, are at preſent. But this Situation does not agree with *Livy*, who places this Temple in the *Lavican Way*. This Road led to the Gate *Eſquilina*, and not *Collina*. But *St. Auſtin* likewiſe ſays, in his fourth Book *de Civit. Dei*, that this Temple was without the Gate *Collina*. *Quies appellata Dea eſt, quæ faceret quietum. Illam, cum ædem haberet extra portam Collinam, publice ſuſcipere noluerunt.* The *Romans*, ſays *St. Auſtin*, would not permit a Divinity to have a Temple within the Walls of their City, whoſe Worſhip did not ſuit with their warlike Genius.

75 The Fine was, according to *Livy*, ten thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs, which make five hundred *French Livres*, reckoning each *As* at one *Sol* only. But if we reckon them by Weight, they will amount to a more conſiderable Sum, as has been already obſerved ſeveral Times. [Theſe *Aſſes* make, according to *Arbuthnot*, 32 l. 5 s. 10 d. *Sterling*.]

76 *Livy* has preſerved the Names of theſe three Horſe-men, which are *Aulus Sellius*, *Lucius Antiſtius*, and *Sextus Pompilius*.

77 *Livy* reckons only three *Military Tribunes* for this Year, and ſays nothing of *Servilius Structus*, whom we ſhall ſoon ſee raiſed a ſecond Time to this Office, according to *Livy* himſelf. So that we thought it proper, with *Sigonius*, to make him *Tribune*, for the firſt Time this Year; without which there can be but three *Tribunes* now, though it was uſual to chooſe four. *Lucius Manlius* is diſtinguiſhed by the Surnames of *Vulſo* and *Capitolinus*; *Quintus Antonius* by that of *Merenda*; and *Lucius Papirius* by that of *Mugillanus*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXI. L. Manlius, Q. Antonius, L. Papirius, and L. Servilius, Military Tribunes. *Val. Max. B.* 6. *c.* 5. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 42.

Under their Adminiſtration the Republick enjoyed Peace Abroad, but the *Tribunes of the People* had not laid aſide their Animoſity againſt the *Patricians*. One of them, named *Hortenſius*, accuſed *Sempronius* the *Conſul* for the laſt Year before the People. But he, when cited to appear, found ſome Friends even in the College of the *Tribunes*. *Tempanius* and his three Companions, who had ſerved in the laſt War under *Sempronius*, and were now become *Tribunes of the People*, declared for their old General. Theſe brave Men zealouſly oppoſed the Proſecution *Hortenſius* carried on, and gained as much Glory by their Victory in a civil Diſpute, as they had done by their Conteſts with the Enemy. In ſhort, when *Sempronius* appeared upon his Trial in the *Comitia*, *Tempanius* and his Friends asked *Hortenſius*, *Why he perſecuted an illuſtrious* Patrician, *whom they could reproach with nothing but a little ill Fortune:* And *Hortenſius* was ſtartled at the Queſtion of his Collegues. He thought, they might perhaps ſpeak in this manner only to try his Conſtancy; and that they only affected to take upon them the Defence of their General, out of Oſtentation. But at the ſame time he fancied, that the Accuſed might not perhaps depend ſo much upon the Favour of the *Tribunes*, who were well-affected to him, as upon the legal Proteſtation he himſelf would make againſt theſe Proceedings. And being therefore doubtful of the Intention of his Collegues, he thus addreſſed himſelf to *Sempronius*. *Is this*, ſays *Hortenſius* to him, *the Magnanimity of the* Patricians? *Does a* Conſul *vouchſafe to ſcreen himſelf under the Protection of the* Tribunes of the People? *Does Innocence ſtand in need of Protectors?* Then turning to his Collegues, he ſaid to them, *What do you pretend to do, if I prove* Sempronius *guilty? Will you betray the Rights of the People? Will you overturn the Authority of the* Tribunes? *Will you reſcue* Sempronius *from my Proſecution? No,* replied they, *we will attempt nothing in Derogation to the Dignity of the* Roman *People. We know they have a Right to judge* Sempronius, *or any other* Roman *whatſoever, without Appeal. Nor will we do any thing by Violence. We will only have Recourſe to Entreaties and Prayers.* Sempronius *was our General, and our Father. We will therefore, like true Children, wear the Habits of Criminals, as well as he, and as we have ſhared his Fortune, will now partake of his Diſgrace.* Then *Hortenſius* could hold out no longer, againſt ſo wiſe and affecting a Declaration from his Collegues. *No,* replied he, *the Republick ſhall never ſee* Tribunes *in the Habits of Criminals. I drop the Accuſation brought againſt* Sempronius: *A General, who ſo well underſtood how to gain the Affections of his Soldiers, deſerves our Regard.* Upon this, both the Nobility and People were charmed with the Conduct of the *Tribunes*, in ſo critical an Affair. They applauded both the Oppoſition of the *Tribunes*, and the ready Compliance of *Hortenſius*. Though after all, *Sempronius*'s Condemnation was only deferred.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXII. T. Quinctius Capitolinus, and Numerius Fabius, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 43.

§. XXXII. The *Romans* had no Thoughts of creating *Military Tribunes*, while they had ſuch moderate *Tribunes of the People*. The Republick, according to antient Cuſtom, choſe two *Conſuls* to govern it, which were *T. Quinctius Capitolinus*, and [78] *Numerius Fabius*. In the beginning of this Year, the *Æqui*, a moſt reſtleſs Nation, were in Motion again. They looked on the doubtful Victory the *Volſci* had gained over *Sempronius*, as an Advantage to themſelves. It fell to *Fabius*'s Lot to march againſt them: And though this *Conſul* had entirely the Advantage over them, and made them forget the good Fortune which had exalted them; yet his Campaign did not bring Glory enough to the Republick, to gain him a Triumph. The *Æqui* only offered Battel; their own Fears immediately put them to flight. However, *Fabius* effaced the Ignominy, which the laſt Battel with the *Volſci* had brought upon the *Roman* Name: And the Honour of an *Ovation* was decreed him, which did not fall very ſhort of that of a Triumph.

78 *Diodorus of Sicily* paſſes over the Year of theſe *Conſuls* in Silence, and makes no mention of *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*. The former was, according to *Livy*, the Son of *Titus Capitolinus*, who was ſix times *Conſul*. As for *Fabius*, we learn from *Feſtus*, that none of the *Fabian* Family ever bore the *Prænomen* of *Numerius*, till *Quintus Fabius*, the only *Fabius* who ſurvived the Battel near the *Cremera*, and married the Daughter of *Numerius Otacilius*, one of the richeſt Citizens of *Rome*. The Conditions of this Marriage were, that the eldeſt Son ſhould bear the Name of his Grand-Father by the Mother's ſide, contrary to the Cuſtom of the *Romans*. *Feſtus* adds, that ſeveral of his Deſcendants adopted the ſame *Prænomen*. It was uſually given, according to *Varro*, to Children with whom their Mothers had had eaſy Labours. *Qui taliter erant nati, fære Numerios prænominabant——quod etiam in partu precabantur Numeriam, quam Deam ſolent etiam indigitare Pontifices.*

THE Peace which continued all the reſt of the Year, gave the *Tribunes* room to make ſeveral new Attempts. They embroiled the Nobility with the *Plebeians* about a new Creation of four *Quæſtors*. Whether the *Quæſtorſhip* had had its riſe under the *Kings*, or had only been inſtituted by *Valerius Poplicola*, it is certain, it was then looked upon as the next Office in Dignity, to that of *Conſul*. The *Quæſtors* were at firſt choſen by the People in *Comitia by Centuries*. Afterwards they were choſen by the *Tribes;* but hitherto none but [78] *Patricians* had been raiſed to this honourable Employment. There had likewiſe hitherto been no more than two *Quæſtors* at a Time, who were choſen annually. Their Buſineſs was to collect the publick Money, to make People pay the Taxes, to defray the Expences of War, to ſell the Spoils taken from the Enemy, and to keep exact Accounts of their Receipts, and Diſburſements of the publick Money, for which they were accountable. And laſtly, the *Roman Eagles* were depoſited with them, and they delivered them out, at the *Conſul*'s Command, when the *Romans* marched out to War. The *Roman* Generals now obſerved, that two *Quæſtors* were not enough to do the Buſineſs of the Republick: So that the *Conſuls* propoſed it to the Senate to create two more, whoſe Office ſhould be confined to taking care of the Expences of War, and who ſhould always attend the Generals in the Field: And the Propoſal was agreed to by the Senate. This was increaſing the Number of *Patrician* Employments: But when that Regulation came to be paſſed into a Law by the People, the *Tribunes* inſiſted that it ſhould not paſs, but upon Condition, that two of the four *Quæſtors* ſhould be *Plebeians*. This the Senate and *Conſuls* at firſt oppoſed. However, they at laſt conſented, that the *Tribes* ſhould chooſe two *Patricians*, and two *Plebeians*, for this Employment, if they thought fit. But the *Tribunes of the People* fearing the People would act in this Caſe, as in that of the *Military Tribuneſhip*, to which they had never raiſed any *Plebeian*, though empowered to chooſe three every Election; they therefore demanded that two of the four *Quæſtors* ſhould indiſpenſibly be taken out of the Commons. And theſe Contradictions made the *Conſuls* lay aſide the Thoughts of increaſing the Number of the *Quæſtors*. Nevertheleſs the *Tribunes* revived, and propoſed it again to the People: And to this they added another Claim, which ſeemed to tend more to Sedition than the former, and which was, that Lands ſhould be diſtributed among thoſe Citizens, who had none. On theſe Accounts therefore the Senate was againſt the electing of *Military Tribunes* for the next Year. The reſt of the *Conſulſhip* of *Quinctius* and *Fabius* was ſpent in Debates between the Senate and the *Tribunes*. The former met, in order to appoint the *Comitia by Centuries* to be aſſembled, for the Election of new *Conſuls;* and the *Tribunes* oppoſed it: So that the Republick fell into an *Interregnum* before the Elections were made. And the greateſt Misfortune was, that the ſame *Tribunes* ſometimes oppoſed the Choice of any Magiſtrates to govern, during the *Interregnum;* and ſometimes proteſted againſt the *Comitia*, which he, who preſided during the *Interregnum*, appointed to be aſſembled for the electing of *Conſuls*. Till at length *Papirius* came to preſide in his Turn: And all his Care was to put an end to the Diſputes between the Senate and *Tribunes*. He reproached both with their Conduct, and then addreſſed himſelf to them in this manner. *We have Reaſon to be thankful for the good Providence of the Gods, to which it is owing, that* Rome *is not yet utterly deſtroyed. Though deſerted by human Wiſdom, the immortal Gods have preſerved her. How happy is it for her, that we have made a Truce with the* Veientes, *and that the* Æqui *have been ſo dilatory in their Motions, as not to have taken Advantage of our preſent Troubles! They might have found the Re-*

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXII. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS, and NUMERIUS FABIUS, Conſuls.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXII. Interregnum.

79 Though the *Quæſtors* had no Juriſdiction, *i. e.* could not cite any Perſon to appear before them, or impriſon any Man, *neque vocationem, neque prehenſionem habebant, atque ad Prætorem in jus vocari poterant*, ſays *Aulus Gellius*, *B.* 13. *c.* 13. Yet the moſt illuſtrious *Patricians*, and even thoſe who had been *Conſuls*, did not think this Office beneath them. We find in the antient Annals, that *Titus Quinctius Capitolinus*, and *Marcus Valerius* were *Quæſtors*, after they had enjoyed the Honour of the *Conſulſhip* three times. And we ſhall hereafter ſee *Cato the Elder* accepting the *Quæſtorſhip*, after he has enjoyed the Magnificence and State of a Triumph, and the higheſt Dignities in the Republick. This Office gave him who bore it, the Privilege of ſitting in the Senate, and giving his Vote in any Debates, though he had not been enrolled by the *Cenſors*, as of the Senatorial Order. And ſeveral other inferior Magiſtrates had likewiſe this Privilege, though they were not Senators, as appears from an antient Form of aſſembling the Senate, which we find in *Livy*, *Aulus Gellius*, and *Feſtus*. UT EI SENATORES ADSINT, QUIBUSQUE IN SENATU SENTENTIAM DICERE LICET, i. e. *Let the Senators aſſemble, and all thoſe who have a Vote in the Senate.* But if in the Form of aſſembling them, none were mentioned but Senators, which was ſometimes the Caſe in Affairs of Importance and Secrecy, then none but they were permitted to come into the Houſe.

publick

Year of ROME CCCXXXII. Interregnum.

publick without any Patricians *at the Head of it; and might have overwhelmed it, before any had been elected. Where are our Armies? What Generals have we to order the raiſing of Troops, or to lead them into the Field? Is a civil War a proper Preſervative againſt a foreign one? Should our Enemies join together, the Gods themſelves cannot preſerve us from the greateſt Misfortunes. And yet how eaſy a Matter is it, to reconcile the two contending Parties in the Republick! Let but each abate a little of its Pretenſions, and all will be quiet. If the Senate will but conſent that the People ſhall chooſe* Military Tribunes, *inſtead of* Conſuls; *and the* Tribunes of the People *permit the* Tribes *to chooſe the four* Quæſtors, *either out of the* Patricians, *or the* Plebeians, *as they think fit, our Debates will be at an end.*

Year of ROME CCCXXXIII. T. Quinctius, M. Manlius, L. Furius, and A. Sempronius, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 44.

§. XXXIII. This Harangue of *Papirius* had its Effect. The Accommodation was concluded, and the People firſt choſe *Military Tribunes.* They nominated only *Patricians*; whoſe Names were [80] *T. Quinctius, M. Manlius, L. Furius*, and *A. Sempronius:* And theſe Magiſtrates entered late upon their Office, becauſe their Year had been ſhortened by a pretty long *Interregnum.* The next thing to be conſidered of, was the Election of the four [81] *Quæſtors.* Then the *Plebeians* appeared very earneſt in canvaſſing for theſe new Offices. *A. Sempronius*, one of the *Military Tribunes*, was appointed to preſide in the Aſſembly of the *Tribes*, which was to determine the Choice. Among the other Candidates, one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Antiſtius*, offered his Son for the *Quæſtorſhip*, and another *Tribune* of the ſame College, named *Pompilius*, deſired it for his Brother. It ſeemed natural for the People to favour the *Plebeians:* But it happened quite otherwiſe. The *Tribes* were influenced by a kind of innate Reſpect for the Nobility. They were aſhamed to prefer the common Citizens, to the Sons, and Grand-Sons of *Conſuls.* In ſhort, all the four *Quæſtors* were choſen out of the *Patricians.* This Neglect therefore of *Plebeians*, by *Plebeians* themſelves, was an exceeding great Mortification to the *Tribunes of the People. Antiſtius*, and *Pompilius* eſpecially, complained to the Aſſembly of the *Tribes*, of the little Regard which had been ſhewn to their Families, and Recommendations. *What!* ſaid they, *will our Benefactions, will the Remembrance of the ill Treatment you have received from the Nobility, and will your own Intereſt have no Influence at all upon you? It was in your Power to put us in Poſſeſſion of an honourable Poſt, to which we hitherto could not aſpire, and you have neglected us. If you would not promote any of us to the* Military Tribuneſhip, *ought you not at leaſt to have thought of us for the* Quæſtorſhip? *Is it poſſible, that the Sollicitations of a Father for his Son, and of one Brother for another, ſhould be utterly diſregarded by you? Should you have thrown Contempt on the* Tribunes, *thoſe inviolable Perſons, who were eſtabliſhed for no other Purpoſe, but to be the Defenders of the People? No; ſurely. There muſt have been ſome Trick in* Sempronius's *Management of the Votes. Artifice has prevailed over Honeſty in this Election. We therefore complain to you of it, and demand Juſtice.* But the People knew *Aulus Sempronius* was innocent; and beſides, his Office put him out of the reach of the *Tribunes:* So that he was not moleſted. But the two angry *Tribunes* got the *Tribune Canuleius* alſo into their Meaſures, and they all three vented their Spleen upon *Caius Sempronius*, who was Couſin-German to the *Military Tribune.* He had already been accuſed before the People, of having brought a Diſgrace upon the *Roman* Name, in the War with the *Volſci*, when he was *Conſul.* His Accuſer had dropped the Proſecution, but the People had not acquitted him. *Canuleius* therefore revived the Affair, and cauſed *C. Sempronins* to be ſummoned to appear before the People, in twenty ſeven Days. And during this whole Interval, *Sempronius* conſtantly attended the Senate: Where

80 The *Conſular Annals* give the firſt of theſe *Tribunes* the Surnames of *Pennus*, and *Cincinnatus.* He was now raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip* a ſecond Time. The ſecond of theſe *Tribunes* has the Surnames of *Vulſo*, and *Capitolinus*; *L. Furius Medullinus* is mentioned as *Military Tribune*, for the third, and *Aulus Sempronius Atratinus*, for the ſecond, Time. The latter was the Son of *L. Sempronius* the firſt *Cenſor*; and Grand-ſon of *Aulus Sempronius*, who had been twice *Conſul. Diodorus of Sicily* makes no mention of theſe *Tribunes.*

81 The *Military Quæſtors* exerciſed much the ſame Functions in the Army, as the *Quæſtors of Rome* did in the City. Their Buſineſs was to pay the Soldiers, to collect the Produce of the Booty, and Spoils of the Enemy, and to provide Ammunition and Proviſions for the Army. They were probably accountable for their Behaviour to the *Quæſtors of Rome*, who furniſhed them with Money, for the Support of the Army, out of the publick Treaſury. In ſhort, the Office of *Military Quæſtor*, was ſomething like that of *Commiſſary-General of War*, and *Superintendant of Proviſions*, among the *French.* This new Creation gave Riſe likewiſe to another ſort of *Quæſtors*, called *Provincial Quæſtors*, becauſe they had each of them his Diſtrict, in the *Provinces* ſubject to the Republick. We ſhall ſpeak of them in their proper Place.

the *Tribunes* propoſed, that a Diſtribution might be made of ſome Lands, among the common People. But *Sempronius*, though he had Reaſon to be afraid of provoking his Judges, before whom he was cited to appear, yet reſolved not to loſe his Character in the Senate, by a timorous Behaviour. He zealouſly oppoſed the Requeſt of the *Tribunes*, and choſe rather to hurt his own Cauſe, than to give up that of the Publick. He inſiſted upon it, That the Diſtribution of the Lands, which the *Tribunes* deſired, ought not to be granted to the People; and That their Petition was only a Pretence to bring the Odium of the People upon him: He declared, that he would bear up againſt this Storm with Courage; and he intreated the Senate to have more Regard for the publick Welfare, than for his. When the Day of *Sempronius*'s Trial was come, he appeared in the Aſſembly of the People, with the ſame Steadineſs, as he had done in the Senate: And he was heard in his own Defence. But notwithſtanding all the Sollicitations of the Senators, he was [82] Fined. And this Decree of the People, which the *Tribunes* extorted from them, out of Revenge, was followed by the Trial of a *Veſtal* Virgin, before the *Pontifices*. This Proſecution proceeded from a Love of Chaſtity, which was then exceedingly reſpected in *Rome*. The *Veſtal* had not diſhonoured her Miniſtry by Incontinence; but her Levity, and too free Airs, had made her ſuſpected. She loved Dreſs, and the Ornaments ſhe wore were not agreeable to her Profeſſion. In ſhort, ſhe did not enough conſult her Reputation. Her Trial was at firſt put off, till new Accuſations were brought againſt her; and at laſt ſhe was acquitted. However, the [83] *Pontifex Maximus* gave her ſerious Admonitions, to abſtain from indecent Expreſſions for the future, and to chooſe rather to adorn her ſelf with Modeſty to pleaſe the Gods, than with Art, to pleaſe the World.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXIII. T. Quinctius, M. Manlius, L. Furius, and A. Sempronius, Military Tribunes.

§. XXXIV. The People having now frequently prevented the Election of *Conſuls*, the Government ſeemed to be lodged in the Hands of *Military Tribunes* for a great while. The *Plebeians* were become ſole Maſters of Elections; but they exerciſed their Power with Wiſdom. They again choſe four *Patricians* for *Tribunes*; which were [84] *Agrippa Menenius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *P. Lucretius*, and *C. Servilius*: Under whoſe Adminiſtration, *Rome* was rather preſerved by her good Fortune, than by the Precautions of her Magiſtrates. The numberleſs Slaves which were about the City, formed an horrid Plot againſt it: Which was to ſet it on Fire in ſeveral diſtant Quarters at once, and in the Hurry, which Fires always occaſion, to ſeize the *Capitol*. But a Conſpiracy of Slaves, ſeldom fails of being diſcovered by ſome of the Accomplices in it. In the preſent Inſtance, Fear and Hopes drew off two of the Conſpirators from the reſt. They brought Accuſations before the Magiſtrates, againſt their Companions in Iniquity. *Rome* puniſhed the Guilty, and rewarded the Informers. Beſides giving them their Liberty, a pretty conſiderable [85] Sum of Money, for that Time, was aſſigned

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXIV. Agrippa Menenius, Sp. Nautius, P. Lucretius, and C. Servilius, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 45.

82 The Fine was fifteen thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs; which was a conſiderable Sum, if each *As* weighed a Pound. It is indeed well known, that this was the Weight of this piece of Money, in theſe firſt Ages; but it is uncertain, whether *Livy* had always a Regard to the Differences of Times in his Calculations; or whether he does not reckon the *As*, according to the Value of it, after the Reduction of this Species, during the Wars of *Carthage*.

83 The Name of this *Pontifex Maximus*, according to *Plutarch*, was *Spurius Minucius*.

84 *Diodorus Siculus* ſays nothing of theſe *Military Tribunes*: And in ſeveral Editions of *Livy*, we find but three of them mentioned. The Name of *Caius Servilius Axilla* is omitted.

85 The Sum of ten thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs-Money was given them for their Reward; *Dena millia æris gravis numerata*. That is, this Sum was paid them in Money, and not by Weight, as had formerly been cuſtomary in *Servius Tullius*'s Reign, when there was yet no coined Money. All that remains then is, to know what we are to underſtand by this *Æs grave*, as *Livy* and the antient Authors call the *As*, which weighed a Pound. Now concerning this, we ſhall obſerve, 1. That the firſt Money was made of Iron and Copper, becauſe theſe two Metals were of moſt common Uſe in Life. Now theſe Materials were firſt valued by their Bulk, *per penſitationem manuum*. After this, Weights came in uſe: And at laſt, to avoid the Trouble of continually weighing Money, and having perpetual recourſe to the Ballance, it was ordered, that every piece of Metal ſhould have its own Mark, which ſhould ſhew its Weight and Value. 2*dly*, That after this Time, the Metal which paſſed current by Weight, was called *Æs rude*, becauſe it had no Stamp upon it, nor was it of any fixed Form. 3*dly*, That the *Romans* made uſe of this *Æs rude* in their Commerce, till *Servius Tullius*'s Time, who firſt put a Stamp upon Copper. Then every piece of Copper-Money which weighed a Pound, was called an *As*. 4*thly*, That *Pliny* tells us, that the Republick wanting the neceſſary Sums to carry on the firſt War with *Carthage*, raiſed the Value of their Money. The *As* was divided into ſix Parts, of two Ounces each, ſo that the *Sextans*, or *As* of two Ounces weight, was of the ſame Value now, as the *As* of a Pound weight was before this riſe. In after-times, the *As* likewiſe underwent ſeveral other Changes, by having its Parts ſubdivided, and yet continued of the ſame Value as before, and ſtill retained its former Impreſſion; which was on one ſide a double Head of a *Janus*, the moſt antient King in *Italy*, who was thought the Inventor of Money; and on the other, a Stern of a Ship, in Memory of that, in which *Saturn* came

Year of ROME CCCXXXIV. AGRIPPA MENENIUS, SP. NAUTIUS, P. LUCRETIUS, and C. SERVILIUS, Military Tribunes.

signed them out of the publick Treasury. After *Rome* had escaped this Danger at Home, she fell into another Abroad. *Labicum* was a City of *Latium*, about fifteen Miles distant from *Rome*. It was included in the *Latin* Confederacy, and the constant Adherence of the *Latins* to the *Romans*, ever since their last Union with them, is well known. Nevertheless, *Labicum* now inclined to a Change, and carried on a secret Intelligence with the *Æqui*, those old Enemies of *Rome*. The Senators were informed of this by pretty good Hands; but that they might be the more sure of the Fact, they sent a Deputation to the *Labicani*, with Instructions to inform themselves fully of their Dispositions, and Inclinations. These Envoys made a Report, that the *Labicani* were not indeed making any Preparations for War, as yet; but that their Fidelity was not to be depended upon, for they seemed wavering. And the *Romans* contented themselves for the present, with ordering the *Tusculani* to watch the Motions of the *Labicani*, and give the Republick Notice of what Steps they took.

Year of ROME CCCXXXV. M. PAPIRIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, and L. SERGIUS, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

§. XXXV. BUT the next Year brought to light the ill Designs, and produced the entire Revolt of the *Labicani*. *M.* [86] *Papirius*, *C. Servilius*, and *L. Sergius*, then governed the Republick, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*. Why only three *Tribunes* were then invested with the *Consular* Authority, contrary to the received Custom of choosing four, History has not informed us. But these were scarce fixed in their Offices, when some Deputies from *Tusculum* brought an Account of the open Revolt of the *Labicani*. They had taken up Arms, joined the *Æqui*, and after having plundered the Territory of *Tusculum*, had encamped with their new Allies, under the *Algidus*: So that the Senate had nothing else to do, but to declare War with *Labicum*. It also ordered, that two of the *Military Tribunes* should march into the Field, and the third continue in *Rome* to take care of Affairs at Home. And now Jealousy sowed Discord among the three Collegues. Neither of them was for continuing at *Rome*. Each thought himself most capable of commanding an Army, and despised the less glorious Employment of governing a City. These Disputes gave the Senators Umbrage. They were offended, to see three Men, whose Duty it was to take Care of the Interest of the Publick, sacrifice it to their private Glory. And there was one among the numerous Body of the Senators, who had Weight enough to put an end to the Dispute. This was the famous *Q. Servilius*, who had taken *Fidenæ* in his *Dictatorship*, and had from thence gained the Surname of *Fidenas*. His Son *C. Servilius* was one of the *Military Tribunes*, and he likewise contended with his Collegues for the Glory of taking the Field, and commanding the Troops. How great an Authority Parents then had over their Children at *Rome*, is well known. Though *Caius Servilius* the Son, was raised above his Father *Quinctius*, by the Office he then exercised in the Republick, yet the latter bespoke him thus. *Since the Respect which is due to the Senate, and the publick Interest of the State, are not sufficient to put a Stop to your Contentions, the Authority of a Father shall end them. You, my Son, shall continue in* Rome, *without drawing Lots: And the Gods grant, that the two Generals, who will command our Army, may agree better in the Field, than they have done in the City!* When the Generals were thus fixed, the Levies were made: But the War did not seem to be of Importance enough to require a general inlisting. So that only ten of the *Tribes* were obliged to furnish Men for it, and those ten *Tribes* were drawn by Lot. All the Youth in them, which yet owed the Republick any Service, were obliged to march, and take the Field under the two Generals; whose Disputes were carried to a greater height in the Camp, than they had been in the City. The two Commanders were never of the same Opinion. Each was for fighting the Enemy his own Way. Each thought what he proposed, the only safe Method of proceeding:

came to *Latium*, where *Janus* governed. And from hence it was, that *Caput* and *Navis*, among the antient *Romans*, signified the same thing as *Cross* and *Pile* among us. *5thly*, That after these several Alterations, the *As* of a Pound weight was called nothing but *Æs grave*, to distinguish it from its Parts, which were also current under the Name of *As*. So that *Salmatius* is mistaken in thinking, that the Words *Æs grave*, were first used to distinguish the *As* of a Pound, which had a Stamp, from the *Æs rude*, which signified an unshapen Mass. The Denomination of *Grave*, was equally applied to a Pound of Brass Money, and a Pound of Copper uncoined: And consequently this Term was not sufficient of it self, to distinguish one from the other. And *6thly*, That after the *Æs grave* was no longer current, great Sums, Fines, and the Valuation of Mens Estates, still continued to be reckoned by it, till it became customary to reckon by *Sesterces*.

86 This is the second Time that *Caius Servilius Axilla*, and the third that *L. Sergius Fidenas*, was made *Tribune*. *Diodorus* gives *Servilius* the *Prænomen* of *Marcus*. In some Editions of *Livy*, we read *Claudius* instead of *Caius*; but it is a Mistake of the Copyists.

And each pretended that his Orders ought to be preferred. One General deſpiſed the other, and the Troops were divided into two Parties: Till at length the Lieutenant-Generals in the Army, made an Attempt to eſtabliſh Concord between the two Commanders, and ſecure the Obedience of the Army. They prevailed ſo far as to bring them to an Agreement, that each General ſhould command his Day, and the Troops obey them alternately. This News was brought to *Rome*, and *Servilius* the Father, whoſe long Experience had taught him Wiſdom in military Affairs, publickly ſaid, *That he prayed the Gods, that the Diſcord between the two* Tribunes, *might not have more fatal Effects, than the Misfortunes the Republick ſuffered at the Battel of* Veii. And not only this, but as he plainly foreſaw the Danger which threatened *Rome*, he adviſed his Son to raiſe more Troops, and increaſe the Number of his Men, at all Events. Advice, which was very ſerviceable to the Republick. For a few Days after, *Sergius*, who was General for the Day, very imprudently hazarded a Battel, with the *Æqui* and *Labicani*. The latter pretended Fear, and retired into their Entrenchments. *L. Sergius* purſued them, and came too near their Camp. He did not know that a body of Troops would come down from the neighbouring Hills: But they came like a Torrent, and fell upon him all on a ſudden. The *Romans* were cut to pieces in great Numbers, though they did not fly; they were tumbled over one another, a few of them only recovered their Camp, and with great Difficulty. The next Day, being inveſted on all ſides, they left their Entrenchments, and both Generals and Lieutenants, with the *Cohorts* appointed to guard the Standards, fled in a ſhameful manner to *Tuſculum*. The reſt of the Army diſperſed, and returned different Ways to *Rome*, where they exaggerated the Loſs the Republick had ſuffered. However, the Apprehenſions the People had had of the Misfortune beforehand, very much leſſened the Concern of the Publick, and the *Tribunes*. *Servilius*'s Troops ſeemed to be a ready Remedy. *Couriers* were ſent to learn the true State of Affairs! And they brought Word, that the Generals, and chief Officers of the Army, with the Enſigns, were ſafe in *Tuſculum*; and that the Enemy had not decamped. So that this News revived the Courage of the People, and they were tranſported, at being told, that the Senate had ordered a *Dictator* to be appointed. The young *Servilius*, the only *Military Tribune* who continued in *Rome*, was to nominate him. He named [87] *Quintus Servilius* his Father; and the *Dictator* in his Turn, made his Son the General of Horſe.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXV.
M. Papirius, Q. Servilius, and L. Sergius, Military Tribunes.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXV.
Q. Servilius, Dictator.

§. XXXVI. This new Diſpoſition of the Army, gave the *Romans* new Confidence. They were beyond Meaſure delighted to ſee the Command of it lodged in the Hands of a Man, who was famous for ſeveral Victories, and was now *Dictator* a ſecond Time. Beſides, his Foreſight of the ill Succeſs of the late Action, made them think him inſpired. The Union alſo of a Father and a Son, afforded a very promiſing Proſpect. They left *Rome* at the Head of a new Army; for that which had fled to *Tuſculum*, was recalled. The *Dictator* went and encamped, at two Miles Diſtance from the Enemy: And he then perceived, that the *Æqui* were grown very negligent and preſumptuous, ſince their laſt Succeſs. Reſolving therefore to loſe no Time in giving them Battel, he commanded his Cavalry to begin the Attack: And they, after a brisk Charge, broke the firſt Ranks of the Enemy. Then the Enſigns of the *Legions* were ordered to advance with Speed againſt the *Æqui*, who began to give Way: And one of them, marching more ſlowly than the *Dictator* liked, he killed him with his own Hands. Upon this the Ardor of the *Romans* increaſed, and their Impetuoſity was ſo great, that the *Æqui* could not ſtand before them. They fled, diſperſed, and returned to their Camp. The *Romans* purſued them cloſely, beſieged their Camp, and forced it in leſs Time, and with leſs Loſs, than the Battel had coſt them. The Camp, when taken, was plundered, and given up as a free Booty to the Soldiers. But this did not hinder the *Dictator* from purſuing the Enemy in their ſecond Flight. He was informed, that all the *Labicani* had periſhed in the Action, and that the *Æqui* had choſen *Labicum* for the Place of their Retreat. Early the next Morning therefore, *Servilius* flew thither, inveſted the Place, took it by Storm, and delivered it up to his Army to be plundered. And all theſe Exploits were performed with ſuch Expedition, that *Q. Servilius* held the *Dictatorſhip* but eight Days. He

Diod. Sic. B. 13. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 47.

87 This is the ſecond Time *Q. Servilius Priſcus Fidenas* was made *Dictator*. And if we will believe ſome old Annals, which *Livy* quotes in Proof of it, the *Dictator* choſe his own Son to be his General of Horſe. Some give the latter the Surname of *Axilla*. He is ſo called in the *Faſti Capitolini*. But others give him the Surname of *Ahala*.

returned

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXV. Q. Servilius, Dictator.

returned to *Rome*, as ſoon as he had finiſhed his Conqueſts, and laid down his Office as ſoon as he came thither. A memorable Victory, but thought of too little Importance to deſerve a Triumph! The Diſtribution of the Lands of *Labicum* would doubtleſs have occaſioned a freſh ſeditious Petition by the *Tribunes of the People*; but the Senate had taken care to prevent it. They had already ordered a Colony of *Romans* to be ſent thither: Which accordingly removed, to the Number of one thouſand five hundred Men, and two Acres of Land were given to every one of them.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXVI. P. Lucretius, L. Servilius, Agrippa Menenius, and Sp. Veturius, Military Tribunes.

After this the Peace continued for ſome Time, undiſturbed either by domeſtick Factions, or foreign Enemies: So that the *Military Tribunes*, *P.* [88] *Lucretius*, *L. Servilius*, *Agrippa Menenius*, and *Sp. Veturius*, gained no other Glory, but that of preſerving the Republick in perfect Tranquillity.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXVII. A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius, Military Tribunes.

§. XXXVII. But *Rome* was leſs peaceable the next Year, when [89] *A. Sempronius*, *M. Papirius*, *Q. Fabius*, and *Sp. Nautius*, governed the Republick, with the Title of *Military Tribunes*. Then the *Tribunes of the People* revived the old Quarrel about the Diſtribution of Lands: They were for having them equally divided between the Nobility and the People, allowing every Man his Proportion. But this would have been ruining the *Patricians*, and putting them out of a Condition to maintain their Rank. Indeed the Territory of *Rome* was a very narrow one at the Time of its Foundation, and not ſufficient to ſupport that great Number of additional Families, which had come in Crowds to it ever ſince. So that the chief Part of the *Patricians* Eſtates were Lands, which they had appropriated to themſelves in the conquered Countries. And hence proceeded their Greedineſs of Conqueſts: Whilſt few of the *Plebeians* had any Share in the Diſtribution of thoſe Lands. Their Induſtry was thought ſufficient to ſupport them, without Eſtates. But from the Time that the *Tribunes of the People* raiſed the Dignity of the *Plebeians*, the latter never ceaſed aſpiring at the ſame Privileges with the Nobility. Hence the warm Diſputes about the Diſtribution of Lands, which were renewed by Intervals, and which were now again revived by two of the *Tribunes*, named *Sp. Mæcilius*, and *Sp. Metilius*. They pretended, that the Lands the *Patricians* enjoyed, had been uſurped by them, and not aſſigned them by publick Authority. And they therefore required, that there ſhould be a new Diviſion of thoſe Lands between the *Patricians* and *Plebeians*. This was an Affair which nearly concerned the whole Body of the Nobility; but the oppoſite Party was to be Judges. The Senate therefore being at a ſtand, how to ſtop, or at leaſt ſuſpend the Proceedings of the *Tribunes of the People*, held ſometimes publick, and ſometimes private Aſſemblies, and no body could find out an Expedient to ward off this fatal Blow: Till at length *Appius Claudius*, the youngeſt of the Senators, made a Propoſal, which was followed. He was the Great-Grand-ſon of the famous *Appius Claudius*, who came from *Sabinia* to *Rome*, and from his Great-Grand-father's Time to his own, his Family all along entertained an Hatred to the People. *Claudius* ſpoke thus. *It has ever been a Tradition in our Family, which has been conveyed down to me from my Anceſtors, that the proper Way to deſtroy the* Tribunes, *is to make them the Inſtruments of their own Deſtruction. If we ſet them up one againſt another, we ſhall not fail of gaining our Point, which is to make their Attempts abortive. Theſe Upſtarts ſtill retain at Bottom, a Reſpect for the antient Nobility, and if we ſhew them but a little Civility, and abate a little of the Diſtance and Reſerve we have ſhewn towards them, it will be eaſy to divert them from their Deſigns. They have all of them nothing in view, but raiſing their own Fortunes. As ſoon therefore as any of their Body ſhall appear to have gained an Aſcendant over the reſt, in the Eſteem and Favour of the People, their Jea-*

88 This was the ſecond *Tribuneſhip* of *P. Lucretius Tricipitinus*, *L. Servilius*, and *Agrippa Menenius Lanatus*. *Sp. Veturius* is diſtinguiſhed by the two Surnames of *Craſſus* and *Cicurinus*. We don't find the Name of *Lucius Servilius* in the old Copies of *Livy*; and *Diodorus Siculus* gives him, by Miſtake, the *Prænomen* of *Caius*. Indeed, *Caius Servilius* had already been twice *Military Tribune*, before this Year 336. But the *Servilius* we are ſpeaking of, had held this Office but once, according to *Livy*, and the *Faſti Capitolini*, which call this his ſecond *Tribuneſhip*. And therefore this ſecond Promotion can agree only with *Lucius Servilius*, who had been elected *Tribune* for the firſt Time, in the Year of *Rome* 331. *Livy* puts *Sp. Rutilius Craſſus*, in the room of *Spurius Veturius*. But we prefer *Diodorus Siculus* to him in this particular. 1. Becauſe the *Rutilian* Family was *Plebeian*: And the *Plebeians* had not yet been raiſed to the higheſt Offices. And 2*dly*, Becauſe the Surname of *Craſſus* was common among the *Veturii*.

89 We don't find in *Livy* the Name of *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* among the *Military Tribunes* for this Year 337. But it is probable this is an Omiſſion of the Copyiſts, becauſe *Livy* ſays, that *Quintus Fabius* was raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip* a ſecond Time, in the Year 339.

louſies will ſow Diviſions among them. And thoſe of them who ſhall deſpair of gaining an Intereſt ſuperior to that of their Rivals among the People, will ſeek the Friendſhip and Protection of the Senators, and join with us againſt their Collegues. This Diſcourſe of young *Appius* met with great Applauſe. The Senate ordered the *Conſcript Fathers*, to ſtir up the *Tribunes of the People*, as much as poſſible againſt the Promoters of the new Law. The College of *Tribunes* then conſiſted of ten Perſons. The *Patricians* therefore made it their Buſineſs to gain over a Majority of them to their Intereſt. They added Promiſes to Entreaties, and Advice to Promiſes. They gave them to underſtand, that they might by this Means lay Obligations on the Senators, who knew how to return their good Offices. And in ſhort, they gained their Point ſo far, as to draw off ſix of them from the Intereſts of the People, and to get a Promiſe from them, that they would oppoſe the Intrigues of their Collegues. The next Day therefore, the Senate deſignedly cauſed an Information to be brought before them, of the ſeditious Behaviour of the two *Tribunes*, *Mæcilius*, and *Metilius*. They were accuſed of deſigning to corrupt the People, by making them Preſents, and wicked Promiſes, with a view to promote their own ambitious Purpoſes. Some of the old Senators made Speeches, and with the Air of Suppliants, let the *Tribunes* know, That the only Refuge the Nobility had left, was to fly to their Protection; That they had been eſtabliſhed to defend the Oppreſſed; That the *Patricians* had as good a Claim to their Aſſiſtance, as the moſt contemptible Citizens; and laſtly, That it would be a Glory to their College, for them to ſhew more Courage, in oppoſing two unjuſt Collegues, than the latter had ſhewn in troubling the Senate, and raiſing Diſturbances in the Republick. Theſe Words were followed with a general Murmur through the whole Senate, and Voices were heard from all Parts, deſiring the Aſſiſtance of the *Tribunes*. Then thoſe whom the *Patricians* had gained over to them, declared, That ſince the *Conſcript Fathers* were of Opinion, that the Requeſt of *Mæcilius*, and *Metilius* would, if granted, be the Ruin of the Republick, they would reſolutely oppoſe it. Upon which the Senate returned their Thanks to theſe Friends of the Nobility: Whilſt the two Authors of the Law made a great Noiſe and Stir among the People. They accuſed thoſe who oppoſed them, of having betrayed the Intereſts of the Commons. They treated them, as Men bought off by the Senate, and Slaves to the *Patricians*. But all their Clamours ended, in dropping their Requeſt: Though they, after all, ſowed the Seeds of thoſe Diviſions, which we ſhall ſee often ſpringing up anew in the Republick.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXVII. A. Sempronius, M. Papirius, Q. Fabius, and Sp. Nautius, Military Tribunes.

§. XXXVIII. These domeſtick Diſputes had like to have been followed by two foreign Wars. *Cornelius* 90 *Coſſus*, *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, *Valerius Voluſus*, and *Fabius Vibulanus*, were juſt choſen *Military Tribunes*, and inveſted with the Authority of *Conſuls:* And in their Time, the Republick was threatened on two ſides. The *Veientes* made Preparations for renewing their antient Enmity againſt *Rome*, and the *Æqui*, thoſe indefatigable Enemies to the *Romans*, notwithſtanding their Loſſes had a plauſible Pretence for taking up Arms again. Nevertheleſs, the *Veientes* ſuſpended their Hoſtilities, out of a religious Scruple. It is well known, that the *Hetrurians* had a great Regard for Prognoſticks. And it happened, that juſt as they were ready to declare War, the *Tyber* overflowed its Banks, and did a great deal of Damage upon their Lands. This therefore was enough for the Heads of their Canton to delay the War. As for the *Æqui*, they had been ſo much exhauſted ever ſince their laſt Overthrow by *Servilius*, three Years ago, that they durſt not ſo much as attempt to relieve *Bola*, a City dependent upon them. The *Bolani*, who depended too much on the reſt of their Nation, had ravaged the Country of *Labicum*, a new *Roman* Colony: And it was a Maxim with the Republick, never to deſert its Allies, much leſs its Colonies. It therefore ſent Troops to the Aſſiſtance of the *Labicani*. Which of the four *Tribunes* commanded them, Hiſtory does not inform us; without doubt, becauſe the Glory of the Action was ſmall, though the Advantages ariſing from it were not contemptible. In ſhort, after a ſlight Engagement, *Bola* was taken, without any Motions, on the part of the *Æqui*, in Defence of it. It was a great City, and had a large Diſtrict belonging to it, which was now wholly ſubdued by the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXVIII. Cornelius Coſſus, Quinctius Cincinnatus, Valerius Volusus, and Fabius Vibulanus, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 49.

90 *Diodorus Siculus* mentions but two *Military Tribunes* for this Year 338, namely, *Publius Cornelius Coſſus*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*. He omits *Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *Caius Valerius Potitus Voluſus*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXVIII. Cornelius Cossus, Quinctius Cincinnatus, Valerius Volusus, and Fabius Vibulanus, Military Tribunes.

mans. The Diviſion therefore of ſo large a Track of Ground, was a freſh Subject of Contention, between the People, and the Nobility. The latter ſeem to have poſſeſſed themſelves of the Lands of this new Conqueſt. But however that be, it is at leaſt certain, that one of the *Tribunes of the People*, named *Sextius*, undertook to offer a Petition to the People, that a Colony might be ſent to *Bola*, as one had been to *Labicum;* thinking by that Means to get the Territory of the former divided among the new Inhabitants, as that of the latter had been. But the *Patricians*, who would have been diſpoſſeſſed by this Scheme, had Recourſe again to *Appius*'s Expedient. They raiſed a Diviſion among the *Tribunes*. The Majority of them proteſted againſt *Sextius*'s Petition, and declared, they would not agree, that the People ſhould paſs a Law, for making *Bola* a Colony, without the Conſent of the Senate: So that the Project of one ſingle *Tribune of the People*, who was oppoſed by all the reſt of his Collegues, came to nothing.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXIX. Q. Fabius, Cn. Cornelius, P. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes.

§. XXXIX. *BOLA* [91] was indeed retaken the next Year by the *Æqui*. The new *Military Tribunes* the *Centuries* had choſen, were [92] *Q. Fabius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *P. Poſthumius*, and *L. Valerius*. And as ſoon as the Enemy had reinſtated themſelves in the Poſſeſſion of this City, which had been taken from them the laſt Year, they fortified it, and ſettled a Garriſon in it, which they called a Colony. The *Romans* therefore could not avoid ſending an Army againſt the *Æqui*, who were now recovered from their Indolence. The Command of this Army fell by Lot to *P. Poſthumius*. He was a Man of more Valour than Honeſty, and was both very cruel, and indiſcreet. He had been little known till he came into Office; and had not diſcovered himſelf till he was General. Being both brave, and a Man of Diſpatch, he made it his Buſineſs to wear out the Enemy with continual Skirmiſhes; and accordingly ſunk their Courage, by haraſſing them with uninterrupted Fatigues. After this he turned his Arms againſt *Bola*. During the Siege, he promiſed his Soldiers the Plunder of the City to encourage them, but at the ſame time reſolved to break his Word. Accordingly, the *Roman* Army made themſelves Maſters of the City of *Bola*, and *Poſthumius*, contrary [93] to the Expectations of the *Legions*, aſſigned over the Spoil of it to the publick Treaſury, and delivered it into the Hands of the *Quæſtors*, who attended the Army. This Inſincerity alienated the Minds of the Troops from their General; and an uncommon Accident, joined with this, entirely loſt him the Affections of all the People, both in the City, and the Camp. The *Tribune Sextius* continued ſtill to ſollicite in *Rome*, the Law relating to the Diſtribution of the conquered Lands, in favour of the People: And during the Diſturbances he occaſioned, *Poſthumius* was recalled to the City, and left his Army encamped. When he came there, he dropped many inconſiderate Expreſſions, in ſeveral Conferences between him and the *Tribunes of the People*, in publick, and in the Preſence of the *Curiæ*. One Day *Sextius* declared to *Poſthumius* from *The Tribune of Harangues*, That he was going to get the People to paſs a Law, that the City and Territory of *Bola* ſhould be divided among the Soldiers, who were then in the Field; affirming, that thoſe who had conquered them, had the beſt Right to poſſeſs them. To which the imprudent *Poſthumius* replied, *That his Troops ſhould fare the worſe for it, if any Step of that kind was taken, in their Favour.* This threatning was reported with Aggravation, and was not in the end approved of, even by the Senators themſelves. And *Sextius* was a Man of Penetration; he needed no more to let him into the Character of *Poſthumius*, and to diſcover his too haſty Temper. He immediately concluded, that he might, by provoking him, draw many unguarded Expreſſions from him, which he might turn to the Diſadvantage of the General, and all the *Patrician* Party. For the future therefore he addreſſed himſelf to no body but him, in the publick Conferences which were held between the *Military Tribunes*, and the *Tribunes of the People*. *Sextius* took a Pleaſure in exaſperating *Poſthumius*, and making him ſay Things, which would give Offence both to the People, and his own Army. And as ſoon as he ſaw the Commons

Zonar. Annal. B. 7. *Livy B.* 4. *Ibid.*

91 We have ſpoken elſewhere of the City of *Bola*, which was ſituated on the Confines of the *Æqui*, and the *Latins*. Some Geographers think it ſtood in the Place where *Poli* now ſtands.

92 This was the ſecond Time *Quintus Fabius Vibulanus* was made *Military Tribune*, according to *Livy*; who, by declaring this, juſtifies our Remark of his having omitted his firſt *Tribuneſhip*, which he paſſes over in ſilence.

93 According to *Livy*, *Poſthumius* had promiſed the Soldiers, to divide the Plunder and Spoils of the Enemy among them; but after the City was taken, he changed his Mind, and fruſtrated the Expectations of his Army.

Year of *ROME* CCCXXXIX. Q. Fabius, Cn. Cornelius, P. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes.

were enraged againſt both him, and his Party, the artful *Tribune* harangued the People, in theſe Words. Romans, *you have heard the proud* Poſthumius *threaten his Soldiers, as ſo many Slaves. And can you then think a Man, thus deſtitute of Reaſon, more worthy of the* Military Tribuneſhip, *than your own* Tribunes, *who do their utmoſt, to have the Lands diſtributed, to procure you fruitful Colonies, and to get you an honourable Retreat in your old Age? Shall we receive no Advantage at all from the Battels we fight for you, againſt ſuch cruel and ſenſeleſs Enemies? If this be the Caſe, is it a Wonder that ſo few of the* Tribunes *ſhould ſtand up in your Defence? What have they to expect from you, Honours? You beſtow them upon your Enemies.* Poſthumius's *Diſcourſes have indeed provoked you, but if you were to give your Suffrages this Moment, you would prefer him, and others like him, before your moſt zealous Protectors?* This was an artful Diſcourſe; which turned the Minds of the Commons, in favour of their *Tribunes*, and brought them off from the Partiality they had hitherto ſhewn the Nobility, in Elections. Thus ſtood Affairs at *Rome*, when *Poſthumius* reſolved to return to his Camp. But he was not yet arrived, when an Account was brought thither of the Speeches he had made before the People, and the Threatnings he had uttered againſt his Army: Upon which, all the Troops were filled with Rage; but one of the Soldiers diſtinguiſhed himſelf more than the reſt, by his Clamours. One of the *Quæſtors* therefore, named *Seſtius*, thinking it neceſſary to ſtifle the Sedition in its Birth, ordered a *Lictor* to ſeize the mutinous Soldier. But his fellow-Soldiers immediately took up Stones, and without Regard to the *Quæſtor*'s Dignity, threw them at his Head, and killed him. And then, *See*, ſaid the Rebels, *how the Threatnings of the General, rebound upon his principal Officer!* The News of this raſh and wicked Attempt was ſoon carried to *Rome*; which *Poſthumius* was obliged to leave, in order to go and appeaſe the Sedition: But his Preſence only increaſed it. We have already obſerved, That the *Roman* Generals were abſolute in the Field, and that there lay no Appeal from their Sentences. And as *Poſthumius* was always in Extremes, he carried his Proſecutions too far, in relation to the Aſſaſſination of *Seſtius*, and the Revolt of his Troops. He revived a kind of Execution, which has yet been but once mentioned, in the whole Courſe of this Hiſtory. This was to throw the Criminal into a ſhallow Water, to cover him with an Hurdle, and to lay Stones upon it, to preſs him down till he was drowned. And as this was a ſlow Death, and thoſe who ſuffered it cried out terribly, the Soldiers flocked round the preſent Criminals, and would not ſuffer them to be executed. At this the Judge, tranſported with Rage, came down from his Tribunal, to diſperſe the Multitude which was gathered together, or if he could, to puniſh them. The *Lictors* and *Centurions*, who attended him, fell upon the Company of the Mutineers, and beat them aſide, to make Way for him: Upon which the Fury of the Soldiers was too great, to regard either Duty, or Decency. They took up Stones, threw them at their General, and knocked him on the Head. Thus fell a *Military Tribune*, one of the chief Magiſtrates of the Republick, and a General of an Army, whoſe indiſcreet Expreſſions, Pride, Haughtineſs of Carriage, and Breach of Promiſe, brought him by Degrees to an untimely End. The firſt Inſtance of the kind, from the Foundation of *Rome*, to this Time; but hereafter we ſhall more than once meet with the like, which were partly owing to that Republican Liberty, which indulged Seditions in the City, from whence they communicated themſelves to the Camp.

Zonar. Annal. B. 7.

THE

THE
Roman Hiſtory.
BOOK XII.

Year of ROME CCCXXXIX. Q. Fabius, Cn. Cornelius, P. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes.

§. I. AFTER the tragical End of General *Poſthumius*, the civil Diſſentions in *Rome* increaſed. The *Military Tribunes*, who reſided in the City, did their utmoſt to revenge the Death of their Collegue, who was baſely aſſaſſinated by his own Troops: And which ſeems ſtrange, thoſe rebellious Soldiers, who had polluted themſelves with the Blood of their Commander, were protected by the *Tribunes of the People*. The *Military Tribunes* demanded of the Senate, that Informations ſhould be ordered to be lodged againſt the Aſſaſſines, but in vain. The *Conſcript Fathers* had another Affair in view, in which they thought themſelves more nearly concerned. This was to avoid another Election of *Military Tribunes*, at leaſt for the next Year. Their Intention was to re-eſtabliſh the Government upon its antient Foot, and to get two *Conſuls* elected. And indeed, if they had made an Order for ſearching for the Criminals in the Army, they would have had Reaſon to fear, that the *Centuries* would immediately have elected ſuch new *Military Tribunes* out of the *Plebeians*, as would have had Credit enough to ſcreen the guilty Soldiers. They therefore made a Regulation, that *Conſuls* ſhould be choſen by the *Centuries*, aſſembled in the *Campus Martius*. But this Decree was attacked by the *Tribunes of the People*, who oppoſed it. The Affair was drawn out to a great Length; and the Republick fell into an *Interregnum*. This gave the Senate Hopes, that they ſhould gain their Point. And indeed, *Fabius Vibulanus* one of the Governors of the City, during the *Interregnum*, aſſembled the *Comitia by Centuries;* which choſe *M. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*, *Conſuls*. They were both good-natured Men; and were not thought capable of being extremely rigorous, in puniſhing the Soldiers who were guilty of the Murder of their General. And therefore the Senate, People, and Army, all concurred in nominating them, to make Enquiry into the Crime. It was neceſſary to make an Example of ſome; but it was done with Moderation. Puniſhment was inflicted on only a very ſmall Number of the Criminals: And they fell by their own Hands; ſo that the *Axes* of the *Lictors* were not ſtained with their Blood. Nevertheleſs, this great Moderation did not appeaſe the factious Spirit of the People. They thought it a proper Time to demand, that a Colony of *Plebeians* ſhould be ſent to *Bola*, to divide the Lands belonging to it. *What*, ſaid the Populace, *will the Senate be ſtrictly Obſervant of the Laws then only, when ſome unhappy* Plebeians *are to be puniſhed; whilſt the Laws which have been ſo long drawn up in our Favour by our* Tribunes, *ſtill continue ineffectual?* And it muſt be confeſſed, that the *Patricians* themſelves would have acted with more Wiſdom, if they had ſuffered the Lands of *Bola* to be divided among the People. By that Means, they would have appeaſed the enraged Minds of the Commons, and ſatisfied their greedy Deſires of having ſome Lands of their own. Beſides, this perhaps might have diverted the Demand the People made to the utter Ruin of the Nobility, That the *Plebeians* ſhould have their equal Share of the Lands, the *Patricians* had uſurped. And indeed, was it not very unreaſonable, that the Commonalty ſhould not only be excluded from all the Advantages of the old Conqueſts, but likewiſe deprived of a Territory newly conquered, which a ſmall Number of *Patricians* were going to take Poſſeſſion of? The Senate continued ſteady, and the People were not ſuffered to have any Share in a Territory, which they had purchaſed with a great deal of Blood. This therefore only increaſed their Pretenſions to a general Diſtribution of all the Lands, and we ſhall ſoon ſee them renewed with more Fury than ever. But in the mean time it was neceſſary, that this People, ſo ill treated, ſhould march againſt the *Volſci*, under the Conduct of the *Conſul Furius*.

Interregnum.

Year of ROME CCCXL. M. Cornelius Coſſus, and L. Furius Medullinus, Conſuls. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 51.

rius. They had over-run the Country of the *Hernici*, and plundered it. But upon the Approach of the *Roman* Army, the Enemy diſappeared: So that *Furius* marched againſt [1] *Ferentinum*, which was a different City from that in which the *Latins* held their Aſſemblies. It belonged to the *Volſci*, and the beſt part of their Army had fled thither for Refuge. It was immediately taken without Reſiſtance, but there was very little Booty in it. The Enemy, who deſpaired of being able to defend it, carried off all their Effects, in the Night. As for the City and its Territory, they were doubtleſs given the *Hernici*, to make them Amends for the Loſſes they had ſuſtained by the Irruptions of the *Volſci*.

Year of *ROME* CCCXL. M. Cornelius Coſſus, and L. Furius Medullinus, Conſuls.

§. II. As well ſatisfied as the People were with the Moderation of the *Conſuls*, the Senate had not leſs Reaſon to be ſo, with the Wiſdom of the *Tribunes of the People*. Theſe did not make any Oppoſition to the Election of new *Conſuls*; So that [2] *Q. Fabius*, and *L. Furius* were choſen: And the Publick would have enjoyed a perfect Peace, during their Adminiſtration, if one *L. Icilius* had not been advanced to the *Tribuneſhip*. He was of a Family, which always declared openly againſt the Nobility. One of his Anceſtors had been made *Tribune of the People*, when the *Tribuneſhip* was firſt erected. And ſince him there had been many *Icilii* in the College of *Tribunes*, who had all ſignalized themſelves by gaining ſome Advantage over the *Patricians*. *L. Icilius* therefore, that he might not degenerate from the Zeal of his Anceſtors, in procuring the Advancement of the People, reſumed the Affair of the Diſtribution of Lands with ſuch Warmth, that every body believed he would purſue it, even to an open Sedition. In the mean Time, *Rome* was viſited with a Plague: But the Calamities it brought with it, were not ſo great as thoſe which were feared from the Plots of the *Tribune*. However, the Contagion interrupted the Courſe of his Fury. Every one retired Home, ſhut himſelf up in his Houſe, and was wholly employed in endeavouring to preſerve himſelf from the Diſtemper: And indeed, there were few died in the City, but Abundance fell ſick. Now it happened, that a Plague was generally ſucceeded by a Famine in *Rome*. Almoſt all theſe honourable Citizens were then but ſo many Husbandmen, who left their Lands untilled, whenever epidemical Diſtempers raged among them. And if only one Harveſt was loſt, *Rome* was immediately reduced to very great Want.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLI. Q. Fabius, and L. Furius, Conſuls.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 52.

The Scarcity was therefore very ſenſibly felt in the ſucceeding *Conſulſhip* of *M.* [3] *Papirius*, and *C. Nautius*: And it would have cauſed more Deſolation in *Rome* than the laſt Year's Plague had done, if Care had not been taken to fetch Corn from the ſide of *Hetruria*, and the Country along the *Tyber*. The *Romans* applied themſelves likewiſe to a new Colony of the *Samnites*, who had made themſelves Maſters of *Capua* ſome little Time before, and had juſt then ſeized *Cumæ*, and driven out the *Greeks* from thence, who had founded it. But theſe Robbers treated them very inhumanly. They forbad the *Roman* Merchants carrying away any Corn from the Country they had invaded. But in *Sicily* they met with more Humanity. The petty Kings, who were Sovereigns of the ſeveral Cantons of this fertile Iſland, gave the *Roman* Envoys all the Aſſiſtance they could: Notwithſtanding that the Ambaſſadors of the Republick were not all Men of the ſame Diſtinction, as formerly. The *Romans* had hitherto ſent none inferior to Senators, to negotiate a Supply of Proviſions with Strangers. But now the Plague and the Famine had left *Rome* deſtitute, and the *Conſuls* could only find Senators enough, to place one at the Head of each Embaſſy, and only joined two *Knights* with him, in his Commiſſion. Nevertheleſs the City was ſufficiently ſupplied, and by a ſignal Happineſs, continued yet undiſturbed by any Commotions, either at Home, or Abroad.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLII. M. Papirius, and C. Nautius, Conſuls.

Livy B. 4. *c.* 52.

1 There were formerly ſeveral Cities of this Name in *Italy*. There was one in *Hetruria*, the Ruins of which are yet to be ſeen at *Ferenti*, near *Viterbo*; another in *Apulia*, or *La Poüille*, in the Neighbourhood of *Florenza*; And a third, in the Country of the *Volſci*, which continues to have the ſame Name to this very Day: Beſides the *Ferentinum* of the *Latins*, which we have mentioned ſeveral Times.

2 *Quintus Fabius* had the Surname of *Ambuſtus*, and *Caius Furius* that of *Pacilus*. We cannot be too exact in obſerving the Surnames of Families, in order to avoid the Confuſion, which otherwiſe would appear in the Succeſſion of *Conſulſhips*, there being ſeveral Perſons called by the ſame Name, and who differ only in their *Prænomina*, and Surnames.

3 *Marcus Papirius* has the Surname of *Mugillanus*, which was then common in the *Papirian* Family. *C. Nautius* has that of *Rutilus*.

Year of ROME CCCXLIII. M. ÆMILIUS, and C. VALERIUS, Conſuls.

§. III. BUT ſo various and changeable was the Fate of the *Romans*, that they were no ſooner delivered from one publick Calamity, but they fell into another. As ſoon as the Plague and the Famine ceaſed in *Rome*, War, and civil Broils, laid it deſolate. *M. Æmilius* [4] and *C. Valerius* were *Conſuls*. The *Æqui* then renewed their uſual Incurſions into the Territories of the *Hernici* and *Latins*. The *Volſci* had alſo joined theſe Enemies of the Republick, not indeed by any general and legal Conſent of the Nation, but by having given Leave to any of their Youth, that pleaſed, to ſerve in the Army of the *Æqui*. The News of theſe Hoſtilities, made it neceſſary for the *Conſuls* to oppoſe them with *Roman* Forces: And *C. Valerius*, to whoſe Lot it fell, to go upon this Expedition, was already beginning to raiſe Levies; when *Mænius* the *Tribune* had recourſe to the old Artifices of his Predeceſſors, in order to obtain a Diſtribution of Lands in favour of the People. He oppoſed the raiſing any Troops among the Citizens: So that the *Conſul* durſt not now force any body to take Arms. By this Means, the Enemies of *Rome* had their free Courſe. They came and inſulted the *Romans*, very near *Rome* it ſelf, and took from them the Fort of [5] *Carventum*. The Shame of this provoking Inſult fell upon the *Tribune Mænius*. The Senate was enraged at it, and his own Collegues deſerted him. They were angry at his having made ſo unſeaſonable a Proteſtation: And the taking of a Fortreſs, almoſt before their Faces, gave them the better Authority to thwart *Mænius*'s Deſigns: But he was reſolved to hold it out to the laſt Extremity. The *Conſul* told the People, that the preſent Confuſion, and whatever future Calamities might happen, were ſolely to be aſcribed to *Mænius*'s Obſtinacy. The latter declared, That the Obſtinacy of the *Patricians*, in keeping to themſelves the Lands, to which the Citizens had as good a Right as they, was the ſole Cauſe of all the Misfortunes which threatened *Rome*; and that as ſoon as the Nobility did Juſtice, he would deſiſt. But at length the reſt of the *Tribunes* put an end to Diſputes, which were ſo deſtructive of the publick Good. They all nine made a Decree againſt the Pretenſions of this ſingle Collegue, and declared, they would aſſiſt the *Conſul* in puniſhing all thoſe of the People, who refuſed to obey his Orders. Then *Valerius* raiſed an Army, without any Oppoſition: The only Trouble he had in it was, the impriſoning ſome Mutineers, who called upon *Mænius* the *Tribune* for Aſſiſtance. When the Troops had taken the military Oaths, they marched towards *Carventum*: And though they had but little Affection for their General, they behaved themſelves bravely at the retaking of the Fort. They drove out the few Soldiers the Enemy left for its Defence, and took Poſſeſſion of it. The *Romans* had indeed no great Battels to fight before the Place: The greateſt part of the Garriſon were gone out for Booty: But the Spoils they found there were not contemptible. The Enemy had there amaſſed together, as in a Place of Security, all the Booty they had taken for a long Time before. The *Roman* Army hoped it would have been given up to them, for Plunder: But the *Conſul* did not think his Soldiers deſerved theſe Favours at his Hands. He ſold every Thing at the beſt Rate, and returned the Money to the *Quæſtors*, to be put into the publick Treaſury. And then he told his Soldiers, who were covetous of Booty, that when they had learned to come readily into the Levies, they ſhould then have their Share of the Spoil. This Reproof, together with the Diſappointment, enraged the Troops againſt their General; but he had no farther Occaſion for their Service. The *Æqui* returned no more into the Field, and the *Conſul* led back his Troops to *Rome*. Where, as his Expedition had been both honourable in it ſelf, and of great Service to the Republick, the Honour of an *Ovation* was decreed him: But in his Proceſſion, on this Occaſion, the Soldiers revenged themſelves on their General. It was common enough in Triumphs, for the victorious Soldiers to ſing ſatyrical Verſes, upon him who triumphed. But in *Valerius*'s *Ovation*, there was ſomething ſingular. The *Legions* divided themſelves into two Bodies, like two Choirs; and whilſt one made the Air reſound with Songs againſt the General, the other ſung Verſes in praiſe of *Mænius*. Theſe coarſe and artleſs Verſes, expreſſed the favourable Opinion the Army had of the one, and their Diſreſpect for the other. The People likewiſe joined with them, and *Mænius*'s

Livy B. 4. *c.* 53.

4 The *Faſti Capitolini*, and *Diodorus Siculus*, give *Æmilius* the *Prænomen* of *Manius*, and not that of *Marcus*, which is given him by *Livy* and *Caſſiodorus*. His Surname is *Mamercinus*. His Collegue *C. Valerius* has two Surnames given him, *Potitus*, and *Voluſus*.

5 *Stephens* ſpeaks of a City of *Carventum*, Καρέντος, which he places in *Latium*.

Year of ROME CCCXLIV.
CN. CORNELIUS, and L. FURIUS, Conſuls.

Name made them leap for Joy. Theſe popular Acclamations, in favour of a ſeditious *Tribune*, made the Senate afraid, that if there ſhould be another Election of *Military Tribunes*, *Mænius* the *Plebeian* would be one. But they happily prevailed, in having the *Comitia* held *by Centuries*, to chooſe *Conſuls*, and not *Military Tribunes*.

§. IV. THE Choice of the People fell upon *Cn.* [6] *Cornelius*, and *L. Furius*. In this the Nobility gained an Advantage over the People; but they, in return, took care to guard againſt the Encroachments of the Nobility. In the *Comitia by Tribes*, they choſe ſuch Men *Tribunes*, as were zealous in their Intereſt, and not eaſy to be diſunited. The three who ſignalized themſelves moſt, were all of the ſame Name, and of a Family, which had always been devoted to the Intereſts of the Commonalty: They were all three *Icilii*. The *Tribuneſhip* was, in a manner, hereditary in their Family, and whenever there had been an *Icilius* in that Office, the Nobility had received ſome Blow, to the Diminution of their Authority. The three Relations, who at preſent enjoyed it, made themſelves Maſters of the whole College, and ſucceeded in the important Scheme which they had laid, in favour of the *Plebeian* Party. The *Quæſtorſhip* was then the ſecond Poſt of Honour in the Republick: And though the Number of the *Quæſtors* had been increaſed, and the Commons were expreſly permitted by Law, to ſtand for the *Quæſtorſhip* as well as the *Patricians*, yet the People had hitherto ſhewn ſuch Moderation towards the Nobility in their Elections, as to chooſe none but Nobles. But the *Icilii* emboldened the People, to overlook a Conſideration, which ſtood in the Way of their Advancement: And they found the Multitude diſpoſed beforehand to enter into their Meaſures. They had been offended at the Senate's having refuſed to let them chooſe *Military Tribunes*, rather than *Conſuls;* and at their not being able to place their dear *Mænius*, among the Heads of the Republick. So that it was eaſy for the *Icilii* to ſtir up the People to revenge themſelves, in the Election of *Quæſtors*. *We*, ſaid they, *will never undertake any thing for you, if you dare do nothing for our Honour in the next* Comitia. *The Laws give you a Power to chooſe ſome* Quæſtors *out of the* Plebeians, *as well as out of the* Patricians. *The generous Regard therefore which you ſhall ſhew towards us, in your* Comitia *for chooſing* Quæſtors, *will encourage us to put in Execution the vaſt Schemes we have formed for your Advancement.* Reſentment and Ambition encouraged the People to venture to take this firſt Step towards aggrandizing themſelves. Of the four *Quæſtors*, which they had a Right to chooſe, they took three out of the *Plebeians*. Their Names were *Q. Silius*, *P. Cælius*, and *P. Pupius*. *Cæſo Fabius* was the only *Patrician* now raiſed to the *Quæſtorſhip*. The Joy this unexpected Step gave the common Citizens, is not to be imagined. They immediately promiſed themſelves *Conſulſhips*, and Triumphs: And indeed, the *Quæſtorſhip* to which they then raiſed themſelves, was the firſt Step, by which we ſhall ſee ſo many *Plebeian* Families, mount up to the greateſt Honours in the Republick. As for the Nobility, they could not conceal their Deſpair. They could never ſpeak of the Victory the People had gained over them, without Rage. They were heard to ſay, *To what Purpoſe are we at ſo much Care and Expence in the Education of our Children, if they are deprived of thoſe Dignities which only their Anceſtors enjoyed? Shall our Families have no other diſtinguiſhing Poſts, but thoſe among the* Pontifices *and the* Salii? *Shall all Employments of Authority and Credit be in common with us, and other Citizens, and ſhall we have nothing peculiar to us but the Prieſthood?* But the Triumphs of the People, and the Mortification of the Nobility, ſerved only to keep up the Miſunderſtandings between the two Bodies. The *Plebeians* thought they had a Right to put in a Claim to every Thing, and a Power to gain whatever they pretended to, by the Help of the three *Icilii*. Beſides, the *Quæſtorſhip*, of which they were now in Poſſeſſion, made them proud: So that their Ambition increaſed, in Proportion with their Power. The People, encouraged by their *Tribunes*, eaſily perſuaded themſelves, that now they had decreed themſelves the *Quæſtorſhip*, they might very well aſpire at the *Military Tribuneſhip*. This was the Point the *Tribunes of the People* had in view; they ſtirred up the Commonalty to form Pretenſions to it, purely with Deſign to gain that Honour to themſelves. In ſhort, the Senate were already preparing to paſs a Decree for the Election of *Conſuls*, when the *Icilii* oppoſed it.

6 Inſtead of *Cneius Cornelius Coſſus*, we read in *Diodorus of Sicily*, *Cneius Pompeius*. But beſides that, the *Pompeian* Family, which was originally *Plebeian*, could not be admitted, in theſe Times, to enjoy the Honours of the *Conſulſhip*; it is certain, by the Silence of the Hiſtorians, and antient Annals, that it was not at this Time a Family of any Diſtinction in the Republick.

They

Year of *ROME* CCCXLIV. Cn. Cornelius, and L. Furius, Conſuls.

They demanded, that the Republick ſhould be governed the next Year by *Military Tribunes*. Upon this, the Diſputes grew warm between the *Conſcript Fathers*, and the College of *Tribunes*. But the *Icilii* were not Men of a tractable Temper, who would eaſily give up any Point: And their Offices empowered them to thwart all the Deſigns of the *Conſuls*. This was the Situation of Affairs at *Rome*, when, happily for the *Icilii*, News was brought thither, that the confederated *Volſci* and *Æqui* had entered the Country of the *Latins*, and *Hernici*, in Arms. The Senate therefore ordered Levies to be made. The *Conſuls* prepared to raiſe them, but the *Tribunes* oppoſed it: And from that Time, the *Icilii* never loſt ſight of the two *Conſuls*. Two of the three took upon them to purſue the *Conſuls*, in every Step they ſhould take, and to ſtick cloſely each to his Man. They were active, vigilant, and Men of Courage. The third *Icilius* undertook to keep the People within Bounds, or to ſtir them up to Commotions, by his Harangues, as he judged proper: And this Diſtribution of Employments, among the three Relations, was of great Service to their Party. The *Conſuls* neither durſt raiſe the Levies, nor aſſemble the *Comitia by Centuries*, for the Election of *Conſuls*. Every thing ſeemed to favour the *Plebeian* Party, when this further News was brought to *Rome*, that the Fort of *Carventum* was retaken by the *Æqui*. Upon this, the completing the Levies was preſſed with great Earneſtneſs: And the *Tribunes* took Advantage of it. They were ſounded, and ſollicited, not to throw any Difficulties in the Way of raiſing the Troops, for this once at leaſt. But they ſtood their Ground, both againſt the Storms which threatened *Rome*, and the Hatred of the Publick: And in ſhort, the Senate was forced to give Way. They conſented, that the Republick ſhould be governed the next Year by *Military Tribunes*, choſen by the *Centuries*; but they added a Clauſe, which entirely fruſtrated the ſecret Expectations of the *Icilii*. The Decree they paſſed, was this; That none of the preſent *Tribunes of the People*, ſhould either be choſen *Military Tribunes*, or continued in their Offices the next Year. But though the *Tribunes* were probably diſſatisfied with the Decree, yet they diſſembled it, the better to conceal their Ambition. All was quiet in the State, the Army was raiſed, which was to march againſt the *Æqui*: And the *Conſuls*, according to ſome, both marched to recover *Carventum*. But others ſay, that one of them continued in *Rome*. Be that as it will, the *Romans* loſt a great deal of Time in attacking the Fort, and they raiſed the Siege. However, they fell upon *Verrugo*, a City in the Territory of the *Volſci*, which the *Romans* had formerly fortified, and which had returned to the Dominion of its old Maſters. It was taken, and plundered, as the Territories of both the *Æqui* and *Volſci* were, by the *Roman* Army, without Oppoſition. In the mean while the Time came for proceeding to the Elections at *Rome*. The Senate had given the People Leave to chooſe *Military Tribunes*, inſtead of *Conſuls*. And the Commons were inclined to make choice of *Plebeians*; but the Nobility dreaded nothing ſo much, as ſeeing Commoners at the Head of the Republick. What then was to be done? The *Patricians* made uſe of Artifice, to avoid a Blow which would have been more grievous to them, than ſeeing the *Quæſtorſhip* in the Hands of ignoble Citizens. They engaged ſome mean Citizens, who had neither Merit nor Weight, to ſtand Candidates for the *Military Tribuneſhip*. Theſe made a ſtrong Party, which was backed with the Intereſt of the Nobility: But the People were aſhamed to put the Government of the *Roman* State in ſuch contemptible Hands. They therefore pitched upon three illuſtrious *Patricians*, *C. Julius Iülus*, *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *C. Servilius Ahala*. By this means, the *Tribunes of the People*, who had gained a Point upon the Nobility, in getting *Military Tribunes*, were now mortified in their Turn, by the *Patricians*, who had ſo far ſucceeded, as to have none choſen, but Men of their own Body: Though, after all, this Victory could not be laſting. As Affairs now ſtood at *Rome*, the Nobility were upon the decline, and it could not be long e're the People prevailed.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLV. C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Coſſus, and C. Servilius Ahala, Military Tribunes.

§. V. This Election of three *Patricians* to govern *Rome*, was what ſcarce any Body expected; and their Adminiſtration was not ſo happy, as there was Reaſon to hope it would be. None of the *Tribunes of the People* indeed, raiſed any ſeditious Diſturbances in their time; but the Senate does not ſeem to have had Regard enough for them. The *Volſci* renewed the War again. The Hopes of Conqueſt, and Deſire of Revenge, animated them to it. The *Romans* had not ſucceeded the laſt Year in their Attempt upon *Carventum*, and the Fort, which ſtill continued in the Hands of the *Volſci*, favoured their Incurſions, and was a Check upon the *Romans*. Beſides, theſe

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old Enemies of the Republick, had drawn over to themſelves ſome of her new Allies. The *Volſci* had juſt ſent a Deputation to the *Antiates*, to draw them off from the *Romans*. *What*, ſaid they to them, *have you ſhut your ſelves up within your Walls, and given the* Romans *free Admittance into your Country, which they have laid Waſte? What? Has not the taking of* Verrugo *raiſed your Jealouſy? Have you ſuffered the* Romans, *not only to ſend Armies, but likewiſe to plant Colonies among you? Shall Foreigners poſſeſs your Lands, which they have divided among themſelves? Shall they give away* Ferentinum, *one of your Cities, to the* Hernici? The ſame Deputies were likewiſe ſent by the *Volſci*, to ſeveral other Cantons in their Neighbourhood. And as faſt as they ſtirred up any People againſt the *Romans*, they immediately inliſted their Youth, and obliged them to march. In ſhort, the *Rendezvous* of their Army was by *Antium*. They encamped there, and there waited for the *Roman* Army. *Rome* had taken the Alarm, upon the firſt Report of theſe Preparations, and perhaps, with a little more Concern, than it ſhould have done. At leaſt the Senate might have ſpared the Affront they put upon the *Military Tribunes*, who were, in their Year, the natural Generals of the Troops of the Republick: But they had recourſe to their uſual Remedy, under ſudden Misfortunes. They ordered a *Dictator* to be nominated. But the three *Military Tribunes* had already drawn Lots about the Command of the Army, and it had fallen to *Julius* and *Cornelius* to be Generals, and to *Servilius* to continue in *Rome*, to keep the City in good Order: So that the two Generals were affronted at the Diſtruſt ſhewn of their Conduct, before it had been put to the Trial. They thought themſelves able Commanders enough to carry on a War, againſt Enemies, which had been ſo often overcome. In ſhort, *Julius* and *Cornelius* obſtinately refuſed to nominate a *Dictator*, and inſiſted upon being Generals themſelves. And the Diſpute was carried to ſo great a height, that the *Conſcript Fathers* thought themſelves obliged to interpoſe the Authority of the *Tribunes of the People*. They complained to them of the Diſobedience of the *Military Tribunes*. They put them in mind, that *Conſuls* themſelves had been forced, by their Orders, to ſubmit to the Senate. It was a double Pleaſure to the College of *The Tribunes of the People*, to ſee themſelves made the Arbitrators in the Diſputes of the Nobility, and to leave laſting Diviſions among the *Patricians*. When therefore theſe *Plebeian* Magiſtrates were deſired to put an end to the Diſpute, they made a malicious and inſolent uſe of the Advantage, the Senate gave them over themſelves. *Who are we*, ſaid they, *but vile* Plebeians, *contemptible Creatures, mean Citizens, who are not fit to live in civil Society? When the People ſhall think fit to place us in the higheſt Poſts in the Republick, we ſhall then know how to ſubdue you by force, and put an end to your Diviſions. Till that time, you have nothing to expect from us. You invade all other Offices: And if that be wanting to make you agree, uſurp the* Tribuneſhip of the People *too*. This Refuſal exceedingly perplexed the Senate. It became daily more and more neceſſary to enter into a War with the *Volſci*, and the Republick wanted a General to command her Armies. The Senators often aſſembled; but as they inſiſted on having a *Dictator*, ſo were *Julius* and *Cornelius* obſtinate in refuſing to nominate one. At length, *C. Servilius* the third *Military Tribune*, extricated the Republick out of this Difficulty, and delivered his Opinion thus. *My Silence hitherto has not proceeded from any Indifference towards the Welfare of the Publick. Is it excuſable in any Citizen to neglect the Intereſts of his Country? I kept Silence in Deference to my Collegues; and ſhould have continued to do ſo, if their Diſputes with the Senate did not tend to the Ruin of the Republick. I have waited with Patience, and longed for the happy Moment, which ſhould bring them to Reaſon. But their Obſtinacy is invincible. I cannot therefore think my ſelf at Liberty, to carry my Deference for them any farther.* Rome *is dearer to me than my Collegues. For which Reaſon, I declare, that if the Senate perſiſts in having a* Dictator, *I will name one to-morrow Night. If any think fit to oppoſe this, under Pretence, that the* Comitia *will not then have given the laſt Sanction to the Decree, as the Law requires: I declare* [7] *the Authority of the Senate, ſhall be a Law to me.* Theſe Words were

7 There was a Diſtinction in old *Rome*, between a Decree of the Senate, *Senatus-Conſultum*, and the Authority, or Will, of the Senate, *Autoritas Senatus*. There were ſeveral Things that hindered a Decree from having the Force of a Law. 1. The Oppoſition of the *Tribunes of the People*. 2. Their delaying to put it in execution, till it had been more fully examined. 3. The regiſtring the Decree at an improper Hour, that is, about the Cloſe of the Day, or at Sun-ſet. 4. The *Augurs* demanding,

Year of ROME CCCXLV. P. Cornelius Rutilus, Dictator.

were received with great Applauſe; and *Servilius*, without Oppoſition, nominated *P. Cornelius Rutilus* to be *Dictator*, who choſe *Servilius* to be his General of Horſe. Thus was the Moderation of this *Military Tribune* rewarded. He renounced a leſſer Honour, and received a greater. It may be ſaid, that the *Dictator*, and General of Horſe, wanted nothing to increaſe their Glory, but a more formidable Enemy to contend with. Only one Battel was fought with the *Volſci* near *Antium*, where they were put to flight, and the Victory of the *Romans* was complete. The gaining this eaſy Victory, was alſo followed by the taking of a little Fort, upon the Borders of the [8] Lake *Fucinus*, on that ſide of it, where it overflows a part of the Territory of the *Volſci:* And in the Fort were taken three thouſand Priſoners. The reſt of the Enemy's Army left the Field, and gave up their Lands to be plundered by the *Romans*. Thus ended a Campaign, in which *Rome* had the Advantage, but which brought only a ſmall Degree of Honour to the General. When the *Dictator* laid down his Office, the *Military Tribunes* reaſſumed theirs. And as they had been treated unworthily by the Senate, they vented their Rage againſt the whole Body of the *Patricians*, of which they themſelves were a part. It belonged to theſe Magiſtrates, to propoſe what ſort of *Comitia* ſhould be held for the next Election; and they, without mentioning the *Conſular Comitia* to the Senate, for the electing of *Conſuls*, ordered the *Centuries* to be aſſembled, for electing *Military Tribunes*. The Nobility therefore, for fear the People

Year of ROME CCCXLV. C. Julius Iulus, P. Cornelius Cossus, and C. Servilius Ahala, Military Tribunes.

demanding, that the *Auſpices* ſhould be conſulted before it was promulged. 5. The Places not being duly conſecrated, according to Law, where the Aſſembly was held. 6. The Senate's not having been aſſembled in due Form, or by a Magiſtrate, who had a Right to convene it. 7. The Senate's being aſſembled on one of thoſe Days, which were excepted by Religion. In caſe of any one of theſe Defects, the *Senatus-conſultum* did not paſs for ſuch, nor was it thought a lawful Decree. Nevertheleſs it was regiſtred, as a Regulation made by the Senate, and the Reviſal of the Decree was referred to the People, who ratified it, or declared it null, as they found it for their Intereſt. *Dio Caſſius* confirms this Cuſtom, *B.* 55. *Quod ſi forte uſu venerit, ut non tam multi, quam opus erat, convenirent, Senatus quidem habebatur, Decretumque perſcribebatur, non tamen quaſi ratum effectum habebatur. Sed erat auctoritas, ut Senatus ſententia nota ac teſtata eſſet. Tale enim quiddam vis hujus verbi declarat, quod uno verbo græce exprimi non poteſt. Quod etiam obſervatum eſt, ſi quando in loco aliquo non legitimo, aut die non idoneo, aut non legitimo edicto, ſed ambitioſe Senatus coactus eſſet, aut Tribuni Plebis nonnulli interceſſiſſent. Tum enim Senatus-conſultum fieri non poterat, quod tamen placuiſſet teſtari reliqui volebant.* We have likewiſe as good Proof of this Diſtinction, in *Tully's firſt Book of his Epiſtles, Ep.* 2.——*De his rebus Senatus auctoritas graviſſima interceſſerat, cum Cato & Caninius interceſſiſſent, tamen eſt perſcripta.* As it was common for the *Tribunes* to oppoſe a *Senatus-conſultum*, this Clauſe was uſually added to it. SI QUIS HUIC SENATUS-CONSULTO INTERCESSERIT, SENATUI PLACET AUCTORITATEM PERSCRIBI, ET DE EA RE AD SENATUM POPULUMQUE DEFERRI. When a formal Oppoſition was made to it, it was always ſet down in the Regiſter, in theſe Words. HUIC SENATUS-CONSULTO INTERCESSIT, *C. Cælius, C. Panſa, Tribunus Plebis.*

8 This Lake ſtill retains the Name of *Lago Fucino*, in the Language of the Country, though it be more commonly called *Lago di Celano*, from the Name of a City, in its Neighbourhood. *Lycophron* the Poet calls it φέρων λίμνη, but why it is ſo called, we cannot imagine. *Iſaac Tzetza* places it five hundred *Stadia* from *Rome*, and moſt Geographers ſeventy ſeven Miles from thence, which amounts to much the ſame. *Strabo* tells us, *B.* 5. that this Lake roſe ſometimes as high as the Emineneies that ſurrounded it, and at other times ſunk ſo low, that nothing appeared but a marſhy Bottom. *Julius Obſequens*, in his Book *of Prodigies*, ſays, that when *Marcus Æmilius*, and *C. Hoſtilius Mancinus* were *Conſuls*, the *Lake Fucinus* overflowed its Banks five Miles, every Way. *Pliny*, *B.* 31. *c.* 3. ſpeaks of a Rivulet, which he calls *Amnis Pitonius*, and which ſome Geographers call *Giovenco:* And ſays, that this little River, which runs from the *Apennine* Hills, between the Territories of the *Marſi*, and the *Peligni*, diſcharged it ſelf into the *Lake Fucinus*, without mixing with the Waters of it; After which it ſunk into the Earth, and ran as far as *Tibur*, under Ground. There, ſays he, it came out of the Ground again, and was conveyed to *Rome* by an Aqueduct made on Purpoſe, nine Miles long. Some ſay *Ancus Marcius* built this Aqueduct: But others aſcribe it to another *Marcius*, as we ſhall ſee hereafter. The latter at leaſt repaired it; and from him the Water was called *Aqua Marcia. Dio Caſſius* tells us, *B.* 60. that the Emperor *Claudius* attempted in vain to convey the Water of the *Lake Fucinus* through the Hills, into the *Tyber*, in order to make it navigable: But the Impoſſibility of the Thing has made ſome with Reaſon believe, that the Hiſtorian miſtakes the *Tyber*, for the *Liris*, which was nearer this Lake. As for the Fort which the *Romans* took by Aſſault, *Livy* appears to contradict himſelf, when he ſeems to place it in the Country of the *Volſci*, near the *Lake Fucinus*, which according to ſome Geographers, was in the Country of the *Marſi. Victor exercitus depopulatus Volſcum agrum, caſtellum ad Lacum Fucinum vi expugnatum.* But it is eaſy to clear *Livy* of this ſeeming Contradiction. 1. He does not ſay, that this Fort was in the Territory of the *Volſci*. He only means, that the *Romans* made themſelves Maſters of the Fort, after they had ravaged the Enemy's Country. 2. It is true, that the Fort ſtood upon the Borders of the *Lake Fucinus*, and that it was reaſonable to infer from thence, that it belonged to the *Marſi:* And poſſibly the latter may have joined with the *Volſci*, their Neighbours, againſt the Republick: In which Caſe, it is not to be wondered at, that the *Roman* Army proceeded as far as the *Lake Fucinus.* 3. It may likewiſe, for ought appears to the contrary, be aſſerted, that the Fort did ſtand in the Country of the *Volſci*, at a little Diſtance from the *Lake Fucinus*; if we conſider this *Lake*, not in its uſual Extent, which was thirty Miles in Compaſs, but at the Time of any of its great Inundations. For it then overflowed the neighbouring Countries, and conſequently reached as far as the ſouthern Frontiers of the *Volſci*, which were at moſt but five Miles from the *Lake Fucinus*, if we reckon from the eaſtern part of the Country of the *Volſci*, which was watered by the *Liris*.

ſhould join ſome *Plebeians* with them, in the Government of the Republick, had recourſe to a new Artifice, as they had done the laſt Year. They propoſed only ſuch Men as Candidates for the *Military Tribuneſhip*, as were of ſo diſtinguiſhed a Merit, and ſo great a Reputation, that the People could ſcarce avoid chooſing them. Accordingly four *Patricians* were choſen, who had all enjoyed this higheſt Poſt of Honour before. Theſe were *C. Valerius* 9, *L. Furius*, *Num. Fabius*, and *C. Servilius*. The laſt was continued in this Employment, though poſſeſſed of it the laſt Year, in Conſideration of his good Conduct, in nominating a *Dictator*, and his perſonal good Qualities.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVI. C. Valerius, L. Furius, Num. Fabius, and C. Servilius, Military Tribunes.

§. VI. The *Romans* were then ſcrupulouſly exact in obſerving the Laws of Equity in their Wars with Foreigners. They ſeem indeed to have carried their Scruples ſo far, as to have infringed a little on the Laws of Policy. As ſoon as the Truce with the *Veientes* was ended, they ſent *Feciales*, to demand Satisfaction of theſe old Enemies, for the Injuries they had done the Republick during the Truce. But theſe honourable Deputies met Ambaſſadors on the Road, before they came to the Frontiers of the *Veientes*, which were ſent by the latter to the Republick. They therefore deſired the *Feciales* not to proceed to *Veii*, till they had executed their Commiſſion at *Rome:* And the *Feciales* were ſo complaiſant to the Ambaſſadors, as to proceed no farther. The latter, when they came to *Rome*, were admitted into the Senate: Where they repreſented, that their City was diſturbed with domeſtick Broils, and would not be in a Condition for a Year to come to make the *Romans* Satisfaction. This was therefore a favourable Opportunity for the Republick, to take Advantage of the Diſſentions in *Veii*, as the Enemies of *Rome* often did, of the Conteſts between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians*. But the *Romans* had then Magnanimity enough to act upon very different Maxims: They were afraid to take Advantage of the Misfortunes of their Neighbours. Nevertheleſs, the Republick ſeems to have been then in a languid, declining Condition. The *Volſci* had laid Siege to *Verrugo*. The *Roman* Garriſon in it defended it with Courage, and preſſed earneſtly for Succours. But the Senate did not enough conſider, that the Strength and Valour of theſe brave Men, would, in length of time, be exhauſted: And therefore long delayed giving their *Military Tribunes* Leave to take the Field. Had they appeared in time, the Place would not have fallen into the Hands of the Enemy: But it was taken, and the Garriſon put to the Sword. Theſe brave Men indeed ſold their Lives very dear: And their Ruin was wholly aſcribed to the Dilatorineſs of the Senate. However, the *Military Tribunes* found Means in the end, to revenge their Death. They ſurprized the *Volſci*, and cut them in pieces, as they were diſperſed over the Fields, which they were buſy in pillaging.

Livy B. 4. c. 58.

§. VII. But the Indulgence ſhewn the *Veientes* was carried to exceſs, under the new *Military Tribunes*, *Cornelius* 10 *Coſſus*, *L. Valerius Cornelius Rutilus*, and *Fabius Ambuſtus*. The *Roman* Ambaſſadors had appeared at their Aſſemblies, and had brought back only proud Anſwers. *Be gone*, Romans, *be gone out of theſe Places, unleſs you have a mind to undergo the ſame Fate, which your Ambaſſadors formerly ſuffered, from King* Tolumnius. Theſe inſolent Threatnings were brought to *Rome;* the Senate was incenſed at them; and made a Decree, requiring the *Military Tribunes* to propoſe the declaring War with the *Veientes* 11, to the People. But this Decree was not agreeable

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVII. Cornelius Coſſus, L. Valerius, Cornelius Rutilus, and Fabius Ambustus, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

9 This was the ſecond time *Caius Valerius Potitus Voluſus*, *Caius Servilius Ahala*, and *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus* (not *Cneius Fabius*, as we have it in ſome Editions of *Livy*) were made *Tribunes*. But *Livy* is miſtaken, when he ſays, this was the ſecond *Military Tribuneſhip* of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*. He had indeed been twice *Conſul*. But it is evident, from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that he had never been *Tribune* before. *Livy* perhaps confounded him with his Father *Lucius Furius*, who enjoyed the Honour of this Office three times.

10 *Publius Cornelius Coſſus* had already been *Dictator*, aud *Cneius Cornelius Coſſus* had ſhared the Honours of the *Conſulſhip*. *Diodorus Siculus* ſubſtitutes one *Terentius Maximus* in the room of the latter, but we don't find him mentioned in the *Conſular Annals*. *Numerius Fabius* is diſtinguiſhed from *Numerius Fabius Vibulanus*, by the Surname of *Ambuſtus*. *L. Valerius Potitus* was now promoted to the *Military Tribuneſhip*, a ſecond time.

11 The Senate could not declare War with any Nation, of its own Authority. The Right of doing this belonged to the Aſſembly of the *Centuries*. So that the Decree paſſed by the Senate, with Regard to the intended War with the *Veientes*, was only a preparatory Decree, or rather barely a Commiſſion to the *Military Tribunes*, to notify to the People the Neceſſity of this War; of which Notification, they were afterwards to make a Report to the *Comitia by Centuries*. For we muſt not forget the uſual Forms obſerved in the Republick, in getting any Laws accepted. 1. The Magiſtrate aſcended *The Tribune of Harangues*, to repreſent to the People, the Neceſſity and the Advantages of the

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVII.

CORNELIUS Cossus, L. VALERIUS, CORNELIUS RUTILUS, and FABIUS AMBUSTUS, Military Tribunes.

agreeable to the Commons. The *Plebeian* Youth cried out, of their own accord, without being inſtigated thereto by the *Tribunes*, that they would never conſent to the bringing upon themſelves a new Enemy. *We are already embarked*, ſaid they, *in an old War with the* Volſci, *which is not yet ended. Our two Garriſons, which they have lately put to the Sword, are Inſults, which we are much more nearly concerned to revenge, than the proud Anſwers of the* Veientes. *The* Volſci *continue yet in Poſſeſſion of the two Places they recovered by the Slaughter of our* Romans. *Can we then ſuffer them to continue in their Hands without Danger? Every Year brings a new War upon us. Are all the Labours which are laid upon us, thought to be nothing? Why then would the Senate engage us in a new Quarrel with a powerful Nation, which is able to get all* Hetruria *into its Intereſt?* Theſe Diſpoſitions in the Commons to reject the War with the *Veientes*, were alſo encouraged by the *Tribunes of the People. The Quarrels of moſt Importance to us*, ſaid they, *are thoſe we have with the* Patricians. *We fight with them within our own Walls. And therefore*, Romans, *they are deſirous of employing you elſewhere, in order to rob you of your Victories at Home. 'Tis the Artifice of the Senate to keep you continually expoſed in foreign Wars, in order to divert you from purſuing your juſt Pretenſions. By drawing you into Camps Abroad, they make you forget the Buſineſs of ſecuring your Liberty, of demanding Colonies, of inſiſting on an equal Diſtribution of Lands, and your Right of chooſing* Plebeians, *as well as* Patricians, *to be* Conſuls, *if you think fit.* Nor did the *Tribunes of the People* confine themſelves to Words: They careſſed the old Soldiers, in order to prevail on them to oppoſe the Senatorial Party. They made them ſhew their Scars, and asked them pleaſantly, whether they had room for any more Wounds. *Have you*, ſaid they to them, *any more Blood in your Veins, which you can ſpare for the Service of your Country?* By theſe private Diſcourſes, and publick Harangues, they gave the People ſuch a Diſtaſte for the War with the *Veientes*, that they ſuſpended the Law for declaring it, and had abſolutely rejected it, if it had been put to the Vote: Nevertheleſs the People gave the *Military Tribunes* leave to raiſe an Army, and lead it againſt the *Volſci*. Three of the four Heads of the Republick commanded the Troops, which they divided between them, and *Cn. Cornelius* only continued in *Rome*. But the *Romans* ſought for Enemies to fight with, in vain; none appeared. The *Volſci* were no longer diſpoſed to hazard Battels, in which they had always been worſted. They abandoned their Fields, and left them to be plundered by the *Romans*. The three *Military Tribunes* therefore ſeparated from one another, and each marched his Troops into a different part of the Enemy's Country, to ravage it. *Valerius* turned towards *Antium*, and *Cornelius Rutilus* to the ſide of *Ecetræ*; whilſt *Fabius* went upon a more uſeful, and more glorious Expedition. He would not ſuffer his Soldiers to ſtay to plunder any Place, but led them before *Anxur*, the taking of which was of more Importance. *Anxur* was the ſame City, which was afterwards called *Terracina*. It was ſituated on the Declivity of an Hill, defended at the Bottom with a Moraſs: And *Fabius* reſolving to take it on that ſide, he there made his principal Attack. But in order to amuſe the Beſieged, he commanded *Caïus Servilius Ahala*, to march with four *Cohorts* to an Eminence on the ſide of the Upper-City, which overlooked it, and which was ſcarce at all fortified, and but weakly defended. The Shouts therefore of *Servilius*'s *Cohorts*, and the falſe Attack on the Upper-City, made the People deſert the Place, where *Fabius* was. Then the General planted his Scaling-Ladders on the ſide of the Lower-City, and the *Romans* were inſtantly on the Ramparts. There they

the Law propoſed. 2. He explained all the Parts of it. 3. He had it written upon a Table, which was put up in the *Forum*, in ſight of all the Citizens, for twenty ſeven Days. 4. He aſſembled the Country People on all the three Market-days, which happened in that Space of Time, and informed them of the Law, that was to be propoſed to the next *Comitia by Centuries*, or *Tribes* according to the Nature of the thing under Deliberation. He ſhewed the Uſefulneſs of this Law: He exhorted the Citizens to vote for it, and employed Agents of Credit, in whom he could confide, to perſuade them to accept it. So that the People had Time enough to conſult about the Affair in hand, to foreſee the good and ill Conſequences of it, to weigh the one againſt the other, and to determine for themſelves, upon a full Knowledge of the Queſtion. It may well be preſumed, Things were debated with Warmth, in ſo great a Multitude of People of all Conditions, who were moſt of them divided from one another, both in Intereſts and Inclinations. From hence aroſe thoſe different Factions, inteſtine Wars, and ſeditious Tumults, which ſo often threw *Rome* into Confuſion. And to this we may add, that the *Tribunes of the People* often came to the Aſſiſtance of the Mutineers, either in order to diſſuade them from the Law in Queſtion, or to propoſe new ones to them, to the Detriment of the Nobility.

came to a Battel, and killed both thoſe that reſiſted, and thoſe that fled, without Diſtinction. They neither ſpared the Soldiers, who were under Arms, nor the unarmed People: By which Means the Enemy, being reduced to Deſpair, found themſelves under a Neceſſity of fighting. But at length the General forbad his Soldiers to kill any who threw down their Arms. Then the Inhabitants of *Anxur* defended themſelves no longer; and two thouſand five hundred of them were taken Priſoners. The Soldiers hoped to have had the City immediately given up to them, to be plundered by them. But the wiſe *Fabius* commanded them to tarry till the reſt of the Army came to them, that thoſe who were abſent might have their Share in the Spoil. *The Troops my Collegues command*, ſaid he, *have contributed as much to the taking of* Anxur, *as we. They facilitated it, by keeping off thoſe Succours, which would otherwiſe have been ſent to relieve it.* So that the Spoils of this, which had always been a wealthy City, were given up to the three Bodies of Troops, which the three *Military Tribunes* commanded. This was a piece of Generoſity rarely ſhewn of late to the Soldiers by their Generals; and proved a firſt Step towards a Reconciliation between the People and the Nobility! Which Reconciliation the *Patricians* abſolutely completed, by a ſecond Benefaction. The *Military Tribunes*, and the Senate obſerved, that nothing hindered the Progreſs of the *Roman* Arms, but the very frequent Refuſals of the Soldiers to inliſt themſelves, even for neceſſary Wars. This had long been the weak ſide of the Governors of the Republick, and the Means by which the *Tribunes of the People* always prevailed over them. In order to force from the Nobility their unjuſt Uſurpations, the *Tribunes* oppoſed the raiſing Levies, in the moſt dangerous Times: And the People were led by their Intereſt, to follow the Dictates of their *Tribunes* in ſuch Caſes. As every Citizen was obliged to make the Campaign at his own Expence, they all looked upon their taking Arms, as a Burden which ruined their Families. Attempts indeed had been formerly made, to ſettle a certain Pay for the Subſiſtence of the Troops; but either this Eſtabliſhment was not made, or it was but of ſhort Duration, till after the taking and plundering of the City of *Anxur*. Then the Senate made a Decree, that the [12] Infantry in the *Roman* Army, ſhould for the future be maintained in the Field, at the publick Expence. And this Decree was the more agreeable to the Commonalty, becauſe they had not asked for it. Never did any People ſhew a greater Joy on receiving ſignal Benefactions, than the *Romans* did on this Occaſion. They ran to the Palace in Crowds: They preſſed upon the Senators to kiſs their Hands, as they came out of it. *You*, ſaid they, *are very juſtly called Fathers. You are the true Fathers of the People. As long as we have any Strength or Blood left, we will ſpend them in the Service of a Country, which beſtows its Bounties ſo liberally upon us* But what ſtrange Effects do a Diverſity of Intereſts produce! The *Tribunes of the People*, and they alone, had no Share in the publick Rejoicings, nor deſired, that the two Orders of Men in the Republick ſhould be united. Their Authority flouriſhed moſt in Diviſions: They therefore did their utmoſt to convince the *Curiæ*, that the Decree, which had rejoiced them ſo much, was neither ſo advantageous to the People in it ſelf, nor ſo conſiderable a Favour on the part of the Senators, as they had imagined. *There is indeed*, ſaid they, *Appearance enough of Favour to impoſe upon you: But if you ſearch it to the Bottom you will be undeceived. Theſe Funds, with which the Troops are to be paid, will, after all, be raiſed upon us, by Taxes. Beſides, ſhall then thoſe among us, who are no longer obliged to ſerve in our Armies, be obliged to pay theſe Taxes? They will ſay, let others carry on the War at their own Expence, as we have done at ours! Is it juſt that we ſhould pay for our ſelves, and for others too?* Theſe Diſcourſes made an Impreſſion on ſome of the People; but it was much worſe, when the Tax came to be made, for the Maintenance of the Troops. The *Tribunes of the People* then declared, that they would protect all thoſe

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVII.
CORNELIUS Coſſus, L. VALERIUS, CORNELIUS RUTILUS, and FABIUS AMBUSTUS, Military Tribunes.
Diod. Sic. B. 4.
Livy B. 4. *c.* 59.

12 Thus the *Romans* had ſerved in their Armies, at their own Expence, for above three hundred Years after the building of *Rome*. But now we ſhall ſoon ſee the Cavalry, ſupported by the Publick, as well as the Infantry. This new Regulation was firſt made in favour of the Foot, who, generally ſpeaking, were worth but little, and conſequently were the leſs able to bear their own Expences in a Campaign. What Pay was then given to each Soldier, cannot now be diſcovered. All we know of it is, that in *Polybius*'s Time, *i. e.* in the Time of the ſecond *Carthaginian* War, every Foot-Soldier was allowed two *Oboli*, or about the third part of an *Attick Drachma*, a Day. A *Centurion* had double Pay; an Horſe-man treble. But there were ſeveral Changes made in this Matter, which we ſhall have Occaſion to obſerve hereafter. [The *Drachma*, according to Dr. *Arbuthnot*, was worth ſeven Pence three Farthings, *Engliſh*.]

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVII. Cornelius Cossus, L. Valerius, Cornelius Rutilus, and Fabius Ambustus, Military Tribunes.

who refuſed to pay it. But the Senators were not diſheartened at this. They made it a Point of Honour to complete what they had begun: And therefore they gave the Publick an Example. They firſt taxed themſelves, and readily paid their Aſſeſſments. And as theſe had been made, in Proportion to Men's Eſtates, they laid great Sums upon themſelves, as being richeſt. There was yet no [13] ſilver Coin in *Rome*. The only Species was Copper; which paſſed either by Weight, or Tale. Some of the *Patricians* therefore who were taxed high, oſtentatiouſly ſent their Payments in Carts. After this, the Senators prevailed on the rich Citizens to follow their Example. Accordingly they readily payed the Taxes which were laid upon them: For which, the *Conſcript Fathers* did not fail to commend publickly the exact Obedience of theſe good Citizens, to the Decree; and the Youth who were to ſerve in the Wars, extolled them, as good, and faithful Commonwealthſmen: And then the common People themſelves did not refuſe to pay their Contributions. They were ready to perform their Parts, and ſubmitted to the Orders of the Senate, without troubling themſelves about the Protection the *Tribunes* offered. And the Succeſs of this wiſe Regulation, produced the Effects which had been expected from it. The War with the *Veientes* met with no further Obſtacles. The Law, which had been rejected at firſt, now paſſed without Oppoſition, and the People declared the *Veientes* Enemies to the Republick. They were likewiſe very eager to inliſt themſelves in the Infantry, thinking it an Advantage to go to War at the publick Expence: So that the Commonalty were now more attached to the Nobility than ever. They had loaded themſelves with the greateſt part of the military Taxes, had freed the Poor from the Burden of ſerving at their own Expence, and had done the People this ſignal Service, of their own accord, without being forced to it by the *Tribunes*.

Zonar. B. 7. *Livy B.* 4. *c.* 60.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVIII. C. Julius, M. Æmilius, T. Quinctius, L. Furius, Q. Quinctius, and A. Manlius, Military Tribunes.

§. VIII. Upon what Motives the *Centuries* increaſed the Number of the *Military Tribunes*, Hiſtory has not told us. Hitherto the *Romans* had contented themſelves with four Heads to govern them with *Conſular* Authority. But they now choſe ſix for the firſt Time, though this had been the Number agreed on, at the firſt Inſtitution of this Office. Their Names were, *C.* [14] *Julius*, *M. Æmilius*, *T. Quinctius*, *L. Furius*, *Q. Quinctius*, and *A. Manlius*. If I may be permitted to gueſs at the Reaſon of this Alteration, it ſeems to be this; that the People's Regard for the Nobility, made them willing to do Honour to as many *Patricians* as they could: Beſides, they had a plauſible Pretence for it. The War with the *Æqui* and *Volſci* was not yet ended, and yet they were going to begin a new one with the *Veientes*: So that leſt there ſhould be Occaſion to multiply their Armies, it ſeemed neceſſary to increaſe the Number of their Generals, at all Events. It was happy for the *Romans*, that their Enemies, on this ſide the *Tyber*, made no Motion, whilſt their Troops were marching on the other ſide the *Tyber*, againſt the *Veientes*. The latter would not come to any Battel with the *Romans*. They had ſhut themſelves up in their Capital, which was the ſtrongeſt Place then known, except *Rome*. At leaſt the Hiſtorians repreſent *Veii*, as equal, when in its Splendor, both in Extent, and Number of Inhabitants, to [15] *Athens*. The *Veientes*, who were afraid of the *Romans*, had not contented themſelves, with the advantageous Situation of their City. They had fortified it by Art: They had raiſed the Walls of it, and ſtored it well with Arms, and Proviſions. Nevertheleſs, as the Republick now paid her Troops, ſhe did not deſpair of making this important Conqueſt. She therefore began this famous Siege, which, for Difficulty,

Livy B. 4. *c.* 61.

Plut. in Vit. Camill. Dion. Hal. B. 2. *p.* 116.

13 *Pliny B.* 33. *c.* 3. tells us, the *Romans* did not begin to coin any Silver, till five Years after the firſt *Carthaginian* War, when *Fabius* and *Ogulnius* were *Conſuls*.

14 This was the firſt Time the Republick choſe ſix *Military Tribunes*. But *Diodorus* mentions only three, omitting *Manius Æmilius Mamercinus*, *Quintus Quinctius Cincinnatus*, and *L. Furius Medullinus*, who was now created *Tribune* the ſecond Time, aswell as *Caius Julius Iulus*. *T. Quinctius Capitolinus Barbatus*, is the ſame Man, who was *Conſul* in the Year of *Rome* 332. *Aulus Manlius* has the two Surnames of *Vulſo*, and *Capitolinus*.

15 See our Remarks above, *p.* 48. *Dion. Hal.* himſelf compares the City of *Veii*, with that of *Athens*, for Largeneſs: Which, if a juſt Compariſon, we cannot ſuppoſe *Veii* to have been leſs than two or three and twenty Miles in Circumference; ſince *Athens*, according to *Thucydides B.* 2. and *Ariſtides*, *Orat. Panath.* was a hundred and ſeventy eight *Stadia* in Compaſs, which make twenty two thouſand geometrical Paces, at the Rate of a hundred and twenty five Paces *per Stadium*. But is it credible, that ſuch a ſteep Rock, as *Veii* ſtood upon, could have been of ſo great an Extent? Let the Reader judge for himſelf. Nevertheleſs, *Plutarch*, on the other hand, tells us, in his *Life of Camillus*, that *Veii* was not inferior to *Rome*, either in Largeneſs, or Number of Inhabitants. Now, according to *Dion. Hal. Rome* might have been compared to *Athens* for Largeneſs, in *Servius Tullius*'s Time, and when *Publius Servilius*. and *Lucius Ebutius Elva* were *Conſuls*, in the Year 291.

and Length, is compared by the Hiſtorians to that of *Troy*. The *Romans* flattered themſelves, that by dint of Valour, and Conſtancy, they ſhould be able to carry this Place, notwithſtanding its Strength, and advantageous Situation; and thereby make themſelves Maſters of a new Territory, which was [16] larger than their own. As ſoon as the Report of this formidable Undertaking was ſpread Abroad in *Hetruria*, the general Diet of the *Lucumonies* was aſſembled near the Temple of *Voltumna*. It was there debated, whether they, in a national Body, ſhould take the *Veientes* under their Protection. But the Diet was divided in Opinion, and the *Veientes* were left, for a Time, to defend themſelves.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLVIII. C. Julius, M. Æmilius, T. Quinctius, L. Furius, Q. Quinctius, and A. Manlius, Military Tribunes.

§. IX. In the mean time, the *Roman* Generals, who had begun the Siege of *Veii*, were ſoon ſucceeded by others, whom the *Centuries* nominated. They choſe ſix new *Military Tribunes*, namely [17] *P. Cornelius*, *Sp. Nautius*, *Cn. Cornelius*, *C. Valerius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, and *M. Sergius*. This continual changing of the Generals of their Armies was a Fault in the *Roman* Policy, in theſe Ages. With that invincible Valour, which gained the *Romans* Succeſs, in almoſt all their Battels, and that Knowledge in the Art of War, which, though yet imperfect, was infinitely ſuperior to that of their Neighbours, they might have conquered the greateſt part of *Italy* already, if they had been conſtantly governed by ſome one or other of thoſe illuſtrious *Dictators*, who were their laſt Refuge, in Caſes of extreme Difficulty. But ſuch is the uſual Conduct of Republicks, which are extremely jealous of their Liberty. They ſtop the Rapidity of their Conquerors, for fear they themſelves ſhould become a part of their Conqueſts. Thus the *Military Tribunes*, who had made the firſt Attacks upon the Walls of *Veii*, were obliged to return to *Rome*, and lead back their Troops thither. Their Succeſſors were forced to divide the Troops of the Republick, in order to act againſt two Enemies. They carried but a ſmall Body of Men, to continue the Siege of *Veii*; and marched with the greateſt part of their Troops againſt the *Volſci*. The latter had taken up Arms again, and interrupted the *Romans* in their Enterprize, on the other ſide the *Tyber*. The *Military Tribunes* marched againſt them, and put an end to the Diverſion they made, by a Victory. The Battel was fought between *Ferentinum* and *Ecetræ*. From thence they came and ſate down before the City of *Artena*, which was different from the City of that Name in the Territory of the *Veientes*. The former belonged to the *Volſci*; but the latter had been deſtroyed ever ſince the Times of the *Roman Kings*. The Beſieged defended themſelves with Courage; but in a Sally they made on the Beſiegers, they could not bear up againſt the *Roman* Bravery. Being repulſed, and put into Diſorder, they fled back to their City for Refuge. But the *Romans* purſued them thither with ſuch Expedition, that they crowded through the Gates with them. The City was taken, and a great Slaughter made of the Inhabitants. Nothing remained but to take the Caſtle, which was ſituated on an Eminence, and difficult of Acceſs. The greateſt part of the Garriſon had eſcaped thither; and they wanted neither Courage, nor Proviſions: So that it ſeemed probable, that they would keep the Forces of the Republick a great while in Play. The Beſieged had carried all the Proviſions in the City into the Citadel, before they ventured to make their Sally. But the Treachery of a Slave, deprived the Inhabitants of *Artena* of their laſt Hopes. When the *Romans* were ready to raiſe the Siege of the Citadel, this Traitor aſſiſted them in taking the Caſtle by a ſteep Place. They climbed up that Way, and put thoſe who defended it to the Sword: The reſt of the Beſieged ſurrendered at Diſcretion. As for the Slave, the *Roman* Generals gave him his Liberty, and the Name of *Servius Romanus*: Nay, they enriched him, and gave him the Eſtates of two of the Families belonging to the City, which he had betrayed. But they razed *Artena*, and its Caſtle; and brought all their Forces before *Veii*, without Delay.

Year of *ROME* CCCXLIX. P. Cornelius, Sp. Nautius, Cn. Cornelius, C. Valerius, Cæso Fabius, and M. Sergius, Military Tribunes.

Livy B. 4. *Ibid.*

16 The *Roman* Territory was then confined within ſuch narrow Bounds, by the neighbouring Nations, that it is no Wonder it was leſs in Extent, than the Territory of *Veii*, which then paſſed for the moſt powerful of all the twelve *Hetrurian Lucumonies*.

17 In this Year 349, *Publius Cornelius Malugienſis*, *C. Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *Manius Servilius Fidenas* were made *Tribunes* the firſt time; *Cneius Cornelius Coſſus*, the ſecond time; and *Caius Valerius Potitus Voluſus*, and *Spurius Nautius Rutilus*, the third Time. According to *Livy* indeed, this was the ſecond *Tribuneſhip* of *Rutilus*. But we have, with Reaſon, preferred the Teſtimony of the *Faſti Capitolini*, to his. *Diodorus* ſubſtitutes one *Junius Lucullus* in the room of *Cn. Cornelius*; but the *Conſular Annals* ſay nothing of him.

§. X. The

Year of ROME CCCL.

M. Æmilius, M. Furius, Ap. Claudius, L. Julius, M. Quinctilius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes. *Fasti Capitol. Val. Max. B. 2. c. 9.* and *Plut. in Vit. Camil. Livy B. 5. c. 1.*

§. X. The next Year, the *Romans*, if we believe *Livy*, acted contrary to their Laws, relating to the Election of *Military Tribunes*. This Hiſtorian, deceived by incorrect Memoirs, pretends, that the *Centuries* choſe eight, contrary to the Rule laid down at the Inſtitution of this Office. It is certain, they could not lawfully chooſe more than ſix. And accordingly, the Perſons who were now choſen, were *M.* [18] *Æmilius*, *M. Furius*, *Ap. Claudius*, *L. Julius*, *M. Quinctilius*, and *L. Valerius*. It ſeems paſt doubt, that *Livy* confounded the two *Cenſors* for this Year with the *Military Tribunes*, and by this miſtaken Addition, makes them eight, inſtead of ſix. The *Cenſors*, who were then choſen, were *M. Poſthumius*, and the famous *Furius Camillus*, who never enjoyed any publick Office, till he was now promoted to the *Cenſorſhip*. Theſe two *Livy* makes *Military Tribunes*, contrary to the *Faſti Capitolini*, which make them only *Cenſors*.

And now, the ſix new Heads of the Republick applied themſelves wholly to the Siege of *Veii*. This was the only Conqueſt, of which the *Romans* were then ambitious. But whilſt Preparations were making for it at *Rome*, News was brought thither, that the Government of the *Veientes* was changed. Being tired out with the Intrigues which were every Year carried on, on Account of their Elections of Magiſtrates, they had made themſelves a King. We have not his Name in Story; but we are told, that he was an haughty paſſionate Man, whoſe Pride made him inſupportable to all the reſt of *Hetruria*. Not that Monarchy it ſelf was an odious Thing there, as it was at *Rome:* The Hatred was perſonal to the new Monarch only. The *Hetrurians* remembered, that he had formerly interrupted the publick *Games*, which were celebrated, as an Entertainment for all the *Hetrurian* Nation. Being full of Reſentment, at the *Lucumonies* having refuſed him a Prieſthood, which he had ſtood for, he had come all on a ſudden into the Place where the *Games* were celebrated, and took away his Slaves, whom he had lent to the Publick, to aſſiſt in carrying them on. And with the *Hetrurians*, who were a ſuperſtitious People, and more regardful of Decency in religious Ceremonies, than any other Nation, this was an impious thing, thus to diſturb the Celebration of a Feſtival conſecrated to the Gods: So that the Remembrance of this, prejudiced the *Hetrurian* Diet againſt the *Veientes*. The Diet threatened not to ſend them any Succours, as long as they continued ſubject to the Government of the new *King*. But though the Report of theſe Threatnings was ſpread Abroad throughout all *Hetruria*, none durſt mention it in *Veii*. Every Body was afraid of the Anger of the Sovereign, who would have treated the Author of this News as an Impoſtor, and a ſower of Sedition, notwithſtanding the Truth of it. However, theſe Reports increaſed the Confidence of the *Romans*, without leſſening their Precautions. Their Army appeared again before *Veii:* Five *Military Tribunes* commanded it; for only *Ap. Claudius* had been left in *Rome*, to govern the City. The Generals made it their Buſineſs to carry on the Siege with more Regularity than ever. They ſeem to have invented, at this Time, thoſe Lines of Circumvallation, and Contravallation, which have been ſo much in uſe ever ſince: At leaſt, this is the firſt Time we find them mentioned in *Roman* Antiquity. The *Romans* entrenched themſelves, both on the ſide of the City they ſurrounded, to prevent Sallies, and on the ſide of the Country, to guard themſelves, at all Events, againſt any Succours which the *Hetrurians* might ſend to the *Veientes*. The *Military Tribunes* likewiſe conſidered, that *Veii* could not be taken, but by length of Time, and then not ſo much by Force, as by Famine. But as their Troops now made War at the publick Expence, they were therefore more at their Command, than formerly. They therefore formed a Deſign of keeping their Army in the Field all the Winter, in wooden Barracks, covered with Skins, and of ſurrounding their Camp with Walls, like a City; to which the Soldiers made no Oppoſition. They choſe rather to live in the Camp, at the Expence of the Publick, than to live in *Rome*, at their own. Though, after all, this was an Innova-

Plut. Life of Cam.

18 We don't, without Reaſon, reject *Livy*'s Teſtimony, who reckons up eight *Military Tribunes* for this Year, inſtead of ſix. He is contradicted in this, by all the *Conſular Annals*; not to mention the Law, which at the firſt Inſtitution of the *Tribunes*, confined their Number to ſix. Add to this, what *Plutarch* ſays, namely, that the Great *Camillus* had been *Cenſor*, before he was choſen *Military Tribune* the firſt Time. It cannot therefore be true, that he enjoyed the *Military Tribuneſhip* firſt, in this Year 350. *Livy* ſays nothing of *Marcus Fuſus*, but ſubſtitutes one *Marcus Poſthumius* in his room, whoſe Name we don't find in the *Faſti Capitolini*. This was the ſecond *Tribuneſhip* of *Manius Æmilius Mamercinus*; the third of *L. Valerius Potitus*; and the firſt of *Quintilius Varus*, *L. Julius Iulus*, *Appius Claudius Craſſus*, and *Marcus Furius Fuſus*.

tion, from which the *Tribunes of the People* apprehended ill Conſequences. The main Strength of their Party was in the common People, of whom the *Legions* conſiſted, and who were now going to be kept encamped for ſeveral Years together, far from thoſe ſeditious *Comitia*, in which the *Tribunes* carried all before them: Beſides, the *Tribunes of the People* were tired with having continued ſo long quiet. They therefore ſeized the Opportunity which offered it ſelf, to ſower the Minds of the People, and ſet them againſt the Government of the *Military Tribunes*. They addreſſed themſelves to an Aſſembly of *Tribes*, in this manner. *We foreſaw the Inconveniencies, which the Artifice of the Senate has now produced. By the Help of their deceitful Bribes, they made the People ſell them their Liberty. You now ſee the* Roman *Youth baniſhed from their Country for whole Years together, obliged to ſuffer the Hardſhips of Winter in Tents, without returning to their Families, or being able to attend to their own Affairs. Have you well conſidered the Deſign of the* Military Tribunes? *They know the Strength of the People lays in thoſe brave Youth, which they keep in the Field. Their Intention therefore in depriving you of them, is to weaken you. Who can reſiſt the Invaſions of the Nobility, or maintain your Rights in their Abſence? Unfortunate* Romans, *don't you endure more Hardſhips in the Camp, than the* Veientes *do, whom you beſiege? Though buried in Snow, and ſurrounded with Froſts, you have nothing but Huts to defend you, whilſt your Enemies are under the Shelter of their Houſes, and defended by their Walls! What, ſhall our Troops have no reſt, Summer, nor Winter? Shall the Seaſon, in which no Body makes War, either by Sea, or Land, afford our fatigued* Legions *no Refreſhment? What Slavery is this! Did our* Kings, *our ſevereſt* Conſuls, *our rigorous* Dictators, *our cruel* Decemviri, *ever require any Thing like this? Can bare* Tribunes, *who are only feint* Repreſentatives *of the* Dictators *and* Conſuls, *do, what neither of them ever durſt do? And who may we thank for all this, but you,* Romans, *who, among the great Number of* Military Tribunes *you have choſen, have not had the Courage to elect one ſingle* Plebeian? *If there had been but ſo much as one among them, he would have repreſented to his Collegues, that they ought not to uſe* Roman *Citizens like Slaves; and that they ought to give them the Winter, at leaſt, to breathe in, to return to their Wives and Children, and to aſſiſt at the Election of Magiſtrates.* Thus ſpake the *Tribunes of the People:* And their ſeditious Harangues might have interrupted the Siege of *Veii*, and thereby ſtifled the riſing Grandeur and Glory of the *Romans* in its Birth. But to the great Happineſs of the Republick, *Appius Claudius*, one of the *Military Tribunes*, was left at *Rome*. He was the moſt formidable Adverſary of the *Tribunes of the People*. He was the Grandſon of *Appius Claudius* the *Decemvir*, and had inherited his Hatred to popular Factions. This was he who adviſed the Senate, ſome Years before, to create Diviſions among the *Tribunes of the People*, and diſunite them. He was inured to theſe Wrangles in the *Comitia*, had a great deal of Wit, as well as a long Experience in the Management of Affairs, and had long accuſtomed himſelf to ſpeak in publick. He therefore aſſembled the People, and made them this Speech. Romans, *if you have not hitherto thought your* Tribunes *the Authors of the Misfortunes and Troubles of the Republick, you have now an Opportunity to undeceive your ſelves. What rejoices me, with Reſpect to you, and the Republick, is this; that your preſent Proſperity muſt neceſſarily convince you of your Miſtake. That is what makes your* Tribunes *uneaſy. Have you ever ſeen them in a greater Conſternation, than ſince our Soldiers have left off making War at their own Expence? They were ſenſible, That the Senate had united the two Orders in the State by that Means, and that a good Underſtanding between them would take away all their Power. Your* Tribunes *are, indeed, very much like our Phyſicians. They would have us always full of Diſeaſes, that they may have the more Practice. Anſwer me,* Tribunes. *Are you really the Defenders of the common People, or their Enemies? Are you really in the Intereſt of the* Roman *Soldiery, or is it your Deſign to ruin them? If you are ſincere, you will acknowledge, that your ſole Aim is to deſtroy the Nobility, whether they favour the common People, or oppreſs them: And in this manner we treat our Slaves. We will not ſuffer them to have any Intercourſe with our Neighbours, for fear they ſhould either receive Favours from them, or be ill-uſed by them. In like manner you forbid the Commons having any Commerce with the Nobility. Our Affection for the People, and our own Proſperity, are equally offenſive to you. But if you had any Humanity, ought you not to be delighted to ſee the Regard the Senate ſhews the People, and the Obedience the People pay to the Orders of the Senate? Who does not ſee, that*

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Livy B. 5. *c.* 3.

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M. Æmilius, M. Furius, Ap. Claudius, L. Julius, M. Quinctilius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes.

that the Glory and Grandeur of this Empire, do abſolutely depend upon the invariable good Underſtanding between theſe two Orders of Men? And in what then does this deplorable Condition, in which you complain our Troops at preſent are, conſiſt? Do they, who are in the Camp, think themſelves in ſo ill a State? When we thought of paying our Troops, you ſaid it was a Novelty. I grant it; but when a new Salary is paid, is it not juſt to require new Services in return for it? Ought not the Trouble to be proportioned to the Reward? Our Soldiers were formerly very uneaſy at being obliged to ſerve at their own Expence. They accepted Pay with Joy. Let them then with the ſame Joy abſent themſelves a little the longer from their Families, and continue in the Camp, where they are free from all Expences, and domeſtick Cares! Might not the Republick juſtly ſay to our Troops, in caſe they were to come to an Account with it, your Advantages are increaſed, increaſe therefore your Services? Is it juſt that you ſhould have a Year's Pay, for ſix Months Duty? But what am I ſaying? It is with Concern that I mention ſuch Particulars as theſe, which are fitter for Mercenaries, than Roman *Citizens. Is it not unqueſtionable, that* Rome *either ought not to have undertaken the Siege of* Veii, *or elſe carry it on with Vigour, and Expedition, for her own Glory? How ſhameful will it be for us, to raiſe it out of Inconſtancy, after we have begun it with Courage? The* Greeks *formerly ſuſtained the Fatigues of a ten Years War, before* Troy, *for the Sake of a Woman. At the ſame Time, how large a Tract of Lands and Seas was there between them and their own Country? And ſhall we then be tired with a Siege of one Year, at twenty Miles diſtance from hence, which is in a manner in ſight of* Rome? *Have not we very great Reaſon to purſue a furious Enemy, without Intermiſſion? The* Veientes *have declared War with us, contrary to the Faith of Treaties, ſeven Times; and have committed Ravages on our Lands a thouſand. The* Veientes *drew the* Fidenates *into a Revolt, put our Garriſons in* Fidenæ *to the Sword, aſſaſſinated our Ambaſſadors, in Defiance of the Laws of Nations, and ſtirred up all* Hetruria *againſt* Rome. *Our* Feciales *narrowly eſcaped being maſſacred by them. Ought then any Meaſures to be kept with ſuch an Enemy? On the other hand, have not we taken the moſt proper Steps to puniſh theſe Traitors? Their Capital is beſieged. We have ſurrounded it with prodigious Works. We have plundered its Territory, and laid it waſte. And ſhall we recall our Army, after all this? Would not the Enemy, in that Caſe, immediately overrun our Territories, both to revenge themſelves, and to get Neceſſaries? And what ſhall I ſay of the ſurprizing Labours our Soldiers have undergone, ſince they received Pay; the Fruits of which Labours, theſe kind* Tribunes of the People *would deprive them of? With what a prodigious Line have they ſurrounded the City? How many little Forts have they erected; few indeed at firſt, but they have very much increaſed their Number ſince? How wide a Line of Contravallation have they thrown up to prevent Sallies? What an immenſe Circumvallation, to guard againſt any Succours from the* Hetrurians! *How many* [19] *moveable Towers! How many* [20] *covered Galleries! What* [21] Mantelets, *built in the Shape of Tortoiſes! In ſhort, how many Machines for the Siege! Shall they leave all theſe Works behind them, that they may have them to begin again the next Summer? Beſides, ſhould not we thereby run the Hazard of ſpinning out an Affair into a prodigious Length, which we begun with Diſpatch? Will not the* Veientes *immediately ſend a preſſing Deputation to their national Diet, if we decamp? They may, perhaps, depoſe their* King: *Or the* King *may, perhaps, diveſt himſelf of his Authority for the ſake of the publick Good. And if this ſhould happen, how dangerous would it prove to the Republick? We have now nothing to do but with the* Veientes, *we ſhould then have all* Hetruria *upon us. The Deſtruction of our Works before* Veii, *and the ravaging of our Lands, would be the neceſſary Conſequences of the Advice your* Tribunes *give you.*

19 The Antients attacked Places with moveable Towers of Wood, which run upon Wheels, that they might be the more eaſily moved backwards, or forwards, as there was Occaſion. By the Help of theſe Towers, which conſiſted of ſeveral Floors, the Beſiegers raiſed themſelves as high, as the Walls of the beſieged Place, and thereby diſcovered what was done in the City. Beſides, they could eaſily throw their Darts upon the Enemy's Garriſon, and work to Advantage their *Catapults*, and *Balliſts*, and other battering Engines, which were formerly in uſe, for want of Cannon.

20 Theſe Galleries guarded the Workmen againſt the Attacks of the Beſieged. They were covered with ſhelving Roofs, to break the Force of the Stones which were thrown from above, that they might not fall perpendicularly, but ſlide down to the Bottom. This Roof was made of Planks, or Hurdles, covered with green Ox-hides, that they might be Proof againſt Fire. There were ſeveral ſorts of theſe moveable Galleries, of which we ſhall ſpeak hereafter.

21 Theſe *Mantelets* were moveable Parapets, which covered the Workmen when they were filling up the Ditch. They were uſed by the Soldiers, in their Approaches, and in Sapping Walls.

And

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And if you purſue it, you would be in the State of Valetudinarians, who are ſuffered to eat or drink what they pleaſe; and who, by too much Indulgence, fall into a Relapſe, which is more dangerous than the firſt Diſorder. Nay, I go farther. Will not our obliging our Soldiers to keep the Field all the Winter, teach them ſuch Diſcipline, as may make them Conquerors? This will accuſtom them not to content themſelves with the Advantages of an haſty Victory. They will learn to endure the Fatigues of a long Siege; to wait with Patience to the end of a ſlow Expedition; to join Summer and Winter together, rather than leave any Enterprize unfiniſhed; and not to fly away from their Camp, as Swallows do from the Country, as ſoon as Autumn approaches. But Winter is a very troubleſome Seaſon. What then? Shall we be afraid to carry on a War in it, when we are not afraid to purſue our Hunting, in the midſt of it? We make our Way in the Mountains through Froſts and Snow, in purſuit of a Stag, or a Boar. Shall then the Love of Pleaſure have a greater Influence upon us, than the Love of Glory, and the publick Good? No, no, it were an Affront to brave Men, to ſuſpect them of being ſo effeminate, as not to dare paſs a Winter in their Tents. They doubtleſs never gave the Tribunes *a Commiſſion to be the Protectors of ſuch Cowardice, as they impute to them. They know that their Fore-fathers obtained the Creation of* Tribunes *in a Camp, and during the Severities of the Winter. They know the Example they ſhall ſhew before* Veii, *will be followed in future Wars, and that it will promote the Glory of the* Roman *Name. This will remove the ill Opinion the World entertains of us, that the* Romans *can conquer no Cities, but ſuch as they can take at the firſt Attack. Perſeverance is very neceſſary for important Conqueſts. Strong Places are only to be ſtarved out. Time and Patience are neceſſary to ſubdue them. And theſe will make us Maſters of* Veii, *if the* Tribunes of the People *don't rob us of this Conqueſt. Is it poſſible that the* Veientes *ſhould be aſſiſted by the* Romans, *when* Hetruria *refuſes to ſend them any Succours? What can they deſire more, than to ſee Diſturbances raiſed both in the City, and the Camp, by our Diviſions? Our Enemies have indeed more Conſtancy than we: Even their Diſlike to the Regal Authority, and the Burden of a Siege, have not made them change their Government. They bear the Refuſal of the* Hetrurians, *to ſend them any Succours without Impatience. Inteſtine Commotions are baniſhed from among them, and ſuch ſeditious Diſcourſes, as are here applauded, don't eſcape unpuniſhed at* Veii. *Nay, in our own Camp, we beat thoſe Soldiers to Death, who leave their Poſts, or their Colours. And yet we tolerate Magiſtrates in* Rome, *who aim at making a whole Army deſert. So great an Aſcendant have your aſſumed* Tribunes *over you! Their Diſcourſes are hearkened to, even though they tend to the Detriment, nay, the Ruin of the Republick. Your Fondneſs for theſe pretended Protectors, is ſuch, that it makes you blind to the Crimes, which they conceal from you, under the cover of their Authority. As for you,* Tribunes, *what have you more to do, but to go to the Camp, and there corrupt our Army? This you may accompliſh, ſince nothing is now called Liberty at* Rome, *but a Licence to deſpiſe the Senate, the Magiſtrates, the Laws, the antient Cuſtoms, the Eſtabliſhments of our Anceſtors, and all military Diſcipline.*

Thus, by the Force of his Reaſoning, the eloquent *Appius* made his Party at leaſt equal to that of the *Tribunes of the People.* And in the end, it became ſuperior, by an Accident, which, one would have imagined, muſt neceſſarily have fruſtrated all his Deſigns. The *Romans* received a conſiderable Shock before *Veii:* The Beſiegers had already brought one of their moveable [22] *Terraſſes*, which were made of Timber, and covered with Turf, near the City. They had already brought their Galleries almoſt to the Foot of the Wall: And had nothing more to do, but to be as diligent in defending their Works by Night, as they were indefatigable in carrying them on by Day: But in this they failed. The Beſieged opened one of their Gates in the Dark, made a Sally with Flambeaux in their Hands, and ſet Fire to the Machines of the Beſiegers: And the Fire deſtroyed the Work of many Days, in a few Hours. At the ſame Time, the Enemy, with their Flambeaux, and Swords, deſtroyed many of the *Roman* Soldiers, who ran together to put out the Fire. And when the News of ſo conſiderable a Loſs was divulged in *Rome*, it threw the Senate into a Conſternation. They were afraid of a Sedition, both in the City and the Camp. All good Citizens were exceedingly grieved at it; and the *Tribunes of the People* were the only Perſons

22 The Beſiegers raiſed this ſort of Terraſſes, that they might fight the Beſieged from them, with more Advantage.

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who rejoiced at this common Misfortune. By their exceſſive Joy, one would have imagined they had been the Conquerors of the Republick. They expected to have been able to get the Law, which eſtabliſhed the Soldiers Pay, repealed; and to have had the Levies again in their Power: But their Hopes were vain. The moſt conſiderable Citizens in *Rome*, were on a ſudden ſeized with an unaccountable Fit of Zeal. Several of them were rich enough to have been placed [23] in the firſt *Claſs*, among the *Roman Knights;* but the Republick had not yet given them Horſes: This was a neceſſary Ceremony to make a Man a *Knight*. All theſe rich Citizens came to the Senate, voluntarily offered to furniſh themſelves with Horſes, and march to the Camp to continue the Siege of *Veii:* An Offer, which the Senate accepted with Thankfulneſs. And after the Example of the better Citizens, the Populace came and offered to ſerve in the Infantry, though not obliged to it. *Lead us*, ſaid they, *to* Veii, *or wherever you pleaſe. If we are ordered to carry on the Siege which is begun, we will never leave it, till the City is taken:* So that this general Zeal for the publick Good, filled the Senators with Joy. They deputed Magiſtrates to return the new *Knights* Thanks, and to ſpeak their Praiſes. As to thoſe of the common People, who offered themſelves to ſerve in the Infantry, they were not brought into the Hall of the Palace to receive their Anſwer. They continued in the Place, before the *Comitium*, adjoining to the Palace; and the *Conſcript Fathers* ſhewed them their Satisfaction, from the Top of the Steps at the Entrance of the Palace, both by their Words, and Geſtures. *Happy Republick!* ſaid they, *This Union of the People, and Senate, will make it invincible, and perpetual.* None could refrain from praiſing both the *Knights* and the People. Every body bleſſed the happy Day, which brought ſo much Felicity to the Republick: And Tears of Joy flowed from the Eyes of both Senators and People. In ſhort, the Senators returned to the Council-room, and made a Decree, commanding the *Military Tribunes* to aſſemble all the Troops, both Foot and Horſe; upon the Arrival of this new Reinforcement, to return them Thanks in the Name of the Senate; and to promiſe them, that their Affection ſhould be remembered: The ſame Pay was likewiſe given to theſe Foot-Voluntiers, as to the other Soldiers. Nay, the Republick did more: It now began to give the Horſe Pay. The [24] Horſes of the *Roman* Cavalry had indeed been maintained, at the Expence of the Publick, ever ſince King *Servius Tullius*'s Time; but the Horſe-men had ſerved at their own Expence. Funds were now firſt ſettled for their Subſiſtence.

It is probable that the two *Cenſors*, *Furius Camillus*, and *M. Poſthumius*, invented a new ſort of Tax. It was a part of their Office to take Care that People married, and to puniſh thoſe, who obſtinately continued in a ſingle Life, till they grew old. They ordered that an Impoſt [25] ſhould be laid upon Men of an advanced Age, who had never had any Wives, or ſupplied the Republick with any Citizens: And they threatened to inflict double Puniſhment upon them, if they complained of the Severity of this Ordinance. *If any Men*, ſaid they, *are obliged to pay towards the Expences of the Publick, it is doubtleſs ſuch, as have never had any Wives or Children to maintain: They muſt have been long exempt from theſe Charges, ſince they are neither Husbands, nor Fathers, to this Day. Let them therefore contribute great Sums, and open the Sacks, in which they have kept their Money, which ſhall, for the future, be applied towards the Maintenance of numerous Families.* This was the firſt publick Action, which diſtinguiſhed the firſt Office which was born by *Camillus*; an Hero, whom we ſhall ſee aſcend by Degrees to the higheſt Pitch of Glory.

Val. Max. B. 2. c. 9.

23 It is not known exactly how much a *Roman* Citizen was then obliged to be worth, in order to be a *Roman Knight*. All we know, is, that the *Romans* of the firſt *Claſs*, the moſt conſiderable part of which was the *Roman Knights*, were not worth leſs than a hundred *Minæ*, according to *Dion. Hal.* or a hundred thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs Money, according to *Livy*. What is certain, is, that *Servius Tullius* choſe his Horſe, out of the richeſt and moſt conſiderable Families.

24 From *Servius Tullius*'s Time, according to *Livy*, ten thouſand *Aſſes* were allowed every Horſeman out of the publick Treaſury, to buy him a Horſe, and two thouſand annually for keeping it.

25 This new Law was the more neceſſary, ſays *Plutarch* in the *Life of Camillus*, becauſe there were then in *Rome* alone, a very great Number of Widows, who had loſt their Husbands in the late Wars. One particular Injunction laid upon the *Cenſors*, ſays *Cicero B. 3. de Legib.* was, not to ſuffer any Citizen to live ſingle. CÆLIBES ESSE PROHIBENTO. *Plutarch* adds, that when *Camillus* was *Cenſor*, he ordered, that the Orphans, who had hitherto been exempted from publick Taxes, ſhould, for the future, be ſubject to them. There was a Neceſſity for this, continues he, on Account of the continual Wars the Republick was in, which were not to be carried on, but at an immenſe Expence: Eſpecially the Siege of *Veii* required a great Fund it ſelf. As it was the Buſineſs of the *Cenſors* to get in the Taxes, they had a Right to tax private Perſons in Proportion to their Worth.

Year of *ROME* CCCLI.

C. SERVILIUS, Q. SULPITIUS, Q. SERVILIUS, A. MANLIUS, L. VIRGINIUS, and M. SERVILIUS, Military Tribunes.

§. XI. THE Election of new *Military Tribunes*, furniſhed the Army with new Generals, for carrying on the Siege of *Veii*. The ſix the *Centuries* choſe were, *C.* [26] *Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, *Q. Servilius*, *A. Manlius*, *L. Virginius*, and *M. Servilius*. The Choice was in Appearance good, but it did not prove fortunate. Whilſt the *Roman* Army was wholly bent on purſuing the Siege of *Veii*, the *Volſci*, the old Enemies of the Republick, renewed their Hoſtilities againſt her. The City of *Anxur*, which had been taken from them, was but negligently guarded. The *Roman* Soldiers too eaſily got Leave to be abſent, and a great Number of them rambled about the Country trafficking, like ſo many Sutlers: The *Volſci* were alſo ſuffered to enter the City with freedom, and traffick there. Theſe therefore formed a Deſign to ſurprize the Place: And accordingly the Guard was betrayed, and cut in pieces: But there were but few *Romans* loſt on this Occaſion. The greateſt part of them were ſtrolling round about *Anxur*, and ſcarce any but the Sick were left in it. However, the *Romans* poſtponed revenging themſelves on the *Volſci*, and continued their Attempt upon *Veii*. This was the great Point, both Senate and People had in view. But the private Quarrels which aroſe between two of the *Military Tribunes*, who commanded at the Siege, diſconcerted the Meaſures of the *Romans* for ſome Time.

MANIUS SERGIUS commanded the *Legions*, which were ordered to carry on the Attacks, and *C. Virginius* was General of the Army which covered the Siege, and encamped near *Veii*. Theſe two Men bore one another private Grudges for a great while, which had a greater Influence upon them, than the Intereſts of their Country. And whilſt they were attending, each his Commands, the two *Hetrurian* Nations, which lay neareſt *Veii*, undertook to relieve the Beſieged. The [27] *Capenates*, and the [28] *Faliſci*, the one ſituated Eaſt, the other North, of *Veii*, took up Arms, marched to the Deliverance of the *Veientes*, and came and fell upon that Quarter, which *Sergius* defended. Theſe two Nations were led on to this by Self-Intereſt. They were afraid, that if the *Romans* once took *Veii*, the Torrent would overflow their Territories likewiſe, and lay them waſte: Beſides, the *Faliſci* had a private Reaſon to be afraid of the Reſentments of the *Romans*. They had formerly joined the *Fidenates*, when the latter revolted from *Rome*. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* made a joint Attack upon *Servius*'s Entrenchments, with great Fury. This was an unforeſeen Irruption, and the *Roman* Army was ſo much alarmed at it, as to think that all *Hetruria* had taken the part of the Enemy. The Beſieged likewiſe being full of the ſame Hopes, redoubled their Efforts againſt the Beſiegers: So that the *Romans* being attacked on two ſides, knew not well how to defend their Lines, both againſt the Sallies of the *Veientes*, and the Attacks of the Enemy. Nevertheleſs, they faced about every Way, and ran where the Danger was greateſt. Their only Remedy was to get *Virginius* to attack the *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, with the great Army, that lay encamped under his Command, and to leave *Sergius* nothing to do, but to drive back the Beſieged within their Walls: But the Diſagreement between the two Generals, hindered their taking ſuch wholſome Advice. *Sergius* diſdained to implore the Aſſiſtance of his Collegue: And *Virginius* abſolutely reſolved to continue unactive, till *Sergius* ſhould think fit to deſire him to march to his Relief: And both were obſtinate. Repeated Advices were brought *Virginius* to his Camp, That the greateſt part of the advanced Forts were inveſted; That the *Roman* Entrenchments were going to be forced; and That the Enemy began to enter them, both on the ſide of the City, and of the Country: But all was to no Purpoſe. He contented himſelf with keeping his Troops drawn up in Battalia, and always anſwered, that if his Collegue was ſo cloſely preſſed by the Enemy,

26 This was the third Time *Caius Servilius Ahala*; the ſecond, *Aulus Manlius Vulſo Capitolinus*, and *Manius Sergius Fidenas*; and the firſt, that *Quintus Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus*, *Quintus Servilius Priſcus Fidenas*, and *Lucius Virginius Tricoſtus Cœlimontanus*, were *Tribunes*. But *Diodorus of Sicily* does not reckon either *Manius Sergius*, or *Quintus Servilius*, among the Number of theſe *Military Tribunes*.

27 The antient City of *Capena* ſtood upon the Frontiers of *Hetruria*, and *Sabinia*. *Ortenius*, and ſome other Geographers have, by Miſtake, thought it ſtood in the Place, where *Canapina* now ſtands. It is certain, from the Teſtimony of the Hiſtorians, that *Capena* was in the Neighbourhood of the *Faliſci*. Its Situation therefore could not be that of the preſent *Canapina*, which is pretty far from them. *Cluverius* conjectures, that *Capena* formerly ſtood upon the Ground, where at preſent ſtands a ſmall City, called by the Natives of the Country *Civitella*, at a little diſtance from Mount *Soracte*, and *Fiano*. *Holſtenius* declares, there are ſome Footſteps of this City near *Morlupo*. The Temple and Grove of *Feronia*, were in the Territory of the *Capenates*.

28 See what we ſay of theſe Nations in the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory.

Year of *ROME* CCCLI. C. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, Q. Servilius, A. Manlius, L. Virginius, and M. Servilius, Military Tribunes.

as was pretended, he would, doubtleſs, have recourſe to him. So that Pride, and Haughtineſs of Spirit, made *Virginius* chooſe rather to leave the *Romans* in Danger, than deliver them from it; and made *Sergius* chooſe to be overcome, for want of Aſſiſtance, rather than ask it, and conquer. The Enemy therefore made a great Slaughter of the *Romans* in their Lines. Some fled to the Camp, others returned to *Rome*, and *Sergius* with them. There the vanquiſhed General threw all the Blame of this publick Misfortune on his Collegue. It was therefore thought neceſſary to recal *Virginius* to *Rome*, and to bring him to an Account for his Proceedings. The Senate was aſſembled to try theſe two Men, who were *Military Tribunes*, Generals, and Heads of the Republick: And their Defences conſiſted rather of mutual Reproaches, than any good Reaſons for their Conduct. However, each of them had his Friends, and Partizans, in the Senate. Some declared for *Sergius*, and others for *Virginius*, as their perſonal Affections for the Men inclined them, without any Regard for the publick Good. Some of the Senators aſcribed the Defeat of the *Romans* to Accident, others to the ill Conduct of the Generals: And to put an end to theſe Diſputes, the Senators made a Decree, which was generally approved. They made an Order, that the People ſhould immediately proceed to the Election of new *Military Tribunes*, without tarrying till the uſual Time for it returned. The Cuſtom then was to have the *Comitia*, for the electing theſe chief Magiſtrates, held on the *Ides of December*; but they were now held on the *Calends of October*. The other four *Military Tribunes*, who had been guilty of no Fault, made no Oppoſition to the Decree. The two Offenders only, firſt prayed that they might not have ſo great an Affront put upon them, as to be depoſed, before their Time: And then proteſted againſt the Decree of the Senate, declaring, they would not lay down their Offices till the third of *December*. This ſeemed therefore a favourable Opportunity for the *Tribunes of the People* to recover their Credit. As long as *Rome* proſpered, and a good Underſtanding was kept up between the Nobility, and the *Plebeians*, they had been forced to hold their Peace. But as ſoon as any Sparks of Diviſion broke out among the *Patricians*, they were not remiſs in endeavouring to make their Advantage of it. They pronounced with an Air of great Authority, that if the two refractory Magiſtrates continued obſtinate in refuſing to pay Obedience to the Senate, they would ſend them to Priſon. This Revival of the old Pride of the *Tribunes of the People*, was not at all agreeable to *Servilius Ahala*, one of the *Military Tribunes*. He made a Speech, which was calculated, both to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the *Tribunes of the People*, and at the ſame time to frighten the two Generals. *I hear on one ſide*, ſaid he, *the Threatnings of the* Tribunes of the People; *and on the other, I ſee* Sergius *and* Virginius *refuſe to ſubmit to the Decrees of the Senate. As to the former, were it my own Caſe, I would make them very ſenſible, that as they have no Right, ſo neither durſt they impriſon two Heads of the Republick. And as for my Collegues, I know a ſure Way of bringing them to Order, and putting an end to the Diviſions they raiſe. If they refuſe to obey the Senate any longer, I will immediately nominate a* Dictator, *who will force them to ſubmit, whether they will or not.* This Diſcourſe was received with univerſal Applauſe. The Senate rejoiced exceedingly, that an Expedient was found out, to force the two *Military Tribunes* to comply, without having recourſe to the *Tribunes of the People*. *Sergius* and *Virginius* acquieſced in this unanimous Determination. The Election was made; and ſix new *Military Tribunes* entered upon their Office, on the firſt Day of *October*.

Year of *ROME* CCCLII. L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæso Fabius, and M. Furius, Military Tribunes.

§. XII. The *Centuries* choſe [29] *L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæſo Fabius*, and *M. Furius*, ſurnamed [30] *Camillus*, who was now raiſed to this great Dignity the firſt Time. And now the Army furniſhed out as many different Employments for the Heads of the Republick, and as many different Affairs to undertake, as any *Roman* Army ever had done. The *Romans* were now to begin the Siege of *Veii* again; to keep the *Capenates*, and *Faliſci*, who had been troubleſome to them within Bounds; to make War with the *Volſci*, and retake *Anxur* from them; all at

29 This Year 352 was the fourth *Tribuneſhip* of *L. Valerius Potitus*; the third of *Manius Æmilius Mamercinus*; the ſecond of *Cn. Cornelius Coſſus*, and *Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus*; and the firſt of *Julius Iūlus*, as well as of *M. Furius Camillus*. Some of theſe Names are maimed in *Diodorus Siculus*.

30 The Surname of *Camillus* was given only to ſuch Children as were of free Condition. Perhaps they were ſo called, from their having been employed from their Infancy in the Service of the Altars, under the Direction of the *Flamen Dialis*, or the other Prieſts of the Gods. [The Antients called the Boys and Girls, who aſſiſted the Prieſts in their Office *Camilli*, and *Camillæ*. See above, *p.* 27. *Note* 97.

Year of *ROME* CCCLII.

L. VALERIUS, L. JULIUS, M. ÆMILIUS, CN. CORNELIUS, CÆSO FABIUS, and M. FURIUS, Military Tribunes. *Livy B. 5. c. 10.*

the ſame time. Beſides, the *Tribunes of the People*, had reaſſumed a ſort of Aſcendant, and their Threatnings, were ready to raiſe freſh Diſturbances: Which indeed broke out, when the Army came to be raiſed. Not only all the Youth, who were obliged to ſerve in the *Legions*, were inliſted; but the old Men were likewiſe forced to take Arms, to guard the City: And this made it neceſſary to enlarge the Funds which were to ſupply the military Cheſt, in Proportion, as the Number of Soldiers was increaſed. Then the *Tribunes of the People*, who were always ready to catch at any Opportunity of exaſperating the People, under Pretence of promoting their Intereſts, told thoſe Soldiers, who continued in *Rome*, That by their being inliſted, they were exempted from paying the Tax; and That the Services they did the Publick, in guarding the Walls, ought to be accepted, inſtead of their Aſſeſſments. Theſe Conſiderations flattered the Avarice of the Veterans; and the warm Declarations of the *Tribunes of the People*, in the publick Aſſemblies, increaſed the Difficulty People always make, of paying Taxes.

THE Decree of the Senate, ſaid they, *which eſtabliſhes the Pay of our Troops, tends only to waſte and deſtroy our young* Plebeians, *by the Fatigues of War, and to ruin our old Citizens, with Taxes. Our* Legions *have now been forced to continue encamped for three whole Winters together. This unuſual Dilatorineſs in carrying on the Siege of one ſingle Place, is an Artifice of the Generals. They deſignedly ſuffer our Army to receive ſome Checks in this War, purely in order to prolong it. How is the City exhauſted, by the four Armies which are juſt now raiſed here! All,* [31] *even Children, and old Men, have been forced by the* Military Tribunes *to inliſt themſelves. No longer any Difference between Summer and Winter; no more reſt to be enjoyed by this unhappy People. They are treated like a tributary Nation. When our Citizens are no longer able to receive any new Wounds, by Reaſon of their advanced Age; when their Lands lay fallow, and produce nothing; they are loaded with Taxes. Alas! The Republick makes the Troops dearly buy the Pay they receive! It lends out this Money at a very exorbitant Intereſt.*

THE Diſturbances raiſed in the City by making the Levies, collecting the Tribute, and by theſe ſeditious Harangues, were ſo great, that the Commons could not agree in the Choice of *Tribunes of the People*. They ought to have elected ten. The *Trebonian* Law enacted, that the *Comitia* ſhould not be ended, till the College of the *Tribunes* was filled with its whole Number, which was ten: And it deprived any leſs Number which ſhould be choſen, of the Power of filling up their own Body themſelves. But notwithſtanding this, it ſo happened now, that the aſſembled *Tribes* could agree upon electing no more than eight *Tribunes*. There were two ſtill wanting: Upon which the *Patricians* firſt endeavoured to fill up theſe two Vacancies with two of their own Body, but without Succeſs. Then they caballed together, to ſtrike at the *Trebonian* Law, which took from them all Hopes of ever ſeeing any of the Nobility in the College of *Tribunes*. After this, they took ſuch Pains, that they at laſt ſucceeded, in getting two [32] Perſons added to the other eight: They were indeed Commons, but not appointed *Tribunes* by the Aſſembly of the People, but by a Majority of the eight *Tribunes* already choſen. This was indeed in effect abrogating the *Trebonian* Law, but it was ſufficiently revenged by one *C. Trebonius*, who was then *Tribune of the People*, and bore the ſame Name, and was of the ſame Family, as the Author of that Law. He informed the People that their Intereſts were betrayed, and that his Collegues having been wrought upon by the Nobility, had in effect given up the *Tribuneſhip* to them. *We ſhall ſoon*, ſaid he, *ſee none but* Patricians *intruded into the College of* Tribunes. *The* Trebonian *Law was a Preſervative againſt their Ambition. If you ſuffer that to be aboliſhed, you bring the great Work your Fore-fathers completed, on the* Sacred Mountain, *to nothing; and will ſoon deprive your ſelves of the Protection you receive from your* Tribunes. This Diſcourſe brought the Odium of the People upon ſuch of the *Tribunes*, as had, of their own Authority, and contrary to the *Tre-*

31 Hence it appears, that in Caſes of great Neceſſity, the Republick obliged thoſe, who were under ſeventeen, to take Arms. The Reader will, doubtleſs, wonder, why the *Romans*, when attacked on all ſides, did not have recourſe to the Multitude of the common People, who were in the ſixth *Claſs*, and ſtiled *Proletarii*, and *Capite-Cenſi*. The Slaves, and *Freed-men*, might alſo have been of great Service, on Occaſion. But the *Romans* of theſe Ages were afraid of diſhonouring the Profeſſion of Arms, by admitting any Perſons, of mean Condition, to ſerve. They likewiſe excluded the Comedians, and Actors of Farces, out of the Army, as Men infamous by Profeſſion.

32 One of theſe two *Tribunes of the People*, was, according to *Livy*, *Caius Lacerius*, and the other *Marcus Acutius*.

bonian

Year of ROME CCCLII.
L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæso Fabius, and M. Furius, Military Tribunes.

bonian Law, choſen themſelves two Collegues. Nor were the Commonalty leſs enraged at the *Patricians*, who were the Authors of the Intrigue, in favour of the Perſons ſo elected: but they were moſt highly exaſperated againſt three of the eight *Tribunes;* whoſe Names were *P. Curiatius, M. Metilius,* and *M. Minutius.* Nevertheleſs, theſe *Tribunes*, who were afraid what might be the Conſequence, found Means to extricate themſelves out of this Difficulty: They diverted the Hatred of the Publick from themſelves, by turning it upon other Objects. The two Generals for the laſt Year, had not been puniſhed for their fatal Diſunion, which had occaſioned the Misfortune of the *Romans* before *Veii.* They therefore adviſed the People to cite *Sergius* and *Virginius* to appear before them, ſince the Senate had ſuffered them to eſcape unpuniſhed. The Accuſation the three *Tribunes* brought againſt them, before the People, was this. *We are required,* ſaid they, *to ſhew you the Complaints of all thoſe, who find themſelves aggrieved, either by the unuſual Levies which have been made of late, or by the Taxes laid upon the People, or the Slowneſs of carrying on a War on our Frontiers. We come to repreſent to you the Grief of the Publick, at the Defeat of our Troops before* Veii, *and the Mourning of all thoſe Families, which have loſt Fathers, or Brothers, or Relations. The Publick in general calls upon you, by our Mouths, to inflict due Puniſhment on the two Offenders, who brought all theſe Evils upon us. Yes,* Sergius, *and* Virginius, *you cannot your ſelves diſown the Crime we lay to your Charge! You are mutually the Accuſers of each other.* Sergius *reproaches* Virginius *with having betrayed and deſerted him:* Virginius *reproaches* Sergius, *with chooſing rather to fly, than ask for Aſſiſtance. But after all, can any Man think it credible, that either of them ſhould run into ſuch an exceſs of Folly, as this? Let us then dive a little into the Myſtery. Is it not more probable, that the Senate and the two Generals agreed together, that the latter ſhould ſuffer themſelves to be beaten, in order to continue the War, and prolong our Misfortunes? They would have our Youth grow old before* Veii, *in order thereby to prevent our demanding the Diſtribution of Lands; to leſſen the Power of our Aſſemblies; diminiſh the Number of thoſe who aſſiſt at them; and to bring our* Comitia *abſolutely under the Power of the Nobility. But be that as it will, the two Offenders at leaſt have a Decree already paſt againſt them, which condemns them. The Senate deprived them of their Office, by ordering their Succeſſors to be choſen on the firſt Day of* October. *Was not this declaring, that the Republick could not ſubſiſt, if they continued in their Office? But,* ſay they, *we have already been puniſhed for the Misfortune, which is charged upon us as a Crime. What! Do you call the neceſſary Precaution of the Republick, in depriving you of the* Military Tribuneſhip, *a Puniſhment? At this rate, your Collegues, who were obliged to abdicate, without having had any thing laid to their Charge, will have been puniſhed, without having been guilty of any Offence. As for you,* Romans, *recall to mind the terrible Condition you were in, after the Loſs of this Battel. How great was your Conſternation, when you ſaw our Soldiers come flying to* Rome, *full of Wounds. Will they throw the Blame of their Defeat upon Chance, or the Gods? Will they accuſe any others as Authors of our Misfortunes, but the two Generals? Is there a Man here preſent, who does not curſe the Perſons, Families, and Conduct of* Sergius *and* Virginius? *You have prayed to the Gods to puniſh them; why don't you then exert your own Power, in revenging your Misfortunes? The Gods don't themſelves puniſh Offenders, when they have put it in the Power of the Perſons injured, to do themſelves Juſtice.* The Accuſation had its deſired Effect: And the People fined the two Offenders ten thouſand *Aſſes* [33] of Braſs each. It was to little Purpoſe for *Sergius* to exclaim, that they ought not to have been made accountable for the unforeſeen Events of War. *Virginius* in vain complained, that this would make him endure more Hardſhips in the City, than he had done in the Camp. They both payed their Fines: And the three *Tribunes of the People* gained their Point. They diverted the Commons from purſuing them. Being wholly intent upon proſecuting the two Generals, they forgot the *Trebonian* Law: And the two aſſociated *Tribunes* kept their Seats in the College. The *Tribunes*, in Acknowledgment of the Peoples Favours, propoſed two Laws. The firſt, required a Diſtribution of Lands to be made, as formerly.

33 Theſe ten thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs Money, reckoned by their Weight, and according to the intrinſick Value of *French Farthings*, amount to the Sum of ſix thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty *Livres*; but not more than five hundred *Livres*, reckoning each *As*, as moſt Moderns do, to be worth no more than a *French Sol.* See above, *p.* 399. *Note* 32. and *p.* 430. *Note* 80.

The ſecond, excuſed the People from any more Taxes, for paying the Soldiers. Our Armies indeed, ſaid they, which are in the Field, do well enough; but they don't act in ſuch a manner, as to give us any Hopes of an end of the War. Indeed, all the Works before *Veii*, which had been deſtroyed, were already repaired. *M. Æmilius*, and *Cæſo Fabius*, who commanded at the Siege, had rebuilt all the little Forts, which had been demoliſhed, and provided them with Garriſons. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* were ſhut up within their own Walls. *C. Cornelius*, and the famous *Camillus*, who led an Army againſt theſe Nations, had found none of their Troops in the Field. The *Hetrurians* had left their Lands and Farms open, to be plundered; but the *Romans* were not in a Condition to undertake to beſiege their Cities. On the ſide of the *Volſci*, the *Roman* Army, under the Command of *L. Valerius*, had ravaged all the Territory of *Anxur*; and after having in vain attempted to take the City by Aſſault, had blocked it up, and drawn a wide Ditch round it. *Rome* received pretty good News from all Parts, where the War was carrying on: But this did not put a Stop to Seditions at Home, which had like to have ruined the Republick. The *Tribunes of the People* would not ſuffer the Citizens to pay the Taxes for the War any longer, and thereby the *Legions* were deprived of their Pay: So that they were very ripe for Sedition. But all this Buſtle ended at laſt, in getting ſome *Plebeians* choſen *Military Tribunes*. This was an Honour, of which the People had always been ambitious, but could never yet obtain it. But now the *Plebeians* had nothing more to wiſh for the aggrandizing of their Order; they were now permitted, for the firſt Time, to enjoy a Share of the higheſt Dignity in the State.

Year of *ROME* CCCLII.

L. Valerius, L. Julius, M. Æmilius, Cn. Cornelius, Cæso Fabius, and M. Furius, Military Tribunes.

§. XIII. In ſhort, the *Centuries* made choice of one *Plebeian* at leaſt, when they elected new Heads to govern the Republick. His Name was *P. Licinius Calvus*: And if we believe *Livy*, he was the only 34 Commoner of the ſix then choſen. The Names of the other five were theſe, 35 *P. Mælius*, *P. Mænius*, 36 *Sp. Furius*, *L.* 37 *Titinius*, and *L.* 38 *Publilius*. But modern * Criticks pretend on the contrary, that there was but one *Patrician* choſen *Military Tribune* this Election, whoſe Name was *Furius*. They judge ſo from their Names only, which do, in their Opinion, ſhew, that the other five Families were *Plebeian*. But however that be, it is raſh to contradict an antient Author, as to the Quality of the *Roman* Families, of which we can only judge by fallacious Proofs; what is remarkable in this Affair, is, that *Licinius* was already an old Senator, when he was raiſed to the higheſt Rank in the Republick, and yet he was but a *Plebeian*. The Reaſon of which was this, that the conſiderable Commoners had begun to be admitted into the Senate-houſe, and incorporated into that Body, ever ſince the Year of *Rome* 263. But what raiſed *Licinius* from a Senator to a *Military Tribune*, is not known. Some ſay he owed his Riſe to the *Cornelian* Family, which protected him, and into which 39 one of his Brothers had been

Year of *ROME* CCCLIII.

P. Licinius Calvus, P. Mælius, P. Mænius, Sp. Furius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius, Military Tribunes.

* *Sigonius* and *Pighius in Faſt. Capitol.*

34 *Pighius* cannot be perſuaded, that *P. Licinius Calvus* was the only *Military Tribune*, of the ſix, choſen for this Year, who was of *Plebeian* Extraction, as *Livy* expreſly ſays he was. It is certain, ſays *Pighius*, that the *Mælian*, *Mænian*, *Titinian*, and *Publilian* Families were originally *Plebeian*. But how does he know, but theſe Families were divided into two Branches each, one of which was *Patrician*, and the other *Plebeian*. Beſides, the Preſumption will always be on *Livy*'s ſide, with relation to *Roman* Families; he muſt probably have had a more certain Knowledge of them, than any of our modern Criticks can have; who in this, as in many other Caſes, ſometimes give us their own arbitrary Conjectures, as evident Proofs of Things.

35 In ſome MSS. we read *Publius Manlius*, inſtead of *Publius Mælius*, and *Menenius* inſtead of *Mænius*. But the Reaſons which *Sigonius* gives us, in his *Commentaries upon Livy*, for rejecting this reading, convince us, that we ought to retain the other. *Publius* has the Surname of *Capitolinus*.

36 It is evident from the *Faſti Capitolini*, that *Furius* was now advanced to the *Military Tribuneſhip* the firſt time: But he had not the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, which *Livy*'s Copyiſts have given him. It might have been obſerved, that that *Lucius* had been *Military Tribune* twice already: Which makes ſome conjecture, that he who was inveſted with this Office, in this Year 353, was *Lucius*'s Brother. The *Faſti Capitolini* tell us, he was the Grand-ſon of another *Spurius Furius*, whoſe *Prænomen* we have given him.

37 In ſome Copies of *Livy* we read *Publius Titinius* inſtead of *Lucius Titinius*. But both *Livy* himſelf, and *Diodorus Siculus*, give *Titinius* the *Prænomen* of *Lucius*, when they ſpeak of his ſecond *Tribuneſhip*.

38 *Lucius Publilius* has the two Surnames of *Philo* and *Volſcus*. In ſome Editions of *Livy* this *Conſul* is called *Popilius*. But this is plainly a Miſtake, ſince the Surnames of *Philo* and *Volſcus* were never uſed in the *Popilian* Family; whereas, they were pretty common in the *Publilian*.

39 *Livy* ſays, *Licinius* was Brother to *Cn. Cornelius*. And the Difference of their Names and Families made *Glarean* think, that they were Brothers by the ſame Mother only; that is, that their Mother was married firſt to a *Plebeian* named *Licinius*, and after his Death, to the Father of *Cornelius*. But it is more probable, that they both had the ſame Father, and that *Cn. Cornelius* changed his firſt Name for that of the *Cornelian* Family, which had adopted him. *Sigonius* ſupports this Conjecture with this Obſervation, that *L. Licinius* was already

Year of *ROME* CCCLIII. P. Licinius Calvus, P. Mællius, P. Mænius, Sp. Furius, L. Titinius, and L. Publilius, Military Tribunes.

been adopted: Whilſt others aſſure us, that he was raiſed to this Dignity, on Account of a judicious Harangue, in which he endeavoured to reconcile the Nobility and the People. The *Tribunes of the People* were ſo much rejoiced to ſee a *Plebeian* in this deſired Poſt, that they readily dropped their Oppoſition to the raiſing the Tax for the War. It was levied without any Difficulty, and the Troops received their Pay again. This was enough to revive their Courage: And accordingly, *Anxur* was ſoon taken. The *Volſci*, who guarded it, neglected their military Diſcipline on ſome Feſtival, and the *Romans* taking Advantage of that Neglect, made themſelves Maſters of it.

In the mean time, the *Romans* carried on the Siege of *Veii*, with as much Perſeverance as ever. They had a great deal to ſuffer from the extreme cold of the Winter. A more rigorous Seaſon had not been known for a great while. The *Tyber* was frozen, and conſequently not navigable. But the *Romans* had ſtocked themſelves with Proviſions in time, and lived upon the Corn, they had in the City.

Year of *ROME* CCCLIV. M. Veturius, C. Duilius, L. Atinius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and V. Publilius, Military Tribunes.

§. XIV. As for *Licinius*, he had filled his Seat among the *Military Tribunes* with univerſal Approbation. Both Nobility and People were pleaſed with his Moderation. And this encouraged the Commons to make as many of their own Body *Military Tribunes*, as they could: They began to like governing in Chief. When therefore the *Centuries* were aſſembled to proceed to a new Election, they pitched upon five *Plebeians*, to raiſe them to the higheſt Office in *Rome*, and joined with them only one *Patrician*, *M. Veturius*. The Names of the five 50 were, *C. Duilius*, *L. Atinius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *M. Pomponius*, and *V. Publilius*. And this Year's Experience ſhewed, that the Affairs of War ſucceeded as well in their Hands, as if managed ſolely by *Patricians*. The *Roman* Arms proſpered before *Veii*. The three Armies of the laſt Year were joined together, to haſten the Reduction of the Place. Nevertheleſs the *Capenates* and *Faliſci* came again to relieve the Beſieged, who prepared to make Sallies: So that the *Romans* were obliged to fight three Armies of three different Nations, at the ſame Time. And this one would have imagined muſt have made the Succeſs of thoſe Battels doubtful. The *Faliſci* and the *Fidenates* came and fell upon the *Roman* Lines, as before; and the *Veientes* ſallied out, and attacked their Entrenchments. Then the *Romans* in the Camp remembered the Condemnation of *Sergius* and *Virginius*. The Army which covered the Siege ran to the Relief of that which was carrying it on. The Generals, who had hitherto been unactive, immediately led their Troops out of their Camp, and came and fell upon the Rear of the *Capenates*, who were buſy in attacking the Lines of the *Romans*. Thus the Battel began on that ſide; and if the *Faliſci* were affrighted at this firſt Shock, they were much more ſo, when they ſaw freſh *Legions* marching out againſt them, which fell upon them, and put them into Diſorder. Upon this the *Capenates* were broken, fled in Confuſion, and were warmly purſued by the *Romans*. The latter covered the Ground with great Numbers of ſlain: And the few who fled away, did not eſcape Death. It accidentally happened, that a Body of *Romans*, who were returning from the Neighbourhood of *Capena*, where they had been committing Devaſtations, met theſe poor Wretches, who had eſcaped out of the Battel, and cut them in pieces. So complete a Victory made the Adminiſtration of the *Military Tribunes* glorious in the Eyes of the People; but it was not perfectly happy. The Winter had been rigorous, and the Cold had held a long Time: So that the Seaſon changed all on a ſudden, from exceſſive Colds, to exceſſive Heats, without any Medium. This Irregularity in the Seaſons, made the Air unwholſome; and being infected, it produced a Mortality, both among Men, and Cattle. And when the *Romans* could find no Remedy for the Diſeaſe, they had recourſe to ſuperſtitious Obſervances. The Senate ordered the *Duumviri*,

Livy B. 5. c. 16.

already very old: And conſequently, that it is not probable his Mother was young enough to have Children, ſuppoſing ſhe did marry *Cornelius*; ſince this ſecond Marriage muſt have been ſolemnized, within fourteen Years laſt paſt, becauſe the *Plebeians* had not been permitted to intermarry with the *Patricians* longer than that Time.

40 The different Editions of *Livy* vary very much as to the Names of theſe *Tribunes*. We have partly reſtored them from the *Faſti Capitolini*, and partly from ſome antient Annaliſts. In ſome Copies of *Livy* we read *Lucius Titinius*, and *Lucius Racilius*, inſtead of *Lucius Atilius*, and *C. Duilius*. *Livy* likewiſe reckons one *Lucius Atilius Longus* among theſe *Military Tribunes*, and ſays, that he was a *Patrician*: When he at the ſame time declares, that all the *Tribunes* for this Year were *Plebeians*, except *Marcus Veturius Craſſus Cicurinus*. Nor are theſe Copies more exact, with reſpect to the other *Tribunes*: So that they diſplace *Volero Publilius*, and put *Publius Menenius* in his room. *Florus* alſo fell into the ſame Miſtake, when he changed the Name of *Volero Publilius*, into that of *Valerius Nero*.

who had the Care of the *Sybilline* Books, to conſult them, in relation to the preſent Misfortunes. And the *Duumviri* found, or at leaſt pretended to have found there, a ſort of Expiation, never before uſed in *Rome*. This was [41] to make magnificent Feaſts, for eight Days, and invite a certain Number of the Gods to them: It was then the [42] Cuſtom of the *Romans* to eat laying down upon their Beds, or Couches. Three Beds were therefore placed in a Temple, round a plentiful Table, and covered with rich Carpets, and *Apollo*, *Latona*, *Diana*, *Hercules*, *Mercury*, and *Neptune*, were invited thither. The *Duumviri*, and *Pontifices*, ſupplied at Table the Places of theſe Deities, who certainly did not come according to Invitation. Theſe publick Ceremonies were imitated in private Houſes, and *Rome* was full of Feaſts and Entertainments. Every one received his Friends, and Strangers, without Diſtinction, and the Houſes were open to all Comers. Enemies, who had not ſeen one another for a great while, now converſed freely together, and a Stop was put to all Proceſſes, Diſputes, and Animoſities. Even the very Priſoners, who were in Chains, partook of the publick Rejoicings. They were taken out of their Priſons, and the *Romans* were afterwards ſcrupulous of loading thoſe again with Chains, whom the Gods had delivered from them. Whether the *Duumviri* found this effectual Remedy for the epidemical Diſtempers, in the *Sybilline* Books, is not indeed certain. But it ſeems natural enough to think, that Joy, and an entire Forgetfulneſs of all publick and private Misfortunes, ſhould be a good Preſervative againſt thoſe Evils, which are often produced by Fear, and increaſed by Vexation and Trouble. However, the *Patricians* thought to take Advantage of the preſent State of Affairs, to recover the chief Stations, from which the *Plebeians* had removed them. They were but little affected with the Succeſs *Rome* had had in the War. It was owing to *Military Tribunes*, choſen out of the Commons. The Nobility were much more ſenſibly touched with their own Loſs, in having been diſpoſſeſſed of the *Military Tribuneſhip*, after they had ſo long kept that and the *Conſulſhip* wholly, and inviolably to themſelves. And as therefore the Time of the Election drew nigh, they uſed all their Arts, to recover again the Monopoly of thoſe firſt Offices, from which they had fallen. Firſt, They propoſed only ſuch Candidates to the People, as were Men of too great Merit, and Character, to be rejected. Then the *Patricians* conſidering, that the Plague had made the People more ſuperſtitious than ever, attacked them on that ſide. *Your* Comitia *for theſe two laſt Years*, ſaid they to them, *have drawn down the Curſe of the Gods upon us. The firſt Year, they placed a* Plebeian *in the* Military Tribuneſhip, *the Winter was ſevere to a Degree, more than natural. And this Year, when there are five* Plebeians *in that high Office, we are puniſhed with yet more Rigour. The Plague has made both City and Country deſolate. And is this at all to be wondered at? How could the* Auguries, *which of Right belong only to* Patricians, *favour Aſſemblies, wholly bent upon depriving us of an Honour, which was never before conferred on any but our ſelves? Can the Gods ſuffer the Diſtinctions and Privileges of Families to be confounded?* By theſe Means they diſpoſed the People to favour the Nobility.

Year of *ROME* CCCLIV.
M. Veturius, C. Duilius, L. Atilius, Cn. Genucius, M. Pomponius, and V. Publilius, Military Tribunes.

§. XV. When the *Centuries* were aſſembled to chooſe *Military Tribunes*, the People were awed with the Dignity and Appearance of the Candidates, and all their Minds were full of ſuperſtitious Prejudices. They therefore choſe none but *Patricians*, who were all Men of great Diſtinction, and ſuperior Merit. Theſe were *L. Valerius*, *L. Furius*, *M. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, *Q. Sulpitius*, and the famous [43] *Camillus*, who was now raiſed to the *Tribuneſhip*, the ſecond time. The *Romans* were then ſo fond of Prodigies, that they took Pleaſure in hearing the Accounts of them which were brought to *Rome*, from all Parts. Yet their Credulity did not go ſo far, as to believe a great Number of them, which had only the Teſtimony of one ſingle Perſon to ſupport them. But how could they avert the Evils which were preſaged by them? There were now none of thoſe learned Diviners in *Rome*, who were ſaid to know how to draw Prognoſticks from remarkable Events, to declare their Signification, to

Year of *ROME* CCCLV.
L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, and Camillus, Military Tribunes.

41 See what we ſay of the *Lectiſternium*, in the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory. We ſhall hereafter have Occaſion to mention more than one ſort of ſacred Feaſts, which the *Romans* ſolemnly kept every Year.

42 We ſpeak of this Cuſtom, in the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory.

43 The old Editions of *Livy* make this the third Promotion of *Camillus* to the *Tribuneſhip*, contrary to the Teſtimony of the antient Annals; and of *Plutarch*, who ſays, that *Camillus* was *Tribune* the ſecond Time, when the *Lake of Alba* overflowed.

expiate

Year of ROME CCCLV.

L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, and Camillus, Military Tribunes. *Plut. Life of Cam.*

expiate them, and prevent the dangerous Conſequences of them. The perfect Knowledge of Divination was thought to have been given only to the *Hetrurians*, and they were now the Enemies of the *Romans*. In the mean time one Prodigy, which was better atteſted than the reſt, ſtruck *Rome* with Aſtoniſhment. At the Foot of *Alba Longa* there was 44 a Lake, almoſt of a round Figure, which Nature had encompaſſed on all ſides with Rocks, and Hills; and its Waters ſeldom roſe ſo high as to the Foot of them. The Summer had been very dry, and the Rivers being almoſt dried up, were reduced to very ſmall Currents, in the middle of their Channels. The Fountains were exhauſted, and the Marſhes without Water. Only the *Lake of Alba* ſwelled all on a ſudden, and roſe to the Tops of the Hills that ſurrounded it. This uncommon Accident, though there was nothing but what was natural in it, alarmed 45 the *Romans*, who knew not the Cauſe of it, and even all *Italy*. But their Concern did not ſo much proceed from a Fear, leſt the Inundation ſhould overflow their Lands, and ſpoil them, as from a ſuperſtitious Apprehenſion, that this Prodigy was a ſign of the Anger of the Gods. The Report of it was firſt ſpread Abroad by the Shepherds, who fed their Flocks round the Lake. Then it reached *Rome*, and the *Roman* Camp, which lay idle about *Veii*, and attempted nothing conſiderable. The Beſiegers therefore often talking with one another, about the Affair of the Lake, the Knowledge of it was, by that Means, conveyed into the beſieged City. The Soldiers on both ſides, who in long Sieges ſometimes become acquainted, talked with one another from their different Poſts, of the ſudden Riſe of the Lake, and made themſelves merry with it. But it happened, that an old Soldier among the *Veientes* was more ſerious upon the Matter: And being ſeized with a ſudden Fit of Enthuſiaſm, he cried out, Veii *ſhall never be taken, till all the Water is run out of the Lake of* Alba. This was thought at firſt a trifling Saying, and ſpoken at a Venture. But the *Roman* who was upon Guard, over againſt the *Veian*, asked one of his *Hetrurian* Companions, who this old Man was, who had in an obſcure manner declared what ſhould come to paſs. To which he replied, that he was a Diviner, famous for more

Livy B. 5. c. 15. Val. Max. B. 1. c. 6.

44 This Lake, which is now known by the Name of the Lake of *Caſtel Gandolphe*, is about eight Miles in Circumference, and four hundred and eighty five Foot deep in the deepeſt Place, according to *Kircher* the Jeſuit, who ſounded it all over. But he excepts the North Part of this Lake, which lies neareſt to *Monte Cavo*, or the antient *Mount of Alba*, out of his Account; and ſays, he could find no Bottom there. He obſerves likewiſe, that the Lake was ſwelled about this Place, by Torrents which ran into it, with Impetuoſity, from the Cavities of the Hill. He is of Opinion, that the Waters of the Sea filtrated through the Hill, and paſſed through imperceptible Paſſages, into a Reſervoir, which they had hollowed themſelves, in the Center of this *Monte Cavo*, from whence they afterwards run into the Lake, through unknown Channels, as faſt in Proportion, as the Lake it ſelf filled with Water. The Multitude of Springs, Fountains, and Rivulets, which are ſeen in that Neighbourhood, are owing to the inſenſible Diſcharge of the Lake, which now empties it ſelf into a ſubterraneous Paſſage, dug through the Hill for that Purpoſe.

45 Natural Philoſophy was an impenetrable Myſtery to the *Romans*, in the time of *Camillus*. In theſe Ages of Ignorance, it was much eaſier to take natural Effects for Prodigies, than to diſcover the Cauſes of them. This ſudden Inundation of the *Lake of Alba*, which ſo much terrified the neighbouring Nations, was really but a very common natural Effect, of which we have an hundred Inſtances in different Countries. And we ſhall therefore, in order to account for it, take it for granted, 1. That the Hill of *Alba* formerly vomited out Fire. *Julius Obſequens*, in his *Book of Prodigies*, ſays, that when *Cneius Papirius*, and *Caius Cæcilius* were *Conſuls*, the Hill of *Alba* ſeemed to be all on Fire, in the Night. *Albanus mons nocte ardere viſus.* 2. That, according to *Livy*, it rained Stones in the Neighbourhood of this Hill, that is, the Hill threw out great Heaps of Stones and Aſhes, at the Top of it, which the ignorant Shepherds took for a miraculous Rain. And we obſerve, 3*dly*, That there is Reaſon to believe, that this Hill was formerly ſubject to Earthquakes. Two antient Writers, *Aufidius* and *Domitius*, quoted by the Author of the Book, *De origine gentis Romanæ*, aſcribe the overturning of a part of the City of *Alba*, which was ſwallowed up, and covered with Waters, together with the Palace of King *Alladius*, who himſelf and his whole Family periſhed in this manner, to the violent Shocks which moved the Hill. And we prefer the Account of theſe two Hiſtorians before that of *Dion. Hal.* who ſays, this terrible Cataſtrophe was occaſioned by a Thunder-Storm. Which being ſuppoſed, it will then follow, 4*thly*, That it is very probable, that the Hill of *Alba* formerly contained within it a great Quantity of nitrous and bituminous Matter, the Ebullitions of which produced thoſe ſurprizing Agitations, which were like thoſe the *Vulcano's* of *Veſuvius* and *Ætna* produce now. Whence we infer, 5*thly*, That we need look no farther for an Account of the prodigious Inundation of the *Lake of Alba* than to the Violence of ſubterraneous Winds and Fires. Hence came the falling in of the Earth, to fill up the ſeveral hollow Places, through which the Waters uſed firſt to make their Way into the *Lake*, out of whch they retired again, through other ſecret Paſſages. So that theſe Waters, not finding their uſual Paſſages, but being driven back with Impetuoſity, and, as it were, heaped up one upon another in great Abundance, they muſt neceſſarily break through all their Bounds, and riſe up to the Tops of the Hills. To which we add, 6*thly*, That if theſe extraordinary Overflowings have ceaſed for ſeveral Ages, it is natural to conclude, that the Fire of the *Vulcano* is quite ſpent.

true Predictions than one. The *Roman* was very religious in his Way, and had great Faith in Diviners. And he continued to talk with the Prophet, telling him, he wanted to consult him, about an Accident [46] which happened to him, and which he thought a kind of Prodigy, and wanted to have explained. In short, he prevailed upon the old Man to give him a private Meeting without the Lines. They both came to the Place appointed, without Arms, and without any Jealousy of one another. With talking, the *Roman* drew the *Hetrurian* by Degrees to a little Distance from the City. The latter was old, and feeble, the former young, and in full Strength. He therefore catched up his old Man in his Arms, and carried him into the *Roman* Camp. The *Veientes* beheld it with great Concern, but could only exclaim against it. The Diviner was carried before the *Roman* General, who examined him about what he had foretold of the Siege of *Veii:* And his Answers were such, as made the Council of War think it necessary, that he should be carried a Prisoner to *Rome*, and be interrogated by the Senate. When he came before the *Conscript Fathers*, he said, *The Gods are angry, the Gods are angry with* Veii, *since they have forced me to betray the Secrets of my Country. What I said, was the Effect of a sudden Transport, and it would have been a Crime in me to have concealed, what Heaven forced me to discover. We have an old Tradition in our Country, which is written in our prophetick Books, and confirmed by the Art of Divination, that if the* Romans, *when the* Lake of Alba *shall swell in an extraordinary Manner, can draw all the Water out of it, with proper Ceremonies, they shall then make themselves Masters of* Veii. *Till that time, the Gods will continue to protect my Country. And there is one thing especially, which must be taken care of in that Affair; which is, that the Drains which are made to carry off the Water of the Lake, don't convey it into the Sea.* This Answer of the old Man, was, perhaps, a pure Invention of his own, founded upon what he had observed of the State of the City: And the Circumstance of the rising of the Water, might, perhaps, be only added by him to make it the more mysterious. But nevertheless, the *Romans* thought it a Prophecy, which too nearly concerned them to be neglected; though at the same time they did not think proper to believe it, upon his bare Word. The Senate therefore sent a Deputation to *Delphos*, to consult the Oracle there. The Envoys were three Men of very great Distinction; *Cossus Licinius*, *Valerius Potitus*, and *Fabius Ambustus*. These three *Patricians* embarked, while the *Romans* continued to carry on the Siege of *Veii*, though but slowly. All the Advantage the *Roman* Generals gained this Year, was over the *Falisci*, and the *Capenates*. *L. Valerius* laid waste all the Country round *Faleria;* and *Camillus*, who found no Enemies to engage with near *Capena*, carried Fire and Sword wherever he came. He gained fresh Glory every Campaign, and by the Wisdom of his Conduct, many judged what great Things he would be capable of, when he came to fight Battles.

Year of *ROME* CCCLV. L. Valerius, L. Furius, M. Valerius, Q. Servilius, Q. Sulpitius, and Camillus, Military Tribunes.

§. XVI. The Deputies did not return to *Rome* from *Delphos*, till after the Election of new *Military Tribunes*. The choice of the *Centuries* fell upon six *Patricians*, four of whom had already filled this supreme Station more than once. The six were [47] *L. Julius*, *L. Furius*, *L. Sergius*, *A. Posthumius*, *A. Manlius*, and *P. Cornelius*. But they did not continue all the Year in their Office; for the Answers of the *Delphian* Oracle were interpreted to their Disadvantage. *Rome* had never yet so many Enemies upon her at once, as now: The *Volsci* were returned to *Anxur*, and besieged it: The *Æqui* on the other hand had invested the Colony, which the *Romans* had planted at *Labicum*. The greatest part of the Forces of the Republick were employed at *Veii*, which they rather blockaded, than besieged: Whilst other Bodies of *Roman* Troops were busy in keeping the *Capenates*, and *Falisci*, within Bounds. And to increase her Difficulties yet more, a new Enemy started up against her, took the Field, and committed Hostilities, even in the *Roman* Territory. This was the *Tar-*

Year of *ROME* CCCLVI. L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius, Military Tribunes. *Livy B.* 5. *c.* 16.

46 *Plutarch*'s Account of this Conversation is a little different from *Livy*'s. He says, the *Roman* Soldier, in order to keep the Prophet the longer in Discourse, desired him to assist him with his Advice, in an Affair which perplexed him. *This * is not the only Prodigy which has happened to the* Romans, replied the Soldier to the Diviner, *I have some much more terrible ones to recount to you. And all I desire of you, is to know, whether, in this general Confusion of the Affairs of the Republick, I cannot secure my own Affairs, and provide for my own Safety.* This Diviner, if we believe *Cicero*, *B.* 1. *de Divin.* was no inconsiderable Person.

47 This was the second *Tribuneship* of *Lucius Julius Iulus*, and *Publius Cornelius Maluginensis*; the third of *Aulus Manlius Vulso Capitolinus*; the fourth of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*; and the first of *Lucius Sergius Fidenas*, and *Aulus Posthumius Albinus Regillensis*. *Diodorus Siculus* has disfigured the Names of these Magistrates, as usual.

* *Plut. Life of Cam*

Year of *ROME* CCCLVI.

L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius, Military Tribunes.

quinians, an *Hetrurian* Nation; who thought the *Romans* would either tamely submit to be plundered, rather than engage in a new War, or elſe oppoſe their Incurſions with ſuch an Handful of Men, as they had no Reaſon much to fear. But they were miſtaken. *A. Poſthumius*, and *L. Julius*, were left at *Rome*. They demanded Leave to raiſe Troops, to diſperſe theſe new Enemies. The *Tribunes of the People* retarded their Deſign for ſome time, by their Oppoſitions: But at laſt they raiſed a Company of Voluntiers, who followed them of their own accord. With this little Army, *A. Poſthumius* and *L. Julius* marched privately out of *Rome*, and going a great Way about, through the Lands of *Cære*, they came and fell on the *Tarquinians* all on a ſudden, as they were loaded with Spoil, and returning into their own Country. The *Romans* made a terrible Slaughter of theſe Pillagers, and forced thoſe who eſcaped to leave their Spoils behind them, that they might fly the faſter. Then the victorious Troops gathered all the Booty together, and brought it to *Rome*. The Inhabitants had two Days allowed them to diſcover what had been taken from their Lands. The reſt, which was either not owned, or belonged to the Enemy, was ſold to the beſt Bidder: And all the Money it ſold for, was diſtributed among thoſe brave Voluntiers, to whom *Rome* was indebted for this Victory. But in all other Places, where the Republick had Armies, their Succeſs was uncertain. As to the Camp before *Veii* in particular, the *Romans* did not depend ſo much on ſucceeding in that Affair, by any human Strength, as by the Aſſiſtance of the Gods. This was the Situation of Affairs, when the Deputies returned from [48] *Delphos*. And how great was the Surprize, when the Anſwers of the *Pythian* [49] Prieſteſs appeared to be exactly agreeable to the Prediction of the old Man of *Veii!* One of the Hiſtorians is of Opinion, that the *Hetrurian* Diviner kept a Correſpondence with the Prieſteſs of *Delphos*, and that he made her ſpeak the ſame Language in *Greece*, which he himſelf had ſpoken in *Italy*. But St. *Auſtin* aſcribes all theſe Pagan [50] Prodigies to the Devil. However, it's certain, the Oracle ſcarce ſaid any Thing more, than what the Diviner declared before. *Romans*, ſaid the *Pythoneſs* to the Deputies, *take care how you ſuffer the Waters of the Lake to overflow, and run towards the Sea. Draw them off by Channels made on Purpoſe, and let them loſe themſelves under Ground. Then purſue the Attack of* Veii, *and be aſſured, the* Fates *will make you victorious over a Place, which you have beſieged ſo many Years. Take care to re-eſtabliſh the neglected Ceremonies of Religion, and to begin thoſe again which have not been regularly performed. And laſtly, when the War ſhall be ended, you ſhall ſend a conſiderable Preſent to my Temple.* The Prieſteſs might eaſily enough have foretold the taking of a City, which had been obſtinately beſieged for ten Years, from the relation the Deputies gave of it, and upon the ſame Principles, on which the old Man had acted, without the Help of any ſupernatural Divination. The reſt of the Ceremonies that ſhe appointed, ſo agreeably to what the Diviner had ſaid (which ſhe could not be ignorant of, but might eaſily have known, either by the Deputies, or their Attendants) amount to no more than mere

Zonar. B. 7.

De Civ. Dei.

48 They who are curious to know the Origin and Progreſs of the Oracle of *Delphos*, which was formerly ſo famous all over the Heathen World, may have recourſe to *Diodorus Siculus*'s ſixteenth Book, to *Pauſanias*'s *Phoc.* and to *Plutarch*'s Treatiſe *of the ceaſing of Oracles*. This Subject will hereafter give Occaſion for ſeveral hiſtorical and critical Notes.

49 This Prieſteſs borrowed her Name from the Goddeſs, who inſpired her. It is well known, that fabulous Traditions have given this God the Glory of having killed the Serpent *Python* with his Arrows, and delivered the Earth from a Monſter, which ſpread Deſolation every where. Hence, ſay the Mythologiſts, *Apollo* was called *Pythius*. But ſome derive this Name from the *Greek* Verb πυθέσθαι, which ſignifies to *enquire*, becauſe *Apollo* was *conſulted*, about future Events. Others find the Origin of this Name, in the *Greek* Verb πύθω, which ſignifies *to make rotten*, or *putrefy*. They ſuppoſe the Serpent *Python* was engendered of the Vapours, and putrid Exhalations, which aroſe from the Earth after the Deluge. But I ſhould rather be inclined to think, the Word *Python* originally ſignified, the *Spirit* which poſſeſſed the Prieſteſs, or the *Pythoneſs* her ſelf, at the Time of her Enthuſiaſm. It is certain, that *Plutarch* in his Treatiſe *of the ceaſing of Oracles*, and *Heſychius* in his *Dictionary*, do both render the Word *Python*, by Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, or Ἐγγαστρίμαντις: And *Suidas* confirms this Interpretation. The *Rabbins* likewiſe, in their *Talmud*, explain the *Hebrew* Word, which anſwers to the Term Ἐγγαστρίμυθος, by the Word *Python*. They give this Name to the Spirit, which ſeized the Diviner, and ſpoke within him. And ſome learned Men are of Opinion, that *Python* ought to be derived from the *Hebrew* Word, which was uſed to ſignify a Serpent; which, according to the Principles of Chriſtianity, is no improper Name, for him who produces the Agitations of the falſe Prophets.

50 This Opinion, which is confirmed by a conſtant Tradition, and by the Authority of all the Fathers of the Church, will always prevail againſt the Opinion of thoſe, who have aſcribed the Fury of the *Pythoneſs*, to the malignant Vapours, which came out of the Cave at *Delphos*, and which, according to them, ſo turned the Brain of this Woman, as to produce thoſe furious frantick Fits, which the Pagans took for a divine Inebriation.

human Conjectures. And as to the draining the Waters of the Lake, though it had no relation to the Conqueſt of *Veii*, yet the artful Prieſteſs might add that to the reſt, with ſome ſuperſtitious Circumſtances, only to make her Prediction appear the more ſupernatural.

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L. Julius, L. Furius, L. Sergius, A. Posthumius, A. Manlius, and P. Cornelius, Military Tribunes. *Plut. Life of Cam. Kircher B.* 3. *Vet. Lat.*

However, the *Romans* were ſurprized at the Agreement between the two Prophecies. They had an implicit Faith in the *Hetrurian* Diviner, and thought him a great Man. *Cornelius* and *Poſthumius*, two of the *Military Tribunes*, made him the Miniſter, to make the Gods propitious, and appoint ſuch Sacrifices, as were proper to prevent the fatal Conſequences of this Prodigy. Then the *Romans* ſent out Pioneers to make the Canal, which was to carry off the Waters of the Lake, and convey it all over the Fields in Trenches. This fine Work ſubſiſts to this Day, and the Water of the Lake *Albano*, which runs along *Caſtel-Gandolphe* paſſes through it. The Oracle of *Delphos*, having appointed the neglected Ceremonies of Religion to be renewed, and the defective ones to be reformed; the former of theſe Anſwers was interpreted of the Omiſſion of the Sacrifices which ought to have been offered up every Year, in Honour of *Jupiter Latialis*, on the Hill of *Alba*. All the Inhabitants of *Latium* ought to have aſſembled there, to celebrate what was called, the *Feriæ* [51] *Latinæ*, for three Days together. They were therefore renewed. And as to the ſecond Anſwer, it was diſcovered, that the Election of the preſent *Military Tribunes* had been defective, with Regard to the *Auguries*. It was therefore thought proper to rectify theſe Defects, after having firſt obliged the ſix chief Magiſtrates of *Rome* to lay down their Offices. Accordingly they readily abdicated the *Military Tribuneſhip*, and an *Interregnum* enſued. Three Preſidents governed the Republick, each in his Turn, during the Vacancy. Theſe were *L. Valerius*, *Q. Servilius*, and the famous *Camillus*. During the *Interregnum*, the Ambition of the Candidates for the *Military Tribuneſhip*, was more active than ever. The *Tribunes of the People* often oppoſed the calling the *Comitia* for the Election, and never conſented to it, till they had got a Promiſe, that the greateſt part of the *Military Tribunes* ſhould be choſen out of the Commoners. During theſe Troubles at *Rome*, the general Diet of the *Hetrurians* met as uſual, near the Temple of *Volturna*. The *Capenates* and *Faliſci* there offered a Petition, deſiring the whole *Hetrurian* Nation to take Arms, and relieve the *Veientes*: But the Anſwer of the aſſembled *Lucumonies* was much the ſame as they had formerly given. *Since the* Veientes *undertook the War, without the Conſent of the Diet, they are to expect no Aſſiſtance from thoſe, whom they would not conſult. We will not expoſe our ſelves to Danger, to deliver them from it. A Clan of* Gauls *are come and ſettled in the Neighbourhood of* Hetruria. *We have neither any open War, nor ſettled Peace with them, and we muſt therefore watch them. Nevertheleſs, that ſome Regard may be ſhewn to Alliances and Blood, we don't forbid any of the* Hetrurian *Youth enliſting themſelves, and marching, if they think fit, to relieve the* Veientes. Upon this News was brought to *Rome*, that a prodigious Army of *Hetrurians* was raiſing, in order to act againſt the Republick: And the Fear of it haſtened the ſuſpended Elections. The People firſt nominated [52] *Licinius* for a *Military Tribune*, as it were by way of Preliminary. He was the firſt *Plebeian* who had ever enjoyed this great Dignity, to which he had been raiſed four Years ago. He was now grown old, and his great Age rendered him very incapable of enduring the Fatigues of a laborious Employment, which he had not asked for. The Nobility made no Oppoſition to his Promotion. They were

Livy B. 5. *c.* 17.

Year of *ROME* CCCLVI. Interregnum.

[51] We have already ſpoken of theſe Feſtivals, which were celebrated by the *Romans* and *Latins* together, in Honour of *Jupiter Latiar*, or *Latialis*, as Guarantee of the Confederacy entered into by the two Nations. Each of the two confederate Cities brought the Offerings required of her. The Fleſh of the Bull, which uſed to be ſacrificed on this Occaſion, was to be diſtributed among all the People of both Nations, who were preſent at the Ceremony, without any Diſtinction. If any one had been forgotten in the Diſtribution, or the Ritual had not been exactly obſerved, the Sacrifice was deemed null, and all was begun again.

[52] *Livy* ſays, *Licinius Calvus* was declared *Military Tribune*, by a Majority of the *Prerogative Tribe*, *i. e.* of the *Tribe*, to whoſe Lot it fell to vote firſt. So that the *Roman* People ſeem to have then begun to change the Order which *Servius Tullius* had eſtabliſhed in the *Comitia by Centuries*. The *Plebeians* could not eaſily bear, that the great and rich Men in *Rome* ſhould have the greateſt Authority in theſe Aſſemblies, and chooſe the chief Magiſtrates out of the Body of the Nobility only, as they thought fit. It is probable, the Murmurs and Complaints of the Commonalty might occaſion this Change. And what confirms us in this Opinion, is, that we ſee *Plebeians* raiſed to the higheſt Employments, at this Time. Now it is not probable, that they could have ſhared the Honours of the higheſt Office in the Republick with the *Patricians*, if the *Comitia by Centuries* had preſerved the ſame Form, in which *Servius Tullius* had ſettled them.

very

Year of *ROME* CCCLVI.

Interregnum. *Livy B.* 5. *c.* 20.

very well ſatisfied with the Moderation he had ſhewn, in his firſt *Military Tribuneſhip*. But *Licinius* thought himſelf unable to bear ſo heavy a Burden alone. Nevertheleſs, as he was not yet entered upon his Office, he had no Right to aſcend *The Tribune*, and harangue the People; and therefore he firſt asked the Preſident of the *Interregnum*'s Leave, and then ſpoke thus. *It will indeed*, Romans, *be a good Omen of their future Concord, if you chooſe only ſuch Men for* Military Tribunes, *as have already exerciſed that Office, and whom Uſe and Experience muſt have made more knowing: And Concord is abſolutely neceſſary at this Time. But as for me, I am a mere Shadow, of what I formerly was. The weakneſs of my Body, the dimneſs of my Sight, and my want of Hearing, plainly ſhew the Decay of my Spirit, and Courage. Suffer me therefore, to offer you in my room, the Image of that* Licinius, *whom you formerly choſe from among the* Plebeians, *to be a* Military Tribune. *This young Man is my Son* Licinius, *whoſe Mind and Manners I have formed, and I offer him to the Republick to ſupply my Place. I entreat you to chooſe him into the Poſt you deſigned for me, and that he may obtain it, I join my Recommendation to his Requeſt.* Accordingly the People granted the Father's Deſires for his Son. Young [53] *Licinius* was choſen *Military Tribune*, and five Perſons given him for his Collegues, who had already governed the Republick in that Capacity. Theſe were *L. Atinius*, *P. Mælius*, *Cn. Genucius*, *L. Titinius*, and *P. Mænius*.

Year of *ROME* CCCLVII.

Licinius, L. Atinius, P. Mælius, Cn. Genucius, L. Titinius, and P. Mænius, Military Tribunes.

§. XVII. It is no difficult Matter to gueſs, why the *Comitia* choſe all Commoners for *Military Tribunes*, without mixing any *Patricians* with them, which had never been done before. The Reaſon was, the *Tribunes of the People* had entirely got the Aſcendant. But the Adminiſtration of the new Governors was not proſperous. The Siege of *Veii* was ſtill carried on, as the Oracle directed. It is probable, that *P. Mælius* commanded at it, and made but little Progreſs in it. Young *Licinius* continued in *Rome* to govern the City: *L. Atinius*, and *Cn. Genucius* marched with ſome Troops to the Territory of the *Capenates*, and *Faliſci*, with Deſign to oppoſe an Inundation of *Hetrurians*, who were ready to come and attack the Entrenchments of the *Romans*, before *Veii*. But the Boldneſs of theſe two *Plebeian* Generals exceeded their Experience in the Conduct of Armies. They were too raſhly brave, and imprudently fell into an Ambuſcade, which the Enemy had prepared for them. *Genucius* defended himſelf with Courage, when ſurrounded on all ſides, and was killed in the Action, fighting at the Head of his Troops. A noble End, which in ſome Meaſure wiped off the Reproach of his Raſhneſs! As for *Atinius*, he aſſembled the ſcattered Remains of the Army, gained an Eminence, and rallied his Troops; But durſt not face the victorious Enemy any more in the open Field. The Glory of the *Roman* Arms was indeed obſcured by this Action; but otherwiſe, the Blow was not great. Nevertheleſs, Fame magnified the Loſs of the *Romans*, both in the City, and in the Camp before *Veii*. In the latter, when the Soldiers knew the *Romans* had been beaten by the *Hetrurians*, and that one of their Generals was killed, they were ſeized with Fear. The Army were ready to diſperſe themſelves immediately, and were not, without Difficulty, kept in the Camp. They imagined, they already ſaw all the Forces of *Hetruria*, advancing to fall upon the *Roman* Lines. And at *Rome*, the Conſternation was yet greater; inaſmuch as the Reports of the Action exceeded the Truth. It was publickly ſaid, that the *Roman* Camp was inveſted by the *Hetrurians*, and that a part of their Army was coming to beſiege *Rome*. Upon which the Citizens mounted the Ramparts to defend them, whilſt their Wives ran to the Temples to implore the Aſſiſtance of the Gods. They entreated them to protect their own Altars, and turn all the Misfortunes of the War upon *Veii*. They put them in mind, that they had expiated their Defects, in point of Religion, and renewed the neglected Ceremonies, as the Oracle directed. By theſe Alarms, and ſlight Loſſes, Heaven prepared the Way for the Election of a Commander, who was to ſubdue *Veii*.

Livy B. 5. *c.* 18.

[53] *Livy* tells us, that the *Tribes* were called in their natural Order to give their Suffrages; and that with *Licinius Calvus* they joined *L. Atinius Longus*, *Publius Mælius Capitolinus* (and not *Quintus Manlius*, as *Diodorus* has it) *Cn. Genucius Aventinenſis*, *L. Titinius*, and *Publius Mænius*. Theſe five *Military Tribunes* now entered upon this Office the ſecond time. It is therefore probable, that from this time, the *Comitia by Centuries* began to change their Form, and that all the *Tribes*, except the *Prerogative Tribe*, followed their natural Order in voting, ſtill preſerving at the ſame time the Order of the *Centuries* in each *Tribe*. See above, *Book* VIII.

Year of *ROME* CCCLVII.

CAMILLUS, Dictator.

§. XVIII. In ſhort, the *Romans*, in this Conſternation, had recourſe to their uſual Remedy, when great Misfortunes overwhelmed the Republick. They nominated a *Dictator;* which was *Camillus*, the General who was thought deſtined, to complete the Overthrow of *Veii*. Every thing ſeemed now ready for the Completion of what the Oracle had foretold. The *Games*, and the Sacrifices of the *Feriæ Latinæ*, were renewed. The Waters of the *Lake of Alba* were already drawn off. The *Dictator* had choſen *Cornelius Scipio* for his General of Horſe: And the whole Face of the City ſeemed to be changed under the Government of the new Sovereign. The Courage, the Hopes, and the good Fortune of the *Romans*, ſeemed to revive all at once: And the *Dictator* omitted no Precaution to ſecure himſelf of his Conqueſt. He begun with inflicting military Puniſhments upon the Deſerters, who had fled from the Camp out of fear; and by that means he put a Stop to all Deſertions for the future. Then he ordered new Levies to be raiſed, which were to be made on a Day appointed. In the mean time he went to inſpect the Trenches, which had been thrown up before the beſieged Town. His Preſence there revived the Courage of the Soldiers, and increaſed their Confidence. From thence he returned to *Rome*, where the Levies were raiſed without Oppoſition. The *Latins* and the *Hernici* came of themſelves, and offered to ſerve the Republick, under the Command of ſo wiſe a General. *Rome* accepted the Offer, and the Senate returned them Thanks: And *Camillus* ended his Preparations for War, with an Act of Religion. He made a Vow to the Gods, that if he returned the Conqueror of *Veii*, he would celebrate the *Great* [54] *Games* to their Honour, and would rebuild the Temple [55] of the Goddeſs *Matuta*, and dedicate it anew. The *Dictator* left *Rome*, followed by the Vows of all the Citizens; and how great ſoever their Dependence upon him might be, they wiſhed for more than they could hope. However, he began his March, and advanced to the Plains of [56] *Nepe*. He there found the *Capenates* and *Faliſci*, whoſe Army was increaſed with a very great Number of Voluntiers, gathered together from all parts of *Hetruria*. But *Camillus* did not delay giving them Battel: The Particulars of which, Hiſtory has not told us. All we know of it is, That the *Dictator* conducted himſelf, with all poſſible Prudence; That Fortune ſeconded the Valour of the *Roman* Soldiers, and the Wiſdom of the General; That the Enemy was beaten and routed; and That their Camp was plundered. But the Booty taken in it, was not all diſtributed among the Soldiers. The publick Treaſury had the beſt part of it, which was put into the Hands of the *Military Quæſtors*.

Plut. Life of Camil. and *Livy B.* 5. *c.* 19.

§. XIX. After this complete Victory, the *Dictator* returned to *Veii:* Where his firſt Care was to put the Circumvallation in a better Condition. He increaſed the Number of the little Forts on it; and then forbad his Soldiers fighting, without Leave. This was to prevent their ſpending their Ardour in Skirmiſhes, and ſingle Combats, with the Beſieged, who often challenged them to fight, between the Walls of the City, and the Entrenchments of the *Romans*. The General thought it better to employ his Troops in uſeful Labours. *Camillus* had obſerved, that it would be impoſſible to take the Place by Aſſault, or ſcale the Walls of it. But he conſidered the Ground, and finding it very proper for Mines, he undertook to open one, and began it at ſo great a Diſtance from the Town, that the Enemy could not ſee the Workmen. His Deſign was to carry it on under Ground, into the middle of the upper part of the City, which the *Romans* were to enter all on a ſudden, through the Paſſage they were to make: And that the Work might be carried on without Intermiſſion, the General divided his Miners into ſix Companies, each of which was to take its Turn, of working ſix Hours. By this means the Work continually advanced, without any Interruption, and without tiring the Men: And as the Pioneers were digging under Ground, Day, and Night, the Mine was ſoon carried to the Place deſigned. Then *Camillus*, who was ſure of Conqueſt, wrote to the Senate, to tell them, that the *Romans* would

54 The *Games* of the *Circus*, were called the *Great Games*, either becauſe the Expence of them was very great, or they were celebrated with great Pomp, or becauſe they were conſecrated to the three *Great* Deities, *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva*. *Romulus* was the firſt who inſtituted them, according to *Dion. Hal. Livy* ſays, *Tarquin the Elder* increaſed the Splendor of them, and built on Purpoſe the *Great Circus*, which was afterwards appropriated to them.

55 This Temple was built by *Servius Tullius*. See what we ſay of *Matuta*, in the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory.

56 This City, which ſtood in North *Hetruria*, bears the Name of *Nepi* to this Day. *Livy B.* 6. and *B.* 27. makes it a *Roman* Colony. *Feſtus* ſays, it afterwards became a *Municipium*, or *Municipal* City.

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CAMILLUS, Dictator.

ſoon be Maſters of this wealthy City, and that the Spoil which would be taken in it, would be more valuable than all the Spoils the *Romans* had ever got in all the preceding Wars; and to deſire the *Conſcript Fathers*, to determine how he ſhould diſpoſe of this extraordinary Booty. This the *Dictator* did, to avoid either making himſelf odious to his Troops on the one Hand, by giving them leſs of the Spoil than they might expect; or incurring the Hatred of the *Patricians* on the other, by being too liberal in his Preſents to his Soldiers. His Letter was read in full Senate, and the Aſſembly was divided into two Opinions. Young *Licinius* was Preſident, as firſt *Military Tribune* for the Year; and he deſired his Father to give his Opinion firſt. *Licinius* was of a *Plebeian* Family, and naturally inclined to promote the Intereſts of the Commons. He therefore was of Opinion, that the Spoils of *Veii* ſhould be divided between the Army, and thoſe Citizens, who ſhould be in the Camp, when the City was taken: So that in this Caſe, all that would, might go to the Camp from *Rome*, and by that means have their Share of the Plunder. But *Appius Claudius* was of a contrary Opinion. It is well known to what Lengths he carried his Hatred of the *Plebeians*. He remonſtrated, that to ſquander away all the Spoils of the richeſt City in *Italy*, merely to ſatisfy the Covetouſneſs of the People, would be an unjuſt, a mad, and an unheard-of Profuſeneſs. *The publick Treaſury*, ſaid he, *is already exhauſted by the Wars. The Pay we give our Soldiers, has obliged us to raiſe Taxes, which are burdenſome to all Orders of Men. Why don't we then make the Spoils of* Veii *a Fund for the Payment of our Troops. This would be of ſo general a Benefit, that every* Roman *Family would be ſenſible of the Advantages of ſuch an Act of Liberality. Is it reaſonable, that idle Citizens ſhould go and rob our Army of the Fruits of their Labours, and their Blood? It is well known, that thoſe who are cooleſt in the Battel, are uſually hotteſt in Purſuit of the Spoil.* To this *Licinius* replied, that the Spoils of *Veii* would be Matter of endleſs Contention in *Rome*, and would be the Foundation of great Murmurs and Seditions among the People, if this new Scheme of *Appius Claudius* was put in execution. *It would be much better*, added he, *to gain the Affections of the Multitude, by ſuch a Bounty; to comfort them after the many Contributions which have exhauſted them; and to let the Soldiers reap the Fruits of the Siege, which they have carried on with perpetual Fatigues. It will be more agreeable to them, to carry Home the little they ſhall get themſelves in the Plunder, than to receive large Preſents from other Hands. The* Dictator *himſelf would not have referred it to the Senate, to determine what ſhould be done with the Spoils of* Veii, *had it not been to avoid the Hatred of the People. Why then are not we as fearful of incurring it? Why don't we allot every Man, whatever it ſhall be his good Fortune to get, in the Plunder of the Town?* And *Licinius* prevailed. This was thought the ſafeſt Way, and the moſt likely to gain the Senate the Good-Will of the People. A Decree was paſſed, giving Leave to as many as pleaſed, to go to the Camp, and take their Share of the Booty: So that great Multitudes of People flocked to the *Dictator's* Army; who all armed themſelves, and joined in attacking the Walls, as the General commanded. But before they marched out of the Camp, the *Auguries* were conſulted. After which the *Dictator* made the following Prayer (according to the Form generally uſed by the *Romans*, when they were ready to give the Aſſault to a beſieged City) [57] inviting the tutelary Gods of the Place

57 This ſuperſtitious Practice was a Conſequence of the Prejudices the People had imbibed with the Pagan Theology. We have already obſerved in ſeveral Places of this Hiſtory, that every City and Country had its tutelar Deities: So that when two Nations were at War, the Gods were ſuppoſed to become Parties in the Diſpute. Each was thought to eſpouſe the Intereſt of that People, who had put themſelves under his Protection. And agreeably to theſe Principles, *Homer* and *Virgil* frequently bring the Gods into the Battel, and repreſent them, as ſtriking Terror into the Enemy's Troops. The *Romans* therefore being prepoſſeſſed with the ſame Notions, made it a Duty of Religion, not only to honour the Gods which protected *Rome*, with a particular kind of Worſhip, under the Name of *Dii Penates*, but alſo to make Vows and Prayers to the tutelary Gods of the Enemy's Cities. And conſequently, *Livy* alludes to this Cuſtom, when he ſays, that the Inhabitants of *Veii* knew not, That their own Diviners, and the Oracle of *Delphos*, had foretold the taking of their City; That ſome of their Gods had been invited to partake of the Spoil; and That the reſt propoſed to have new Temples in another Place, ſince the *Dictator* had pronounced the Form of *Evocation*. This Ceremony had its particular Rites, as we ſhall obſerve in the ſecond Volume of this Hiſtory. The *Romans* thought this a neceſſary Precaution, from a Perſuaſion that they could not take the Gods Priſoners, without being guilty of the Crime of High-Treaſon againſt *Heaven*. It was for this Reaſon, that the General always prayed them, to deſert the beſieged City, in the moſt reſpectful Terms, before it was brought under a new Dominion. *Servius* adds, in his *Commentary upon the ſecond Book of the*

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Place to desert it, and go to *Rome*. *O* Pythian Apollo, said *Camillus*, *accomplish thy Prediction, since it is by thy Inspiration, and under thy Guidance, that I am going to destroy the City of* Veii! *I solemnly vow, to give thee the tenth Part of the Spoil which shall be taken in it. And do Thou, O* Juno, *Queen of the Gods, who resideſt in* Veii, *follow us to* Rome, *and come and dwell in a City, which shall be devoted to thee! Thou shalt there be placed in a Temple, worthy of thy Majesty!* The principal Temple in *Veii* was indeed dedicated to *Juno*, and was placed, according to the Custom of the Antients, in the Upper-City. The *Veientes* were a *Greek* Colony, who came to *Italy* from *Argos*, where *Juno* was especially worshiped. After these Acts of Religion, *Camillus* commanded to begin the Attack; and as the *Roman* Army was exceeding numerous, the Assault was made on all sides at once. By this means, the *Veientes*, who were busy on the Ramparts, in all parts of the City, had not Time to attend to the Mine which was dug under their City, but were put out of a Condition of repulsing the *Romans*, when they came out of their subterraneous Passage. Their greatest Surprize was, that the *Romans* should so suddenly resolve to attack a Place, in all Parts at once, before which they had languished away their Time for ten Years together. The *Veientes* knew not, say the prophane Historians, that their own Diviners, and the Oracle of *Apollo*, had assigned them over to Destruction. They knew not, that their tutelar Gods had been conjured to leave them by the *Dictator*. Nor, lastly, had they any Suspicion, that the Enemy was within the Verge of their own City, under Ground, and ready to make themselves a Way into it. In short, the unseen *Romans* opened themselves a Passage, within the Verge of the Temple of *Juno* it self, and if we will give Credit to a Fable, in a very critical instant of Time. It is said, that the Moment the *Romans* came from under Ground, the King of *Veii* was offering Sacrifice to the Goddess. 'Tis added, that the *Aruspex*, after he had consulted the Entrails of the Victim, had answered, that the Victory would fall to that General, who should dissect these Entrails. And 'tis likewise said, in the last Place, that the Moment the *Romans* appeared, they seized the Basons in which

Livy B. 5. *c.* 21.

Plut. Life of Cam. and *Livy B.* 5. *Ibid.*

the Æneid, that the fear of committing Sacrilege, first introduced the Use of these *Evocations*. But nevertheless, this Practice seems to have been entirely useless, if we judge of it by a Maxim of the *Roman* Law, mentioned in the *Digest. B.* 36. *ff. de Relig.* This Maxim was, *That whatever was taken by Force from the Enemy, was thought violated*; and consequently *prophane*. But *Monsieur de Cocceii*, to whom we are indebted for these Observations, has very judiciously observed in his Work called, *Dissertatio juridica de Evocatione Sacrorum*, that this Rule of the Law was to be understood only of those Cities, which were taken without using any *Evocation*. These indeed, says the same Author, were *ipso facto* prophane. And according to this Sense of this Law, the *Romans* consecrated all the Temples in *Rome* again, after they had reconquered it from the *Gauls*. Add to this, that the Generals of the *Roman* Armies never failed using *Evocations*: So that this Maxim of the *Roman* Law, was so far from making this Ceremony needless, that it seemed to suppose it. Besides, the People took it for granted, that the Moment a Place was conquered, the tutelary Gods deserted their Temples, and delivered up the Besieged to the Mercy of the Enemy. *Virgil* speaks of the taking of *Troy* by the *Greeks*, in this manner,

Excessere omnes, adytis, arisque relictis
Di, quibus imperium hoc steterat. Æn. B. 2.

This deserting of a besieged City by the tutelar Gods, has some relation to what *Josephus* says, *B.* 1. *Of the Wars of the Jews*; namely, that a little before the Destruction of *Jerusalem*, the Priests heard a great Noise, and with it a Voice, which repeated these Words several times, *Let us go hence*. And *Tacitus* attests the same Thing, *Hist. B.* 5. when he says, that a miraculous Voice declared, that the Gods were retiring. To which he adds, that they went away the same instant, making an horrible Noise. We cannot therefore but observe, by the by, that the Pagans had plainly borrowed this Notion of the Gods, and that of tutelary *Genii*, which they assigned to every City, and every particular Person, from the Jews. And the People omitted nothing, which might secure to them the Protection of their Gods. We are told by *Quintus Curtius*, that when *Tyre* was besieged, the Inhabitants chained the Statue of *Apollo* to the Altar of *Hercules*, because one of the Citizens had declared, he had dreamed he saw this God go out of the City. *Alexander ab Alexandro* pretends, *B.* 6. that it was no uncommon Thing to desire the tutelar Gods to give Pledges of their Fidelity. And he adds, that the *Persians*, and *Ægyptians* had no tutelar Gods, for fear of the fatal Consequences of *Evocation*. From all which, the learned *Civilian* above quoted, concludes, 1. That after the taking of a City, the Conquered had no longer any Right to the Temples, and other sacred Places, which were now in the Possession of the Conquerors. 2. That after this, the Gods ceased to be the Protectors of the conquered City, in the same manner, as a Tuition expires with the Death of the Pupil. And 3*dly*, That the Places made sacred by Religion became prophane, as soon as the Enemy got Possession of them; insomuch, that they were at Liberty to destroy, or alienate them, and apply them to other Uses; and that the Sepulchres themselves were not exempted. But it is true, that if the City returned to its old Masters, they were then reinstated in all their former Rights. *Phillip. Camerarius*, *Medit. Histor. Centur.* 2. *c.* 10. pretends, that there are some Footsteps of this *Evocation* in the *Old Testament*. According to him, the Curse which *Balak* King of *Moab* would have had *Balaam* pronounce against the *Israelites*, was nothing else, but a sort of *Evocation*, which this idolatrous King would have had used against the People of God, to rob them of the Protection of the Angel, which was their Conductor.

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the Entrails had been presented to *Juno*, carried them to the *Dictator*, and he cut them in pieces. But the best Historians of Antiquity [58] relate this Story, without giving any Credit to it themselves.

Livy B. 5. *Ibid.*

As soon as the *Romans* were come out of the Mine, they divided themselves into several Bodies, in order to go upon different Undertakings. Some ran to the Gates, slew the Guard, and opened them. Others came behind the *Veientes*, who were busy in defending themselves on the Ramparts, and fell upon them there. Others set fire to several Quarters of the City, notwithstanding the Showers of Tiles, which the Women and Slaves threw down upon them. The Cries of the *Veientes*, mixed with the confused Voices and Groans of Women and Children, filled the Streets of this great City. The Rampart was cleared in a Moment, and the *Romans* took the Place of the *Veientes*. All the Gates were broken down, and the Enemy entered the City without Obstruction. Yet still the fight continued in several Places within the Walls: Till at length mere Fatigue and Weariness put an end to it, after a great Slaughter. The *Dictator* commanded his Troops by an Herald, not to kill any, who laid down their Arms. Then all who surrendered themselves were received to be disposed of at Discretion, and the Slaughter ceased. Next to this bloody Scene the Plunder of the Houses succeeded. As soon as the General had given Leave for it, every Soldier ran wherever his Greediness of Prey led him. And it is said, that *Camillus* cried out in a Surprize, at the Value and Quantity of the Booty the Soldiers got; *O ye Great Gods! If you in Heaven envy my Fortune, and that of the* Roman *People, let all the Effects of it fall upon my Head, and* [59] *let* Rome *feel but the least part of them.* When he had ended his Prayer, he turned about to the Right, as was customary, and fell down upon the Ground. Those who were by, were affrighted at his falling; but the *Dictator* rising up immediately, said; *My Prayer has been heard. I have escaped, after this great Prosperity, with a very little Misfortune.* But afterwards it was a received Opinion, that *Camillus*'s Banishment, and the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, had been foretold by the Accident which then befel him.

Plut. Life of Cam. and *Livy B.* 5. *Ibid.*

Livy, Ibid.

The next Day, after a Conquest so glorious for the *Romans*, was spent in settling the Division which was to be made of these immense Riches found in *Veii*. The Prisoners of free Condition were sold to the best Bidder: And all the Money arising from thence was put into the publick Treasury. This was the only part of the Spoil from which the Publick received any Benefit: But as the People were insatiable, they murmured at it: Nay, they carried their Ingratitude yet farther. They maliciously sought out the Authors of the Liberality, which had been shewn them: And would acknowledge themselves obliged to none but the Family of the *Licinii*, whose Father first moved for their having a Share in the Spoils of *Veii*. As to the Senate, the People forgot the Decree it had passed in their Favour. And as for the *Dictator*, the *Plebeians* accused him of having referred the Affair of the Distribution of the Spoils to the Determination of the Senate, with no other view but to prevent their growing rich. Thus were the greatest Men then exposed to the Censure and Malice of the Multitude. After *Camillus* had disposed of the Booty which had been taken out of the Houses, he then ordered the Temples to be despoiled, not as a sacrilegious Robber, but with Marks of Piety and Religion. He resolved to have the Statue of *Juno* carried to *Rome* with all possible Decency. In order to this, he chose out of

[58] *Plutarch* honestly confesses, that such Facts as these ought not to be too readily believed. He dares not warrant the Truth of this: And *Livy* has much the same Opinion of it. He expresses himself thus. *In Things so very antient, I am content, that what is probable, should pass for true. But that is not the Case of Events, which have a miraculous Appearance. They agree well enough with dramatick Performances, but are not reconcileable with the Sincerity of an Historian. I therefore represent them in the same manner, as they are transmitted down to me, without troubling my self about confirming, or confuting them.*

[59] *Plutarch* gives *Camillus*'s Prayer another Sense. According to him, it was this. *O ye Great Gods, if you have any Misfortunes in reserve for us, to ballance this great Prosperity, I beseech you to preserve* Rome *from them, and let them fall upon me only; but in such a manner, as to make me feel only the least part of them.* We need not observe to the Reader, that there is a childish Contradiction in it, when thus drawn up: Besides, it expresses a Pusillanimity unworthy of the Great *Camillus*. There are surely no very great Degrees of Virtue necessary to make a Man willing to suffer the most trifling Misfortunes, in order to deliver his Country from the greatest. *Livy* makes him speak in a more heroick, and disinterested manner. It is natural enough to believe, that *Plutarch*, who wrote after *Livy*, misinterpreted this Passage of his History. This is no very extraordinary Mistake for a *Greek* Writer, who frankly confesses, that he had no great Knowledge of the *Latin* Tongue. *Valerius Maximus* makes *Camillus* speak the same Language as *Livy* does.

his Army a Set of well-made young Men, and commanded them to purify themſelves by Ablutions, and to cloath themſelves in white Habits. To theſe he committed the Care of carrying the Image of the Goddeſs to *Rome*, with the Offerings which had always been made her. The young Company entered her Temple with a great Air of Modeſty and Veneration. Firſt [60] *Camillus* touched the Statue with his Hand, a Liberty not allowed among the *Hetrurians*, but to one ſingle Prieſt of a particular Family. Then he is ſaid to have asked the Statue, *whether it conſented to come to* Rome; and the Statue is ſaid by ſome, to have made him a Signal; and by others, to have anſwered him, *That it would go willingly, and not be angry with thoſe who carried it away.* But prophane Authors themſelves look upon this as fabulous. However, as the taking of *Veii* was the firſt Conqueſt of Importance the Republick had made, it is not to be wondered at, that the *Romans* ſhould adorn their Relations of it, with many wonderful Circumſtances. It is more probable, that young Soldiers, full of Vigour, and Spirit, would not be very ſcrupulous about taking up the Statue of the Goddeſs, and carrying it away. It was placed in *Rome* upon the Hill *Aventinus*, according to the Vow the *Dictator* had made concerning it. There it continued a great while in a Temple, which *Camillus* himſelf dedicated. Thus periſhed the famous City of *Veii*, which was deſpoiled at once of its Riches, its Inhabitants, and its Gods. We may judge of the [61] greatneſs of it, by the Difficulty the *Romans* had to conquer it. Ten Years were ſcarce ſufficient to reduce it. The Siege was continually carried on Summer and Winter. The *Romans* loſt a great deal of Blood before it; nay, their Loſs of that kind was greater than that of the *Veientes:* And in a Word, it was taken at laſt only by Sap; ſo that it was rather reduced by Artifice, than by Force.

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§. XX. THE Joy of the People of *Rome*, at this new Conqueſt, was in Proportion to the Length and Difficulty of the Siege. Notwithſtanding the Oracles, the Expiations, and the choice of the beſt General, the Republick did not expect to have been Maſters of *Veii* ſo ſoon. When the News was brought to *Rome*, the Ladies anticipated the Decree of the Senate, and went to return the Gods Thanks before *Publick Prayers* were ordered to be offered up to them. But the Senate, when they did order them, commanded them to be continued for four Days together, which had never been done before: And upon *Camillus*'s Entry, the People gave yet more publick Demonſtrations of their Joy. No Conqueror had ever been met by ſo great a Multitude of People. Men of all Ranks and Conditions in the City went out to meet him. And it muſt be confeſſed, that this Great Man ſuffered his Mind to be elevated a little too much with the Glory of his Victory. Whether it were that he too readily believed the Praiſes of his Flatterers, or that he was naturally fond of State, it is certain, the Pomp of his Triumph, exceeded the uſual Simplicity of the *Romans*, at that Time. His Chariot was, contrary to Cuſtom, drawn by white Horſes. He painted his Face with Vermilion, like thoſe of the Gods. Indeed, white Horſes were then allowed to none but *Jupiter*, and *the Sun;* and nothing was adorned with Vermilion, but the Statues of the Deities: So that though a ſignal Victory deſerved extraordinary Honours, yet the People could not bear the Conqueror's putting himſelf, in ſome Meaſure, upon a Level with the Gods. They not only thought this Appearance of his immodeſt; but believed it to be affecting, more than became any Man; and therefore condemned it as an irreligious Act in *Camillus*. So that though the *Romans* took Pleaſure in the Magnificence of the Triumph, they blamed the indecent Pomp of the triumphing Victor. However, the Statue of *Juno*, which had been brought from *Veii*, muſt prove an eternal Monument of his Glory. *Camillus* had already placed it upon the Hill *Aventinus*. Then he drew the Plan of the Temple, in which it was to ſtand; and in diſcharge of his Vow, dedicated another Temple, which he had built in Honour to the Goddeſs *Matuta*. And after a *Dictatorſhip*, thus ſignalized

Pliny B. 33. c. 7.

Livy B. 5. c. 22.

60 *Plutarch* tells us, he borrowed this Account from *Livy*. Yet the latter does not ſay, that *Camillus* touched the Statue himſelf; on the contrary, he declares, that only the young Men abovementioned were commiſſioned to do it: So that *Plutarch* has falſely charged *Livy* with one Circumſtance, which is not to be found in his Hiſtory.

61 *Florus* tells us, that there were ſcarce any Footſteps left of the antient Grandeur of this City, in his time. We have already obſerved, that *Cluverius* places this antient City in the Neighbourhood of *Scrofano:* Other Geographers think it ſtood near *Formello*. And *Holſtenius* pretends to have demonſtrated, that it was ſituated upon an Hill, in the Neighbourhood of *Oſteria del Storto*.

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§. XXI. *CAMILLUS* had gained too great a Superiority over the reſt of the *Romans*, not to be envied. The Hatred of the People broke out againſt him, almoſt as ſoon as he had abdicated the *Dictatorſhip*. We have already obſerved, that before he attempted to give the Aſſault to *Veii*, he made a Vow, to ſend a tenth Part of the Spoils of the conquered City, to the Temple of *Apollo* at *Delphos*. But the *Dictator* forgot his Promiſe, and forgot to ſet apart the Share he had vowed, when he divided the Plunder. The *Pontifices* therefore declared, after his Abdication, that the People were obliged to return part of the Booty, every one had taken at *Veii*, in order to diſcharge this Vow. Accordingly the Senate made a Decree, that every Family ſhould conſcientiouſly make an Eſtimate of the Value of the Spoils it had received, and pay back a tenth part of it into the publick Treaſury. The *Romans* reſolved to purchaſe a Gold Vaſe with it, which would be a preſent worthy of the God, and of the Republick. But the Execution of the Decree cauſed a great deal of murmuring, and met with many Difficulties. It was neceſſary to adminiſter an Oath to every particular Perſon, that he honeſtly returned the tenth Part of what he had received. Some excuſed themſelves, under Pretence, that they had already ſpent all their Share; and Violence was therefore uſed with them. But the Odium of all theſe Exactions, and all this ill Uſage, fell upon *Camillus*. He was ſuſpected of having feigned the Vow (which he had not at firſt declared) on Purpoſe to embarraſs the People, and deprive them of part of their Profits: And the Excuſe *Camillus* made for himſelf, was thought unworthy of him. The People were not ſatisfied with his ſaying, that he had forgotten the Vow he had made to *Apollo*, at the Time of the Diſtribution of the Spoils. However, it was propoſed to buy ſuch a Vaſe of Gold, with the Produce of what was brought to the *Quæſtors*, as would ſhew *Greece* the Magnificence of the *Roman* People. But it happened unfortunately, that there was then but very little Gold in the City. None had yet been coined, any more than Silver. The *Romans* very rarely made uſe of this exceeding ſcarce Metal, but to make fine Toys. What they had of it was almoſt entirely in the Hands of the *Roman* Ladies. They therefore aſſembled, and had the Courage to devote unanimouſly what Gold they had, to their Religion, and the Honour of their Country. Their Jewels were melted down, and turned into a Vaſe with two Handles, [62] which weighed eight *Talents*. The Republick was not ungrateful to them for their Generoſity: It granted them two Favours in return for it. The firſt [63] was, that Funeral Orations ſhould be made for illuſtrious Women, as they were for great Men. The ſecond, that they might ride [64] in Chariots at the publick *Games*, and Sacrifices. Nothing now remained, but to preſent the Offering to *Apollo*. To do this, the Senate ſent a Deputation of three Senators to *Delphos*, in a Galley magnificently equipped; but they met with a bad Accident in the Way. Being driven up and down by a Tempeſt, off the [65] *Æolian* Iſlands, they were purſued by ſome Veſſels of *Lipara*, which took the *Romans* for Pirates. Their Veſſel was taken, and towed to the Iſland of *Lipara*, where they were at firſt treated as Slaves, and their Effects

Livy B. 5. *Ibid.* and *Servius* upon *Virgil.*

Plut. Life of Cam.

62 Among the *Romans*, the *Talent*, as a Weight, weighed a hundred twenty five Pounds, as we have already obſerved: So that a Veſſel of Gold of eight *Talents*, muſt have weighed a thouſand Pounds.

63 *Livy* does not ſay, that the Honour of Funeral Orations was granted to the *Roman* Ladies from this time. He makes this Privilege the grateful Conſequence of the Preſent they made the Republick of their Jewels, in order to enable it to perform the Conditions of the Treaty, concluded between the *Romans* and the *Gauls*, when the latter raiſed the Siege of *Rome*. *Livy* ſeems alſo to imply, that the *Roman* Ladies were paid for theſe Jewels, *in Specie*. *Pondere ab ſingulis auri accepto, æſtimatoque, ut pecuniæ ſolverentur.*

64 *Livy* gives theſe Chariots the Name of *Pilenta*. By all that the antient Authors tells us of them, it appears, that they were covered Carriages, and hung almoſt like our Coaches. *Virgil* gives us this Idea of them, in the eighth Book of the *Æneid*,

——*Caſtæ ducebant ſacra per urbem.*
Pilentis *matres in mollibus.*——

The Hiſtorian adds, that the *Roman* Ladies had the Privilege of being carried, when they pleaſed, in another ſort of Chariots, called *Carpenta*. Theſe were more open than the former, and were pretty much like our Waggons. But in Truth, Antiquity has not clearly told us, what Difference there was between the *Pilentum*, and the *Carpentum*. The Hiſtorians often uſe theſe Words ſynonimouſly.

65 The *Æolian* Iſlands lie between *Italy* and *Sicily*. They took their Name from *Æolus*, who was thought to have been Lord of them; and from the God *Vulcan*, who was thought the tutelar Deity of theſe Iſlands, which vomited out Flames, from time to time, like Mount *Ætna*. For this Reaſon

Effects were ſold to the beſt Bidder. But the *Roman* Deputies found Favour with the chief Lord of the Iſland, whoſe Name was *Timaſitheus*. He was a Man of Probity, and his Inclinations were truly *Roman:* He reſpected the Character of the Ambaſſadors, and the Preſent they were carrying to *Apollo*. And the Multitude were ſoon brought to think as their chief Magiſtrate did, who, not content with releaſing the Captives, gave them a Guard to conduct them ſafe to *Delphos*. The Deputies preſented their Offering there, and returned to *Rome*, well ſatisfied with the Behaviour of *Timaſitheus*. The Republick looked upon him as their Friend, ſent Preſents to him, and mutual Acts of Hoſpitality paſſed between them.

Year of *ROME* CCCLVII. CAMILLUS, Dictator.

§. XXII. AFTER the glorious Year was ended, which gained *Camillus* both a great deal of Eſteem, and of Jealouſy; the *Centuries* choſe ſix new *Military Tribunes*. Their Names were *P. Cornelius Coſſus*, *P. Cornelius Scipio*, *M.* [66] *Valerius*, *Cæſo Fabius*, *L. Furius*, and *Q. Servilius:* It is eaſy to know by their Names, that they were all *Patricians*. Nothing was talked of in *Rome*, in their Time, but a Diſtribution of Lands. The *Æqui* and *Volſci* came and deſired a Peace with the *Romans*, as ſoon as the latter had made themſelves Maſters of *Veii*. And the Republick granted them their Requeſt, though not ſo much out of Regard for theſe unquiet Nations, as out of Diſlike to a troubleſome War, which had laſted a long Time already. Nevertheleſs the Senate thought proper to plant a Colony of three thouſand *Romans* in their Country, to keep them in their Duty. Three Commiſſioners were already named, to make a Diſtribution of the Lands among the new Inhabitants. Every *Roman* was to have [67] three Acres and a half. By this Means the *Romans* would get rid of a Multitude of People, who might have raiſed and kept up Seditions in *Rome*. But when they came to enter their Names, in order to form the Colony, then the Unwillingneſs of the *Romans*, to leave their City, appeared. They deſpiſed the Offers which were made them of a Country ſo far off, and hoped to have a Share in the Diſtribution of the Lands of *Veii*, which were nearer than thoſe of the *Volſci*, and more fruitful than thoſe of the *Roman* Territory. *Why*, ſaid they, *muſt we go, and be confined to a melancholy and unwholſome Country, which is offered us for no other Reaſon, but to deprive us of the Hopes of a better Dwelling?* Veii, *both for its Situation, and the Beauty of its Buildings, is preferable to* Rome: *It is there that we deſire we may fix our Habitation.* From that time indeed ſome Propoſals were made, about the Removal of ſome of the People, from *Rome* to *Veii;* which Propoſals were afterwards more attentively conſidered, and with a more ſincere Deſign of putting them in Practice. It alſo from that time became Matter of Deliberation, whether all the *Romans* ſhould not be divided into two Parts, and one half of both Senate and People be ſent to *Veii;* that ſo they might have two Capitals, though they ſtill continued to be one and the ſame Republick. *Sicinnius*, a *Tribune of the People*, propoſed to make a Law for that Purpoſe. But the chief of the Nobility oppoſed it: And they had gained over ſome *Tribunes of the People* to them. *We will rather die*, ſaid they, *in the ſight of our Fellow Citizens, than conſent to ſo unreaſonable a Law. If the Republick is already diſturbed with ſo many Diſſentions, when within the Compaſs of one City, what will become of it, when its Authority ſhall be equally divided between two? Shall we ſuffer the victorious City to be depopulated, and make* Veii *a more flouriſhing Place, than it was before it was taken? Let thoſe go from hence that will; for our Parts, nothing ſhall ever force us to leave our native Country! As many of you as are*

Year of *ROME* CCCLVIII. P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, M. VALERIUS, CÆSO FABIUS, L. FURIUS, and Q. SERVILIUS, Military Tribunes.

Reaſon they were called *Hepheſtiades* (i. e. *Iſlands burning like Fire*) by the *Greeks*, and the *Iſlands of Vulcan*, by the *Latins*. Some call them *Plotæ* (or *ſailing* Iſlands) either becauſe one of them moved about, as *Delos* did, according to *Euſtathius on the tenth Book of the Odyſſes*; or becauſe Veſſels took a Circuit when they ſailed near theſe Iſlands. *Strabo*, *Diodorus*, *Mela*, and *Pliny*, reckon up ſeven of them, namely, *Lipara*, or *Lipari*, which is ſaid to have had its Name from one *Liparus*, the Son of *Auſon*, who reigned in this Iſland; *Termeſſa*, called formerly *Hiera*, and *Vulcania*, and now *Volcano*; *Strongyle*, or *Strongoli*, or *Stromboli*; *Euonymos*, or *Iſca Bianca*; *Didyme*, or *Salini*; *Ericuſa*, or according to others, *Ericodes*, now *Alicur*; and *Phœnicuſa*, or *Phœnicodes*, which is now called *Felicur*. *Ptolomy* reckons up fifteen of them; but it is evident, he includes in that Number ſeveral other little Iſlands, which are too far diſtant from the *Æolian*, to be thought a part of them. *Lipari* is the moſt conſiderable of them all. The *Roman* Hiſtory will often give us occaſion to ſpeak more particularly of theſe Iſlands.

66 This was the ſecond *Tribuneſhip* of *Marcus Valerius Maximus*; the third of *Cæſo Fabius Ambuſtus*, and *Quintus Servilius Priſcus Fidenas*; and the fifth of *Lucius Furius Medullinus*. *Diodorus of Sicily* has omitted or mutilated the Names and Surnames of theſe *Military Tribunes*.

67 In *Livy* we read *terna jugera & ſeptunces*. that is, three Acres, and ſeven parts of an Acre. We have already obſerved, that the *Romans* uſually divided any *Integer* into twelve Parts, which were called *Unciæ*.

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P. Cornelius Cossus, P. Cornelius Scipio, M. Valerius, Cæso Fabius, L. Furius, and Q. Servilius, Military Tribunes.

inclined to do it, follow your Sicinnius, *this new Founder of a new* Rome! *We will never desert that, which was founded by* Romulus, *the Son of a God.* And these Oppositions of the Senate, and the Nobility, raised very great Commotions in *Rome.* The Sedition had very like to have ended in a Battel: The People took up Arms, and were ready to shed Blood; but the most venerable Senators presented themselves before them, and offered to receive their Blows. *Strike*, cried they, *stab us.* And then the Respect of the People for them, prevailed over their Resentments. They were ashamed to fall upon old Men, whose Dignity and Merits made them more venerable, than their Age. And during this Madness of the People, *Camillus* was heard to say, in all Places, *That he was not at all surprized at this sudden Extravagance, which had seized the Minds of the Commons. This mad Way of thinking is judicial. The* Plebeians *refused to perform the Vow I had made. The Conquest was unquestionable. But has my Promise been performed? The People seem to me, rather to have given* Apollo *an Alms, than offered him the tenth Part of their Spoil. They complain heavily of those few Moveables, which they were forced to return; but shew no Gratitude for the vast Tract of Ground I conquered for them.* But these Discourses of *Camillus*, and the Harangues of the *Tribunes of the People* only exasperated the Populace against him. *This* Dictator, said they, *has almost reduced the Spoils of a wealthy City to nothing. He sold the Inhabitants at the dearest rate, for the Benefit of the publick Treasury; and has, by his pretended Vows, taken from us almost all the Fruits of our Labours.* Thus spake they of *Camillus*, and the Senators, when absent; but as soon as they appeared, the most furious were cautious of what they did, and held their Peace.

Livy B. 5. *c.* 24.

THUS were the *Romans* embroiled at Home; but their Arms were victorious Abroad. Two of the *Military Tribunes, Fabius* and *Furius*, had continued at *Rome* to govern it. Two others, *Servilius* and *Valerius*, were entered into the Country of the *Capenates:* And lastly, the two *Cornelii* had spread their Troops all over the Lands of the *Falisci.* But these Generals did not concern themselves about surprizing, or besieging Towns: They contented themselves with laying the Countries waste. Their Soldiers plundered the Farms, carried away all the Instruments of Husbandry they met with, and left neither Houses, nor Fruit-trees, standing. This severe Treatment forced the *Capenates* to beg Quarter, and submit to the *Romans:* So that of all the Wars the Republick was engaged in, before the taking of *Veii*, the only one now left subsisting, was that with the *Falisci.* Thus did the smallest State in *Italy* begin to enlarge it self so much, by the Valour and Exploits of one single Man, as to become formidable to all the Nations round about it.

Year of *ROME* CCCLIX.
Camillus, L. Furius, P. Cornelius, C. Æmilius, Sp. Posthumius, and L. Valerius, Military Tribunes.
Livy B. 5. *c.* 26.

§. XXIII. NOTWITHSTANDING the Hatred of the Commons, and the Opposition *Camillus* had made to a Division of the Senate, he was the next Year chosen *Military Tribune*, the third time. When the Elections came on, the Nobility used all their Interest to get as many of those *Patricians* chosen as possible, whom they knew to be against removing a part of the Senate, and People, to *Veii;* and gained their Point. *L. Furius*, and *P. Cornelius*, were continued in their Office; and *C. Æmilius, Sp. Posthumius*, and *L. Valerius*, were made their Collegues. On the other hand, the *Plebeians* continued that *L. Sicinnius*, in his Office of *Tribune of the People*, who was so zealous for the Law, for the removal of half the Republick to *Veii.* But the *Patrician* Party likewise got those of the College of *Tribunes* continued in their Employments, who had opposed that Law, that they might make Head against *Sicinnius:* So that every thing seemed ready for beginning an intestine War between some of the *Tribunes of the People* and their Collegues, and between the *Patricians* and the *Plebeians.* However, *Sicinnius* kept within Bounds, as long as *Camillus* continued in *Rome.* His Presence was formidable to him; and the Delays of the *Tribune of the People* took off the Edge of the Inclinations of the Commons, to raise Disturbances: So that when *Camillus* set out for the War, he left the City in a pretty peaceable Condition. His Commission was to go and subdue the *Falisci;* and he carried a numerous Army with him for that Purpose. From that time he formed a Design of beginning the Siege of *Falerii*, the Capital of the Country, and of protracting it to a great Length, in order to find a mutinous Populace Employment, for a great while, and at a great Distance from *Rome.* He applied this Aphorism in Physick to Politicks, that the peccant Humours which are in the Body, must be drawn out. When he entered into the Country of the *Falisci*, he found no Army in the Field to oppose

him. All the Forces of that Nation were ſhut up within the Walls of *Falerii*. In order therefore to bring the Enemy to a Battel, the *Romans* laid waſte the Country round the Place, and burned the Villages: Till at length the burning of the Houſes, and the Ravages committed in the Country, forced the *Faliſci* to march out of their City; but they would venture no farther than a thouſand Paces from their Walls. They choſe a Place to encamp upon, which they thought ſtrong enough by Nature, and neglected to fortify themſelves in it. And indeed it ſeemed inacceſſible; all the Ways that led to it, were either ſteep, or rough, or narrow. Nevertheleſs *Camillus* found Means to attack it. He had taken ſome Priſoners in the Country: And one of theſe he choſe to be his Guide. After he had left his firſt Camp in the dead of the Night, he, by break of Day, gained an Eminence, which a little overlooked the Enemy: And there he reſolved to encamp. In order to eſtabliſh himſelf in this Poſt, he divided his Workmen into three Bodies, and kept the greateſt part of his Army under Arms, to cover the Men, who were throwing up the Entrenchments. However, the Enemy ſoon came and fell upon the *Romans* in the midſt of their Work. But *Camillus* received them with ſuch Reſolution, that he put them to flight: And the Fright of the Fugitives was ſo great, that though their Camp was near, they paſſed by it, in order to get into the City. But before they could get thither, a great Number of them were killed, and many made Priſoners. The Camp was taken, and the Spoils which were found in it, put into the *Quæſtors* Hands, for the Uſe of the Publick. The Soldiers murmured at this, but in vain. They reſpected the Orders of their General, though they hated them, becauſe they admired his Valour. *Camillus* may indeed be ſaid to have, in ſome Meaſure, rectified that inſatiable deſire of Plunder, which had hitherto been the chief Motive of their Bravery: Since his Troops now received Pay, he taught them to conquer upon nobler Motives.

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§. XXIV. AFTER gaining this Victory, the General began the Siege of *Falerii*: But he had no intent to purſue it vigorouſly. He inveſted the City, and ſurrounded it with Lines, and little Forts; but at ſo great a Diſtance from the Walls, that there was much room left for the Beſieged to take the Air in, without Danger. Nevertheleſs, they made ſome Sallies, but without Succeſs. At length the Inhabitants of *Falerii* made ſo light of the Siege, that they all, except thoſe who guarded the Ramparts, walked about the City in their uſual Dreſs, and laid aſide their military Habits: Beſides, *Falerii* was plentifully ſtored with all ſorts of Proviſions. There was greater Plenty of Corn in the City, than in the *Roman* Camp: So that both the Beſieged and the Beſiegers, ſeemed wholly given up to Indolence, the former going on without any fear of being taken, the latter without being in haſte to make themſelves Maſters of the Place. By the manner in which the General proceeded, it ſeemed probable that the Siege of *Falerii* would take up more time, than that of *Veii* had done. But an Accident gave *Camillus* an Opportunity to ſhew, that he was as capable of overcoming his Enemies by his Generoſity, and Probity, as by his Sword. The *Faliſci* had brought with them from *Greece*, the Cuſtom of committing all their Children to the Care of one Man, who was to inſtruct them in all ſorts of polite Learning, to take them out a walking with him, and to give them other Exerciſes proper for their Age. The Deſign of the *Greeks* in this, was to accuſtom their Children to Society, from their moſt tender Years, that ſo they might improve thoſe Acquaintances, and Friendſhips, when they advanced in Age, which they contracted in their Youth. Theſe Children therefore uſed often to walk with their Maſter, without the Walls of the City, before the Siege. And their Fears of an Enemy, which attacked them ſo ſlightly, were not great enough to make them diſcontinue that Exerciſe afterwards: And this School-maſter proved a Traitor to the *Faliſci*. He at firſt led the Youth, which were committed to his Care, only along the Walls: Then he carried them a little farther. Sometimes he deſignedly lengthened their Walk, and prolonged their Sports: Till at length, when a favourable Opportunity offered, he led them through the Guards of the *Roman* Camp, and brought them quite to the General's Tent. Theſe were the Children of the beſt Families in the City: And when their treacherous Leader came into *Camillus*'s Preſence, he had the Impudence to addreſs himſelf to him thus. *With the young Nobility I bring you, I deliver the Place you beſiege into your Hands. Theſe Children were committed to my Care, and Tuition: But I prefer the Friendſhip of* Rome, *to my Employment at* Falerii. *Camillus* was ſtruck with Horror, at theſe Words: And replied, *Wretch, didſt thou then think that thou ſhouldeſt here find a General, who was*

Plut. Life of Cam.

Livy B. 5. Ibid.

Plut. Life of Cam. Livy B. 5. c. 27.

Plut. and *Liv. B. 5.*

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was as great a Villain as thy ſelf? What a deteſtable Preſent doſt thou come to make me! I am not indeed bound to the Faliſci, *by the Ties of Friendſhip; but the common Bonds of Society and Humanity are indiſſoluble. War has its Laws, which ought to be obſerved; Injuſtice in War is as criminal, as Cowardice is ſhameful. We ſcorn to make War with Children, which are ſpared, even in the ſacking of Towns. Our Deſign is only to act againſt Men, who without any Offence on our ſide, took up Arms againſt us, and came to relieve* Veii: *And as I conquered* Veii, *ſo I would ſubdue them, like a* Roman. After this, he ordered his *Lictors* to ſtrip the Traitor; which done, they tied his Hands behind him, and furniſhed the Youth with Whips, and Rods. In this Condition his own Boys drove him back again, and continued whipping him all the Way, from the *Roman* Camp to the City. In the mean time, News was brought to the *Faliſci* of the Treachery. The Mothers therefore ran to the Ramparts in Tears, not knowing what was become of their Children: But they were tranſported to ſee them returning, ſo much exaſperated againſt their Maſter. As ſoon as they were entered the Gates, the City-Council aſſembled: And then 'twas very viſible, what an Alteration *Camillus*'s Probity had made in all their Minds. A little before, the *Faliſci* had proteſted, that they would rather undergo the Fate of *Veii*, than imitate the Cowardice of the *Capenates*. But now all the People demanded, that a Peace ſhould be made with the *Romans*. Nothing was talked of in their *Forum*, or Council-Houſe, but the Equity and Probity of the *Roman* General. The Youth extolled him, and called him their Father, and their God: So that a Deputation was ordered to be ſent to *Camillus*, to treat about the Surrendry of *Falerii*. But the General, out of Modeſty, ſent the Deputies to *Rome*: When they were there, and admitted into the Senate, they made a Speech to this Effect. Rome, Conſcript Fathers, *has juſt now gained a Victory over us, which can never be ſhameful to us, either in the ſight of Men, or Gods. We ſubmit to you, out of a Perſuaſion, that we cannot live more happily, than under the Laws of a Republick, in which Juſtice and Probity reign. The* Romans, *and* Faliſci, *are this Day giving two great Examples to Poſterity: You, in preferring Juſtice to Victory: We, in rather yielding to the Charms of Virtue, than the Force of Arms. We ſurrender our ſelves into your Hands: Command the* Faliſci *to lay down their Arms, to give you Hoſtages, and to receive a* Roman *Garriſon, and we will obey, and open our Gates. We ſhall never repent of ſubjecting our ſelves to your Government; nor ſhall you ever have Reaſon to complain of our being unfaithful to you.*

Plut. Life of Cam.

The Senate heard this Diſcourſe of the Deputies with Pleaſure; but did *Camillus* the Honour of leaving to him the Terms of the Treaty, which was to be made with the *Faliſci*, not as with a conquered People, but as with a Nation, which voluntarily ſubjected it ſelf to the Dominion of the Republick. He therefore entered into a Treaty of Alliance with them, and demanded nothing of them, but the Expences of the preſent Campaign. Nevertheleſs, the Conqueror himſelf had Reaſon to repent of his having made ſo quick a Conqueſt. *Camillus* led back his Army to *Rome*, where his Soldiers increaſed the Number of his Enemies. They, not content with Glory, had promiſed themſelves great Riches, from the Plunder of *Falerii*. They thought *Camillus* had granted the *Faliſci* better Terms than they deſerved. The Army therefore looked on their General, as an Enemy to the People, and as a Man, who had little Inclination to promote the Intereſts of his Soldiers: So that the Hatred of the Multitude to this Hero, increaſed as faſt as his Reputation: And we ſhall ſoon ſee the Rage of the People againſt him, break out into a violent Perſecution. Nevertheleſs, *Camillus* entered *Rome* with more Glory, when he returned from *Falerii*, than when he appeared in Triumph, in his Chariot drawn by white Horſes. His Virtue, and his Probity, had crowned him with greater Honour, than he could derive from the Pomp of a Triumph.

Livy B. 5. c. 28.

§. XXV. WHILST *Camillus* was thus bringing the *Faliſci*, under the Dominion of the *Romans*, two of his Collegues march'd, with ſome Troops, to ſuppreſs the Inſolence of the *Æqui*. It is probable, this unquiet People broke the Peace they themſelves had deſired of the *Romans*, when they ſaw them buſy before *Falerii*. *C. Æmilius*, and *Sp. Poſthumius*, united their Forces; went to carry on the War jointly; and ſucceeded in all their Attempts, till they were divided again. They defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel; but after the Victory, they ſeparated. *Æmilius* continued at *Verrugo*, to guard it, whilſt *Poſthumius* made Incurſions into the Enemy's Country, and ravaged it. But as he was returning from his Expedition, and his Army marching without

without Precaution, or Order, it was ſuddenly attacked by the *Æqui*, and routed. The *Romans* however, whoſe ſudden Fear had diſperſed them, ſoon gained ſome Eminences, on which their General rallied, and encamped them. And when they were ſafe, and recovered from their Fright, *Poſthumius* made a Speech to them, and reproached them with their Fearfulneſs. *Is it poſſible*, ſaid he to them, *that the* Æqui *ſhould ſee the* Romans *turn their Backs? Have we loſt the Cuſtom of putting them to the Rout, as oft as we attack them?* At which Words, the Army cried out, that they deſerved the General's Reproof, but would behave themſelves better for the future. *Only lead us to the Enemy*, ſaid the *Legionary* Soldiers, *and we will oblige our ſelves, under the ſevereſt Penalties, to cut them in pieces before Night.* The *Æqui* continued in the Plain, below the Eminences, upon which the *Romans* were poſted. Their General therefore took Advantage of their Ardor, ordered them to refreſh themſelves, and commanded them to be ready to march at the fourth Watch. It was not Day when they began their march, but the Moon ſhone bright. The *Æqui* had made a Motion, and poſted themſelves in the Road to *Verrugo*, to intercept the *Romans* in their Paſſage, if they had attempted to retire thither in the Night. The latter began the Attack by Moon-Light. But this Night-Engagement was almoſt as unſucceſsful, as the Fight had been the Day before. The Shouts of the Combatants was heard as far as *Verrugo;* where it was believed that *Poſthumius*'s Camp was beſieged. Then the Troops *Æmilius* commanded in that City took a Fright, notwithſtanding all their General could ſay, and after they had rambled about the Fields for ſome time, fled to *Tuſculum* for Refuge. From thence a Report was carried to *Rome*, that *Poſthumius*'s Army was defeated, and the General himſelf killed. The *Romans*, who were afraid of an Ambuſcade, had indeed given Way in their Engagement in the Night, but as ſoon as it was Day they recovered their Fright, and ſtood their Ground. Then *Poſthumius* rode through all the Ranks, and put his Soldiers in mind of their Promiſe. Their Courage revived, and their Ardor was ſo great, that the *Æqui* could no longer ſtand before them. They fell upon the Enemy, and cut them in pieces, rather with the Fury of Madmen, than with the Ardor which true Courage inſpires: So that while *Poſthumius* was gaining a Victory, *Rome* was alarmed with the News of his being loſt. But the People were undeceived, as to that falſe News brought from *Tuſculum*, when they ſaw a Courier arrive, with a [68] Letter crowned with Laurel, which brought the Senate an Account of the Defeat of the *Æqui*, and the Victory of the *Romans*.

Year of *ROME* CCCLIX. CAMILLUS, L. FURIUS, P. CORNELIUS, C. ÆMILIUS, SP. POSTHUMIUS, and L. VALERIUS, Military Tribunes.

§. XXVI. THUS the Arms of the Republick proſpered every where Abroad; but the different Intereſts of the two Parties, of the Nobility and *Plebeians*, raiſed new Troubles at Home. When the time came for electing *Tribunes of the People*, the Commons endeavoured to keep thoſe old ones in their Office, who had propoſed the Law, about going to *Veii*, and removing half of the Senate thither. The *Patricians* on the other hand demanded, that thoſe other *Tribunes* ſhould alſo be re-elected, who had oppoſed this Law. The two Perſons, who made the greateſt Oppoſition to the Attempts of their Collegues, were *A. Virginius*, and *Q. Pomponius*, both *Plebeians*, but zealouſly affected to the Nobility. However, the *Tribes*, when aſſembled, did not comply with the Inclinations of the *Patricians*. They choſe *Sicinnius* the Author and Promoter of the Law, into the Office of *Tribune of the People*, a third time: But joined none of thoſe with him, who had oppoſed the Law. This Proceeding of the People being diſpleaſing to the Senate; they, in their Turn, reſolved to revive the *Conſulate*, which had now been aboliſhed fifteen Years. This kind of Government was not agreeable to the People; they liked better to be governed by four, or ſix *Military Tribunes*. The more Hands the ſovereign Power was lodged in, the more Liberty, and the more Refuges, in caſe of Grievances, the Commons had. To vex them therefore, the *Conſcript Fathers* ordered the *Comitia* to be aſſembled *by Centuries*, for the Election of ſupreme Magiſtrates. Every body knows the Nobility had moſt Power in theſe *Comitia:* So that *L. Lucretius Flavus*, and *Severus Sulpitius Camerinus*, were choſen into the revived Office of *Conſuls*. It was very natural indeed for the *Patri-*

Plut. Life of Cam.

Year of *ROME* CCCLX. L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS, and SEV. SULPITIUS CAMERINUS, Conſuls.

68 A victorious General never failed of informing the Senate of the happy Succeſs of his Expedition. He wrote Letters to the Senate, which were crowned with Laurel, in Token of the Victory he had gained. Theſe Letters were preſented by the General's *Lictors*. They themſelves alſo, and their *Faſces*, were crowned with Laurel, on theſe Occaſions.

Year of *ROME* CCCLX.

L. Lucretius Flavus, and Sev. Sulpitius Camerinus, Conſuls.
Plut. Ibid.

cians to have got *Camillus* into one of theſe Places. He was the firſt Man in the Republick, and the beſt able to make Head againſt the *Tribunes of the People*. But *Camillus* himſelf always oppoſed his being elected *Conſul*. He was afraid of offending the People, who were already but too much enraged againſt him: So that he enjoyed all the great Offices in the Republick but the *Conſulſhip*.

Under the new Adminiſtration, *Sicinnius* the *Tribune* revived his Intrigues, for paſſing the Law, to remove a part of the People and Senate to *Veii*, with more Zeal than ever. He had now no Opponents in his College, and he therefore pretended to carry it with an high Hand. Nevertheleſs, the *Conſuls* made all the Oppoſition to it they could: And whilſt the Attention of the *Romans* was wholly taken up with this great Affair, a ſudden War interrupted the Progreſs of it. *Vitellia* 59 was a City in the Territory of the *Æqui*, in which the Republick had planted a *Roman* Colony to defend it: But it was betrayed, and ſurprized in the Night. The *Æqui* made themſelves Maſters of the Place, without ſpilling much Blood. The Garriſon eſcaped by that part of the City, which the Enemy had not yet reached, and fled to *Rome* for Refuge. It fell to *Conſul Lucretius*'s Lot, to go and revenge this Inſult of the *Æqui*. Accordingly he haſtened thither, defeated the Enemy in a pitched Battel, and returned to the City. But upon his return, he found he had a new ſort of War to maintain there. *A. Virginius*, and *Q. Pomponius*, the two *Tribunes of the People* for the laſt Year, who had diſtinguiſhed themſelves by their Oppoſition to the Law, and their Attachment to the Nobility, had been cited to appear before the *Tribes*. The *Conſuls* were obliged in Honour to protect them, and the Senate approved it. Their Lives had been blameleſs, their Offices executed without any Reproach, and nothing could be laid to their Charge, but their being devoted to the *Patricians*, and having oppoſed *Sicinnius*'s Law. But though accuſed upon an Article, which ſo little deſerved Reproof, they were nevertheleſs condemned; the Hatred of the People prevailed over the Intereſt of the Senate: And they were fined ten thouſand *Aſſes* of Braſs. The whole Senate was offended at this Sentence of the People; but no body expreſſed more Reſentment at it than the brave *Camillus*. *Surely*, ſaid he, *the Commons did not rightly underſtand their own Intereſt, ſince they have declared themſelves againſt their own Protectors. They have deſtroyed the Authority of their own* Tribunes, *by taking away their Power of proteſting againſt one another's Proceedings. Their Deſign in it, was to oblige the Nobles to ſubmit to any Inſults the* Tribunes *ſhould have Inſolence enough to offer them: But they are miſtaken. If we cannot reduce them, by raiſing Diviſions among themſelves, we ſhall find other Means to ſuppreſs their Audaciouſneſs. Camillus*, without doubt, hinted at the *Dictatorſhip*, which would put a Check to the Enterprizes of the *Tribunes:* And he did not conceal his Sentiments, but declared them in all Places. In the Senate eſpecially, he never ceaſed declaiming againſt *Sicinnius*'s Law, and adviſing the *Conſcript Fathers*, to be reſolute in oppoſing the Removal of part of the People and Senate to *Veii*. *The Day draws nigh*, ſaid he, *when the People are to aſſemble by* Tribes, *to determine this important Affair. If you will hearken to me, you ſhall appear in the* Comitium, *like Men ready to defend their Temples, their Altars, their Houſhold-Gods, and their Country. I don't ſay this with any view to my own private Intereſt. If I thought my ſelf at Liberty to promote my own Glory, at the Expence of my Country's Honour, what could flatter my Ambition more, than to ſee a City, which I have conquered, inhabited by illuſtrious* Romans! *I would go thither my ſelf, where I ſhould have continually before my Eyes, a laſting Monument of my Victory; a City, the Repreſentation of which was carried in my Triumph. But what am I ſaying? What has my perſonal Intereſt to do here?* Romans, *it would be fatal to you to repeople a City, whoſe Gods have deſerted it. It would be ſhameful for you to prefer a conquered Territory to your own victorious Country.* Thus ſpake *Camillus:* And both the old Senators, and young *Patricians*, yielded to the Reaſonings of a Man, whoſe Merit made him reſpected. Theſe were the Diſpoſitions of the Nobility, when *Sicinnius* aſſembled the *Tribes*, to report his Law to them. Then the *Patricians* made uſe of Sollicitation, which they thought

69 Some modern Geographers gueſs that *Vitellia* ſtood near the *Lavican* Way, in the Neighbourhood of *Rocca Priora*, or *S. Silveſtro*. It is not known when the *Romans* ſent a Colony to this City. *Panvini* thinks it was in the Year of *Rome* 295, to keep the *Æqui* in awe, after the *Dictator Quinctius Cincinnatus* had triumphed over that Nation.

would be more prevalent, than Force. They came to the *Comitia* in great Numbers, and mixed among the People, who were already divided into *Tribes*, to vote. They took Pains to perſuade, and gain them over, by Tears, their Friends, their Clients, and their Neighbours. *Will you abandon*, ſaid they to them, *this dear Country, for which you and your Anceſtors have ſpilt ſo much Blood?* Then ſhewing them the *Capitol*, the Temple of *Veſta*, and the other Sanctuaries which ſurrounded the *Forum*, *Can you reſolve*, added they, *to go into a voluntary Baniſhment, in an Enemy's Country, far from theſe Monuments of the Piety of your Anceſtors? O* Rome, *if thou muſt be deſerted, by thy Citizens, it had been better for thee, never to have conquered* Veii! Theſe Reaſonings, which were full of Sentiments of Piety, had their deſired Effect upon the People. They proceeded to a Determination, and the Law was rejected; but by a Majority of only one *Tribe*. Then the Nobility triumphed: They were ſo well pleaſed with the People, that the Senate, at the Requeſt of the *Conſuls*, made a Decree the next Morning, whereby they aſſigned ſeven Acres of the Land belonging to *Veii*, not only to every Father of a Family, but to every ſingle Perſon, of free Condition. *This*, ſaid they, *is to encourage them to endeavour to increaſe the Number of their Children, and to enable them to bring them up.* Doubtleſs, if the Law had paſſed, there had been an end of the *Roman* Republick. The Diviſion of it would have been its Ruin, and it never would have arrived at that height of Grandeur, which we ſhall ſee it attain.

Year of *ROME* CCCLX. L. Lucretius Flavus, and Sev. Sulpitius Camerinus, Conſuls.

§. XXVII. The People, delighted with the Liberality of the Senate, made no Oppoſition to the Election of *Conſuls*. The *Centuries* raiſed *L. Valerius* 70 *Potitus*, and *M. Manlius Capitolinus* to this ſupreme Dignity. The latter already bore the Surname of *Capitolinus*, which was hereditary in his Family, before that one *Manlius* had ſaved the *Capitol*. The *Manlii* had always dwelt upon the Hill *Capitolinus*. From thence the Deliverer of *Rome* had an Opportunity of driving the *Gauls* out of the City; but his Predeceſſors had before taken the Surname of *Capitolinus*, which was not a Title of Honour till his time. The *Conſuls* began their Year with performing one of the Vows which *Camillus* had formerly made, before he ſet out for *Veii*. The *Dictator* had promiſed to celebrate the *Great Games*. There were two ſorts of theſe *Games* at *Rome;* One ſort were celebrated every Year, in the Month of 71 *September*, in Honour to *Jupiter*, *Juno*, and *Minerva:* The other ſort were called *Votive*, or *Extraordinary*; and were celebrated in Honour to *Jupiter* only; and had no fixed Day appointed for them. Theſe *Games* raiſed indeed the Glory of *Camillus*, but they did not leſſen the Hatred of the People to him. Then this Great Man himſelf dedicated the Temple of *Juno*, upon the Hill *Aventinus*. The *Roman* Ladies came thither in Crowds, and ſhewed their Affection, both for the Goddeſs, and the Conſecrator. After this, the *Romans* thought of nothing but War. The *Æqui* were encamped near the *Algidus*, as formerly; and the two *Conſuls* went together to give them Battel. But theſe proud Enemies of *Rome* could not ſtand before the *Conſular* Army. Being conquered, in a manner before they began to fight, they gave the *Romans* no other Trouble, but that of cutting them in pieces: And if we believe one ſingle Hiſtorian, the Honours of a Triumph were granted *Valerius*, for having purſued the Fugitives a little longer than ordinary: Whereas, *Manlius* had only an *Ovation*, becauſe he had left the Battel ſooner. But neither do the *Faſti Capitolini*, nor any antient Writer, mention this Triumph; and it is unanimouſly agreed, that this War was thought of ſmall Importance.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXI. L. Valerius Potitus, and M. Manlius Capitolinus, Conſuls, *Faſt. Capit.* under the Year 361.

Cic. in Ver. 2.

Dion. Hal.

In Proportion, as the Republick enlarged its Dominion, ſo faſt did it draw upon it ſelf new Enemies, which were before unknown. The *Volſinii* were one of the twelve Nations, of which the *Hetrurian* State conſiſted: And they, (doubtleſs, out of fear that they ſhould in their Turn be invaded by the Conquerors of *Veii*, and *Falerii*,) declared themſelves the Enemies of *Rome*, and committed Hoſtilities in the Countries which were

70 *Lucius Valerius Potitus* was the Son of another *Lucius Valerius*, who had been *Military Tribune* five Times. *Diodorus Siculus* gives his Collegue *Marcus Manlius* the *Prænomen* of *Aulus*. *Dion. Hal. B.* 1. calls him *Titus*. *Caſſiodorus* and *Livy* call him *Marcus*. This was the ſame Man, ſays *Livy*, who deſerved the Surname of *Capitolinus* for having defended the *Capitol*; when he was waked by the cackling of the Geeſe, and threw down a *Gaul* from the Top of the *Tarpeian* Rock. But it is nevertheleſs certain, that the Name of *Capitolinus* was common in the *Manlian* Family, before *Manlius* did this. All then that *Livy* means, is, that this *Roman* gave a new Luſtre to his Surname, by ſaving the *Capitol*.

71 In the old *Roman* Calendar, nine ſucceſſive Days are marked for the Celebration of theſe *Games*, which are from the Eve of the *Nones of April*, to the Day before the *Ides*, incluſively; *i. e.* from the fourth to the thirteenth of that Month.

Year of *ROME* CCCLXI.

L. Valerius Potitus, and M. Manlius Capitolinus, Conſuls.

under the Dominion of the *Romans*. The 72 *Salpinates* alſo had joined them. Theſe People inhabited a Country, the Situation of which is not exactly known; but they ſeem to have been placed between *Volſinium* and *Cluſium*, in *Hetruria*. The Republick was not uſed to let Aggreſſors eſcape unpuniſhed. Nevertheleſs, ſhe contented her ſelf for the preſent with declaring War againſt theſe, and deferred the puniſhing them, till a more favourable Opportunity offered. The great Heats and Drought had then produced a Scarcity, and ſome Diſeaſes, in the *Roman* Territory. *Rome* therefore laid aſide her Arms for the preſent, and ſuſpended her Revenge. The contagious Diſtemper had indeed ſpread it ſelf in the City: And one of the two *Cenſors*, named *C. Julius*, was ſeized, and carried off by it, before his Office expired. One *M. Cornelius* was ſubſtituted in his ſtead; and afterwards this was thought a fatal Proceeding to the Republick, becauſe the taking of *Rome* by the *Gauls*, happened in the time that *Cornelius* was *Cenſor*. After that Time therefore, the *Romans* made a Regulation, which was the Effect of their Superſtition, and was this; that whenever either of the *Cenſors* ſhould die, before the five Years of his Office were expired, no Body ſhould be choſen into his Place, and that the Survivor ſhould be obliged to reſign. It is uncertain, whether the *Roman Luſtrum* and the *Cenſus*, which was made this Year, preceded the Death of the *Cenſor Julius*, or happened in the Time that *Cornelius* was made Collegue to the other *Cenſor*, *M. Papirius*; but it is certain, that by the Account then taken of the Citizens, who were able to bear Arms, their Number amounted to 152583. Which may make it the leſs ſurprizing, that ſo great Armies were raiſed, within the Compaſs of *Rome* it ſelf.

Pliny B. 33. c. 1.

Interregnum. Camillus, &c.

The Sickneſs ſpread in the City, and the two *Conſuls* were ſeized with it. As therefore they were no longer in a Condition to exerciſe their Offices, and as this Accident had alſo made it believed, that they had been inauſpiciouſly choſen, the Senate ordered them to reſign. Upon this an *Interregnum* enſued: During which the Republick was governed by three Preſidents, who ſucceeded each other in their Turns for ſome Days. The firſt was *Camillus*, the ſecond *Cornelius Scipio*, the third one *Valerius Potitus*, but not the *Conſul*. The latter renewed the *Auguries* for the electing of ſix *Military Tribunes*, to govern the State inſtead of the two *Conſuls*. The *Romans* then re-eſtabliſhed this ſort of Government, that in caſe the Contagion laſted, and ſome of the ſupreme Magiſtrates were infected, there ſhould be others to take care of the Welfare of the Publick. Beſides, the Plague was not at that time the greateſt Scourge the *Romans* had Reaſon to fear: They were threatened with a War, which had like to have utterly deſtroyed them, and was much more terrible than any, in which they had yet been engaged. The taking of *Veii* indeed, gave the *Romans* a Taſte for Conqueſts, and was an Introduction to a long Series of them. Their Troops, ſince their receiving Pay, were become more obedient to their Commanders, who kept them in the Field, Summer and Winter. They had never had a General more capable of undertaking and executing great Deſigns, than *Camillus*. Their Frontiers were now extended above fifty Miles beyond the *Tyber*; and the People ſeemed to be in a ſettled Tranquillity, and perfectly reconciled to the Senate. But the *Gauls* came, and interrupted this Proſperity. A memorable Event! which we now come to relate.

72 *Cluverius* thinks the Country of the *Salpinates* lay beyond the Canton of the *Volſinii*; and his Reaſon for it is, that the *Romans* made War firſt upon the latter,

BRITISH MUSEUM

The End of the First Volume.

FASTI CONSULARES:

OR

A Chronological Table, *&c.*

WE think it neceſſary to add to the end of this Volume, a Chronological Table of the Kings, Conſuls, Tribunes of the People, Quæſtors, Ædiles, Cenſors, Triumphs, *and* Luſtra, *recorded in Antiquity, from* Romulus, *to the Year of* Rome 361. *with which this firſt part of our* Roman *Hiſtory concludes. The Reader will reap theſe two conſiderable Advantages from it.* 1. *This Chronological Table will ſhew him the Succeſſion and Names of the Magiſtrates, at one view, without his being obliged to have recourſe to the Body of the Hiſtory. And* 2dly, *He will here find ſeveral inferior Magiſtrates, whoſe Names are omitted by the Hiſtorians, and mentioned only in the* Faſti Capitolini: *So that this Table will be a ſort of Supplement, containing what is wanting in the antient Memoirs. Our only Concern is, that we cannot preſent him with theſe valuable Monuments entire; ſince we have only the Fragments of them tranſmitted to us. We ſhall obſerve the ſame Method in the ſucceeding Volumes.*

A CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE.

BRITISH MUSEUM

KINGS OF ROME.

Year	
1.	ROMULUS. He triumphs over the *Cæninenſes*, *Cruſtumini*, and *Antemnates*.
5.	He makes himſelf a Trophy of the Spoils he took from King *Acron*, whom he killed with his own Hand.
16.	He triumphs over the *Camerini*.
17.	He triumphs over the *Veientes*, and *Fidenates*.
38.	INTERREGNUM.
40.	NUMA POMPILIUS.
83.	TULLUS HOSTILIUS.
87.	He triumphs over the *Albans*.
91.	He triumphs over the *Sabines*.
114.	ANCUS MARCIUS.
115.	He triumphs over the *Veientes*.
120.	He triumphs over the *Sabines*.
139.	TARQUIN THE FIRST.
150.	He triumphs over the *Latins*.
160.	He triumphs over the *Hetrurians*.
171.	He triumphs over the *Sabines*.
176.	SERVIUS TULLIUS.
182.	He triumphs over the *Hetrurians*.
186.	He triumphs over the *Hetrurians* a ſecond time.

KINGS OF ROME.

Year	
200.	He eſtabliſhes the *Cenſus*, and *Luſtrum*, of which there were four in his Reign.
220.	TARQUIN THE PROUD.
227.	He triumphs over the *Volſci*.
228.	He triumphs over the *Sabines*.
243.	He is dethroned, and driven from *Rome*.

CONSULS.

1. *Conſulſhip*, *Year* 244.	L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.
	L. TARQUINIUS COLLATINUS.
	PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA, is ſubſtituted in the room of L. TARQUINIUS, who abdicates.
	SPURIUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, fills BRUTUS's Place, who was killed before his Office expired.
	HORATIUS PULVILLUS is choſen in the room of SPURIUS, who died in his Office.
	PUBLIUS VALERIUS POPLICOLA triumphs over the *Veientes* and *Tarquinians*.

Quæſtors,

Quæstors. P. Veturius Geminus.
M. Minucius Augurinus.

2. *Consulship,* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 245. second time.
TITUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

The fifth Lustrum.

Quæstors. Q. Cloelius Siculus.
A. Sempronius Atratinus.

3. *Consulship,* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 246. third time.
M. HORATIUS PULVILLUS, a second time.

Quæstors. T. Æbutius Elva.
A. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.

4. *Consulship,* SPURIUS LARTIUS FLAVUS.
Year 247. T. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.

Quæstors. M. Tullius Longus.
T. Virginius Tricostus.

5. *Consulship,* M. VALERIUS.
Year 248. P. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.
MARCUS VALERIUS, and PUBLIUS POSTHUMIUS triumph over the *Sabines.*

Quæstors. T. Lartius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

6. *Consulship,* P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a
Year 249. fourth time.
T. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, a second time.
VALERIUS triumphs over the *Sabines* and *Veientes.*

Quæstors. P. Servilius Priscus.
A. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.

7. *Consulship,* P. POSTHUMIUS TUBER-
Year 250. TUS, a second time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS, who triumphs over the *Sabines.*
POSTHUMIUS receives only the Honours of an *Ovation.*

Quæstors. T. Veturius Geminus.
Posthumius Cominius Auruncus.

8. *Consulship,* OPITER VIRGINIUS TRI-
Year 251. COSTUS.
SPURIUS CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, who triumphs over the *Sabines.*

Quæstors. P. Servilius Priscus.
T. Geganius Macerinus.

9. *Consulship,* POSTHUMUS COMINIUS
Year 252. AURUNCUS.
T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.

The sixth Lustrum.

Quæstors. P. Minugius Augurinus.
Q. Sulpitius Camerinus Cornutus.

10. *Consulship,* SER. SULPITIUS CAMERI-
Year 253. NUS.
M'TULLIUS LONGUS, who dies in his *Consulship.*

Quæstors. C. Julius Iulus.
M. Valerius Volusus.

11. *Consulship,* P. VETURIUS GEMINUS.
Year 254. T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

Quæstors. Rufus Mamercinus Rutilus,
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

12. *Consulship,* T. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a se-
Year 255. cond time.
Q. CLOELIUS SICULUS.

Dictator. T. LARTIUS FLAVUS.

Gen. of Horse. Sp. Cassius Viscellinus.

Quæstors. M. Claudius Crassinus Regillensis.
L. Geganius Macerinus.

13. *Consulship,* A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATI-
Year 256. NUS.
M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Quæstors. C. Aquilius Tuscus.
Virginius Tricostus Rutilus.

14. *Conſulſhip, Year* 257. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS. TITUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

Dictator, A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

Gen. of Horſe. T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. A. POSTHUMIUS triumphs over the *Latins.*

Quæſtors. T. SICINIUS SABINUS. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

15. *Conſulſhip, Year* 258. APPIUS CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.

Quæſtors. SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

16. *Conſulſhip, Year* 259. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.

Dictator. MANIUS VALERIUS.

Gen. of Horſe, Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS. MANIUS VALERIUS triumphs over the *Sabines.*

Quæſtors. C. MINUTIUS AUGURINUS. SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.

17. *Conſulſhip, Year* 260. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a ſecond time. POSTHUMUS COMINIUS AURUNCUS, a ſecond time.

THE SEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Plebeian Ædiles. C. MUCIUS CORDUS SCÆVOLA. Q. MUCIUS CORDUS SCÆVOLA.

Quæſtors. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

18. *Conſulſhip, Year* 261. T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS. P. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Ædiles. L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Quæſtors. C. JULIUS IULUS. SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

19. *Conſulſhip, Year* 262. M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, a ſecond time. A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. M. DECIUS MUS.

Ædiles. SP. ICILIUS RUGA. L. JUNIUS BRUTUS.

Quæſtors. CN. MANLIUS CINCINNATUS. MARC. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

20. *Conſulſhip, Year* 263. Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS. SP. LARTIUS FLAVUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. P. MÆNIUS. L. ALBINIUS.

Ædiles. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Quæſtors. T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

21. *Conſulſhip, Year* 264. C. JULIUS IULUS. P. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. L. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. C. ICILIUS RUGA. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.

Quæſtors. C. CORNELIUS LENTULUS. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS ESQUILINUS.

22. *Conſulſhip, Year* 265. SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS. SEX. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. PLÆTORIUS. P. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Ædiles. L. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS. C. LICINIUS CALVUS.

Quæstors. T. Menenius Lanatus.
A. Virginius Tricostus Rutilius.

23. *Consulship, Year* 266. C. AQUILIUS TUSCUS.
T. SICINIUS SABINUS, who triumphs over the *Volsci*.
AQUILIUS defeats the *Hernici*, and has only the Honour of an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. L. Albinius.
P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors. Sp. Servilius Structus.
Q. Sextius Capitolinus.

24. *Consulship, Year* 267. SP. CASSIUS VISCELLINUS, a third time.
PROCULUS VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.
SP. CASSIUS triumphs over the *Volsci* and *Hernici*.

Tribunes of the People. C. Rabuleius.
M. Silius.

Ædiles. C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Plætorius.

Quæstors. C. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Furius Medullinus Fusus.

25. *Consulship, Year* 268. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Mucius Scævola.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
C. Rabuleius.

Quæstors. K. Fabius Vibulanus.
L. Valerius Potitus.

26. *Consulship, Year* 269. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. M. Titinius.
C. Sicinnius Bellutus.

Ædiles. L. Albinius.
M. Silius.

Quæstors. A. Manlius Vulso.
Vopiscus Julius Iulus.

27. *Consulship, Year* 270. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. Mænius.
P. Licinius Calvus.

Ædiles. C. Licinius Calvus.
M. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæstors. P. Furius Fusus.
App. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.

28. *Consulship, Year* 271. C. JULIUS IULUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. L. Albinius.
P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Ædiles. C. Rabuleius.
C. Mænius.

Quæstors. L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
T. Æmilius Mamercinus.

29. *Consulship, Year* 272. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Genucius Aventinensis.

Ædiles. M. Titinius.
P. Decius Mus.

Quæstors. A. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.
Q Servilius Priscus.

30. *Consulship, Year* 273. CN. MANLIUS CINCINNATUS.
M. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. Ti. Pontificius.
C. Rabuleius.

Ædiles. L. Albinus.
P. Tarquitius Laurentinus.

Quæstors. T. Numicius Priscus.
M. Volumnius Amintinus.

31. *Consulship,*

31. *Conſulſhip, Year* 274. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Quæſtors. M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
P. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

32. *Conſulſhip, Year* 275. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a ſecond time.
CAIUS SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA, who did not finiſh the Year, but abdicated, or died before it ended.
C. CORNELIUS COSSUS was put in his room.

Tribunes of the People. P. DECIUS MUS.
M. FLAVULEIUS.

Ædiles. T. PONTIFICIUS.
L. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Quæſtors. L. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS.
M. TULLIUS LONGUS.

Proconſuls. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
SP. FURIUS FUSUS.

33. *Conſulſhip, Year* 276. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. RABULEIUS.
L. FLAVULEIUS.

Ædiles. M. FLAVULEIUS.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæſtors. T. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.

Proconſul. K. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

34. *Conſulſhip, Year* 277. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS RUTILUS.
P. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People. T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
Q. CONSIDIUS.

Ædiles. M. DECIUS MUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Quæſtors. SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.
M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

35. *Conſulſhip, Year* 278. P. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
VALERIUS triumphs over the *Veientes* and *Sabines*.

Tribunes of the People. L. CÆDICIUS.
T. STATIUS.

Ædiles. L. FLAVULEIUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Quæſtors. C. FOSSIUS FLACCINATOR.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

36. *Conſulſhip, Year* 279. L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.

THE EIGHTH LUSTRUM.

MANLIUS conquers the *Veientes*, and receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.

Ædiles. T. PONTIFICIUS.
Q. CONSIDIUS.

Quæſtors. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
L. ÆBUTIUS ELVA.

37. *Conſulſhip, Year* 280. L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time.
VOPISCUS JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. GENUCIUS.
C. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
L. CÆDICIUS.

Quæſtors. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.

38. *Conſulſhip, Year* 281. L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.
P. FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Ædiles. Q. CONSIDIUS.
T. STATIUS.

Quæstors. T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS.
P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS GALLUS.

39. *Consulship, Year* 282. AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Ædiles. P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Quæstors. SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.

40. *Consulship, Year* 283. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, POTITUS, a second time.
T. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS.
L. NUMITORIUS.
M. DUILIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. L. CÆDICIUS.
T. STATIUS.

Quæstors. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

41. *Consulship, Year* 284. A. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
T. NUMICIUS PRISCUS.

Tribunes of the People. CN. APRONIUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
M. DECIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.

Ædiles. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Quæstors. L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.

42. *Consulship, Year* 285. T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
T. QUINCTIUS triumphs over the *Volsci*, and *Antiates*.

Tribunes of the People. C. PONTIFICIUS.
C. CONSIDIUS.
L. ROMULEIUS.
L. TITINIUS.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Ædiles. C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS.
M. DUILIUS.

Quæstors. Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

43. *Consulship, Year* 286. TI. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a second time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. DUILIUS.
C. MÆVIUS.
T. STATIUS.
M. DECIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.

Ædiles. L. NUMITORIUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.

Quæstors. T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS CICURINUS.

44. *Consulship, Year* 287. SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. VOLERO PUBLILIUS PHILO.
M. POMPILIUS.
M. MANILIUS.
C. SICINNIUS BELLUTUS.
P. SILIUS.

Ædiles. L. MÆCILIUS.
CN. APRONIUS.

Quæstors. A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.
SEX. QUINTILIUS.

45. *Consulship, Year* 288. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a third time.

THE NINTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. Q. DECIUS MUS.
M. METILIUS.
P. LÆTORIUS.
M. PONTIFICIUS.
M. CONSIDIUS.

Ædiles. C. PONTIFICIUS.
L. TITINIUS.

Quæstors. SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

46. *Consulship, Year* 289. A. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
SP. FURIUS MEDULLINUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
L. MÆNIUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. CÆDICIUS.

Ædiles. M. POMPILIUS.
C. DUILIUS.

Quæstors. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Proconsul. Q. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

47. *Consulship, Year* 290. P. SERVILIUS PRISCUS.
L. ÆBUTIUS ELVA. Both die before the Year of their *Consulship* ends.

Tribunes of the People. C. LICINIUS.
C. VOLSCIUS.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.
M. SELLIUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Ædiles. M. METILIUS.
M. PONTIFICIUS.

Quæstors. AP. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.

48. *Consulship, Year* 291. L. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS, who triumphs over the *Volsci*, and *Æqui*.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS CICURINUS, who receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TITIUS.
C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M. DECIUS MUS.
C. FESCENNIUS.
M. CONSIDIUS.

Ædiles. L. MÆNIUS.
CN. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.

Quæstors. T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.

49. *Consulship, Year* 292. P. VOLUMNIUS AMINTINUS GALLUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
M. SELLIUS.

Quæstors. M. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
M. SERGIUS.

50. *Consulship, Year* 293. M. VALERIUS POPLICOLA, a second time.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.
VALERIUS dies in his Office.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, succeeds him.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TITIUS.
M. DECIUS MUS.

Quæstors. M. HORATIUS BARBATUS.
LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.

51. *Consulship, Year* 294. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a third time.
L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.
The former triumphs over the *Æqui* and *Volsci*. The latter over the *Volsci* and *Antiates*.

THE TENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. M. CONSIDIUS.
C. FESCENNIUS.

Quæstors. A. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

52. *Consulship, Year* 295. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. TARQUINIUS FLACCUS.

QUINCTIUS triumphs over the *Æqui*.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. C. VOLSCIUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæstors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

53. *Consulship, Year* 296. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TITIUS.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Quæstors. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

54. *Consulship, Year* 297. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CAPITOLINUS.

SECULAR GAMES.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. OPPIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
P. LICINIUS.

Ædiles. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M' MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Quæstors. C. JULIUS IULUS.
FURIUS FUSUS.

55. *Consulship, Year* 298. T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS.
P. LICINIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
M. OPPIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.

Ædiles. M. SILIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.

Quæstors. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

56. *Consulship, Year* 299. SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
SEX. TITIUS.
T. ALBINIUS.
M. TITINIUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
M' MARCIUS RUTILIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.

Ædiles. L. ALLIENIUS.
A. VIRGINIUS.

Quæstors.

Quæſtors. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.
C. CURTIUS PHILO.

57. *Conſulſhip, Year* 300. SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies before his *Conſulſhip* expires.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. APRONIUS.
C. MEMMIUS.
C. MÆLIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.
P. FURIUS.
Q. ROMULEIUS.
M. SILIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
M. TERENTIUS ARSA.
N. OTACILIUS.

Ædiles. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæſtors. L. ATILIUS LONGUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

58. *Conſulſhip, Year* 301. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TITIUS.
C. FULINIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.
P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. OPPIUS.
M. JUVENTIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
C. SEXTIUS.
C. RABULEIUS.

Ædiles. K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

Quæſtors. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.

59. *Conſulſhip, Year* 302. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
They abdicated the *Conſulſhip* to make Way for the *Decemviri.*

1. *Decemvirate. Year* 302. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

2. *Decemvirate. Year* 303. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a ſecond time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
M. SERGIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

3. *Decemvirate. Year* 304. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a third time, with the ſame Collegues as in the ſecond *Decemvirate.* Being forced to give Place to new *Conſuls,* they abdicated,

60. *Conſulſhip, Year* 304. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. He triumphs over the *Æqui.*
M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. He triumphs over the *Sabines.*

Tribunes of the People. M. VIRGINIUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. NUMITORIUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. TITINIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. OPPIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.
P. VILLIUS.

Ædiles. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TITINIUS.

Quæſtors. AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

61. *Conſulſhip, Year* 305. LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes

THE TENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. M. CONSIDIUS.
C. FESCENNIUS.

Quæstors. A. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

52. *Consulship, Year* 295. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS, a second time.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS, who is forced to abdicate.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Gen. of Horse. L. TARQUINIUS FLACCUS.

QUINCTIUS triumphs over the *Æqui*.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. C. VOLSCIUS.
P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.

Quæstors. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS.

53. *Consulship, Year* 296. C. HORATIUS PULVILLUS.
Q. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. A. VIRGINIUS.
M. VOLSCIUS.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TITIUS.
C. JUNIUS BRUTUS BUBULCUS.

Quæstors. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

54. *Consulship, Year* 297. M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
SP. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CAPITOLINUS.

SECULAR GAMES.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
M. OPPIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
P. LICINIUS.

Ædiles. M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M' MARCIUS RUTILUS.

Quæstors. C. JULIUS IULUS.
FURIUS FUSUS.

55. *Consulship, Year* 298. T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
C. VETURIUS CICURINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
L. ALLIENIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS.
P. LICINIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
M. OPPIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
C. FULCINIUS.
SEX. MANILIUS.

Ædiles. M. SILIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.

Quæstors. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

56. *Consulship, Year* 299. SP. TARPEIUS MONTANUS CAPITOLINUS.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.

Tribunes of the People. L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
SEX. TITIUS.
T. ALBINIUS.
M. TITINIUS.
L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
M' MARCIUS RUTILIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.

Ædiles. L. ALLIENIUS.
A. VIRGINIUS.

Quæstors.

Quæstors. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS.
C. CURTIUS PHILO.

57. *Conſulſhip, Year* 300. SEX. QUINTILIUS, who dies before his *Conſulſhip* expires.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. APRONIUS.
C. MEMMIUS.
C. MÆLIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.
P. FURIUS.
Q. ROMULEIUS.
M. SILIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
M. TERENTIUS ARSA.
N. OTACILIUS.

Ædiles. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæstors. L. ATILIUS LONGUS.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.

58. *Conſulſhip, Year* 301. P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
T. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. SEX. TITIUS.
C. FULINIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.
P. TARQUITIUS LAURENTINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
M. OPPIUS.
M. JUVENTIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
C. SEXTIUS.
C. RABULEIUS.

Ædiles. K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

Quæstors. L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.

59. *Conſulſhip, Year* 302. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
They abdicated the *Conſulſhip* to make Way for the *Decemviri.*

1. *Decemvirate. Year* 302. AP. CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.
A. MANLIUS VULSO.
SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
T. ROMILIUS ROCUS VATICANUS.
P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.

2. *Decemvirate. Year* 303. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a ſecond time.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
T. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
M. SERGIUS.
Q. PÆTELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
L. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
M' RABULEIUS.
K. DUILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.

3. *Decemvirate. Year* 304. APPIUS CLAUDIUS CRASSINUS, a third time, with the ſame Collegues as in the ſecond *Decemvirate.* Being forced to give Place to new *Conſuls*, they abdicated,

60. *Conſulſhip, Year* 304. L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA POTITUS. He triumphs over the *Æqui.*
M. HORATIUS BARBATUS. He triumphs over the *Sabines.*

Tribunes of the People. M. VIRGINIUS.
L. ICILIUS RUGA.
P. NUMITORIUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
M. TITINIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. OPPIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.
P. VILLIUS.

Ædiles. C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. TITINIUS.

Quæstors. AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

61. *Conſulſhip, Year* 305. LAR. HERMINIUS AQUILINUS.
T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.

Tribunes

Tribunes of the People. According to *Livy*: Sp. Tarpeius Montanus Capitolinus. A. Æternius Fontinalis.
L. Trebonius Asper.
Q. Considius.
L. Allienius.
M' Marcius.
C. Fulcinius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Albinius.

Ædiles. L. Volumnius Flamma.
P. Tarquinius Laurentinus.

Quæstors. C. Sergius.
M. Papirius Crassus.

62. *Consulship, Year* 306. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
C. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People. P. Villius.
C. Oppius.
Sp. Antius.
C. Pompilius.
C. Antius.
L. Villius.
Sex. Manilius.
M. Silius.
C. Virginius.
M. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles. M. Titinius.
M. Pomponius.

Quæstors. M. Cornelius Maluginensis.
C. Nautius Rutilus.

63. *Consulship, Year* 307. T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fourth time.
AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. Allienius.
P. Numitorius.
L. Trebonius Asper.
L. Fulcinius.
M' Allienius.
M' Marcius.
M. Pomponius.
L. Roscius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
P. Scaptius.

Ædiles. C. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Apronius.

Quæstors. L. Valerius Potitus.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

64. *Consulship, Year* 308. M. GENUCIUS AUGURINUS.
C. CURTIUS PHILO.

Tribunes of the People. C. Canuleius.
C. Furius.
C. Claudius Cicero.
L. Furius.
L. Oppius.
Ti. Pontificius.
M. Titinius.
C. Virginius.
Cn. Apuleius Pansa.
T. Latinius.

Ædiles. P. Villius.
C. Oppius.

Quæstors. C. Foslius Flacinator.
Posthumius Ebutius Elva.

1. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 309. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Atilius Longus.
T. Cloelius Siculus. They all three abdicated.

65. *Consulship, Year* 309. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

Tribunes of the People. N. Sextius Sextinus.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Pub. Numitorius.
M. Pomponius.
A. Apronius.
L. Cædicius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
Sex. Manlius.
C. Pompilius.
Q. Mælius.

Ædiles. L. Trebonius Asper.
M. Icilius Ruga.

Quæstors. L. Sergius.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

66. *Consulship, Year* 310. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS, a second time.

T. QUINCTIUS BARBATUS CAPITOLINUS, a fifth time.

M. GEGANIUS triumphs over the *Volſci*.

Firſt Cenſors. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.

THE ELEVENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. C. VIRGINIUS.
L. MARCIUS.
C. OPPIUS.
C. ANTIUS.
CN. GENUTIUS.
P. VILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
SP. ANTIUS.
L. APRONIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Ædiles. C. CANULEIUS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.

Quæſtors. L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

67. Conſulſhip, Year 311. M. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
POSTHUMUS EBUTIUS ELVA CORNICEN.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILLIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. TREBONIUS ASPER.
L. OPPIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.
Q. ROSCIUS.
M. TITINIUS.
M. ALLIENIUS.
Q. TERENTIUS.

Ædiles. C. FURIUS.
L. FURIUS.

Quæſtors. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.

68. Conſulſhip, Year 312. C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS.
M. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. PETILLIUS.
L. VILLIUS.
N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
M. DUILIUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
C. FURIUS.
P. VIRGINIUS.
L. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. ROMULEIUS.

Ædiles. L. CÆDICIUS.
C. LÆTORIUS.

Quæſtors. L. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

69. Conſulſhip, Year 313. PROCULUS GEGANIUS MACERINUS.
L. MENENIUS LANATUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. MARCIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.
P. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
VOLER. PUBLILIUS.
L. TITINIUS.
CN. APRONIUS.
L. PETILLIUS.
Q. MUCIUS SCÆVOLA.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.

Ædiles. CN. GENUCIUS.
Q. DECIUS MUS.

Quæſtors. M. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS REGILLENSIS.
T. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

70. Conſulſhip, Year 314. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS, a ſixth time.
AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.

Dictator. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS, a ſecond time.

Gen. of Horſe. C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS AHALA.

Tribunes of the People. Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
SEX. TITINIUS.
C. SICINIUS BELLUTUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS.
C. CONSIDIUS.
Q. ROSCIUS.
L. NUMITORIUS.
L. MÆCILIUS.

Ædiles. C. PETILLIUS.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.

Quæſtors. P. HORATIUS TERGEMINUS.
C. CLAUDIUS SABINUS REGILLENSIS.

2. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 315. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
L. JULIUS IULUS.

Tribunes of the People. N. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
M. POMPILIUS.
P. DECIUS MUS.
C. RACILIUS.
L. CANULEIUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. DUILIUS.
T. STATIUS.
C. PONTIFICIUS.

Ædiles. VOLER PUBLILIUS PHILO.
L. ROMULEIUS.

Quæſtors. M. FOSLIUS FLACCINATOR.
L. PINARIUS RUFUS MAMERCINUS.

71. *Conſulſhip, Year* 316. M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS, a third time.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

Dictator. M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS. He triumphs over the *Veientes*, *Faliſci*, and *Fidenates*.

Gen. of Horſe. L. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. CANULEIUS.
K. ATINIUS.
M. ANTIUS.
M. TREBONIUS.
M. ALBINIUS.
SEX. TITINIUS.
M. MÆCILIUS.
L. STATIUS.
A. ALLIENIUS.
C. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.

72. *Conſulſhip, Year* 317. M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

Tribunes of the People. SP. MÆLIUS.
C. FURIUS.
C. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
L. MANILIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.
M. FURIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
M. MANILIUS.
C. APRONIUS.
C. MÆNIUS.

Ædiles. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
SEX. TITINIUS.

Quæſtors. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.
A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.

73. *Conſulſhip, Year* 318. C. JULIUS IULUS, a ſecond time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.

Dictator. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

Gen. of Horſe. POSTHUMIUS EBUTIUS ELVA CORNICEN.

Cenſors. C. FURIUS PACILUS FUSUS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

THE TWELFTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. C. CANULEIUS.
C. CONSIDIUS.
C. PLÆTORIUS.
C. TITIUS.
M. TREBONIUS.
L. CANULEIUS.
M. CONSIDIUS.
C. RACILIUS.
M. FULCINIUS.
T. STATIUS.

Ædiles. P. DECIUS MUS.
C. PONTIFICIUS.

Quæſtors. C. JULIUS MENTO.
A. ÆTERNIUS FONTINALIS.

74. *Conſulſhip, Year* 319. C. JULIUS IULUS, a ſecond time.
L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS, a ſecond time.

Dictator. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

Gen. of Horſe. A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. FURIUS.
M. CÆDICIUS.
L. MÆNIUS.
M. PONTIFICIUS.
C. VOLSCIUS.
L. DOMITIUS ÆNOBARBUS.
P. SILIUS.

	P. Silius.
	C. Mænius.
	M. Metilius.
	L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
Ædiles.	M. Albinius.
	A. Allienius.
Quæstors.	T. Lartius Flavus.
	Hostus Lucretius Tricipitinus.
3. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 320.	M. Fabius Vibulanus.
	M. Foslius Flaccinator.
	L. Sergius Fidenas.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Canuleius.
	L. Cædicius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	M. Sellius.
	L. Volscius Fictor.
	K. Atinius Longus
	L. Cædicius.
	M. Silius.
	L. Volscius.
	C. Titius.
Ædiles.	Sp. Mælius.
	M. Furius.
Quæstors.	N. Fabius Vibulanus.
	T. Genucius Augurinus.
4. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 321.	L. Pinarius Rufus Mamercinus.
	L. Furius Medullinus.
	Sp. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
Tribunes of the People.	L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
	L. Sicinius Bellutus.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	M. Decius Mus.
	L. Domitius Ænobarbus.
	Sex. Titinius.
	Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
	P. Decius Mus.
	L. Ælius Pætus.
	M' Marcius.
Ædiles.	M. Trebonius.
	T. Statius.
Quæstors.	P. Servilius Priscus.
	M. Claudius Sabinus Regillensis.
75. *Consulship, Year* 322.	T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS.
	C. JULIUS MENTO.
Dictator.	A. POSTHUMIUS TUBERTUS. He triumphs over the *Æqui* and *Volsci.*
Gen. of Horse.	L. Julius Iulus.
Tribunes of the People.	A. Virginius.
	T. Metilius.
	M. Metilius.
	C. Pontificius.
	C. Cæcilius.
	C. Poetelius.
	M. Pontificius.
	M. Furius.
	C. Petillius.
	P. Platius Proculus.
Ædiles.	L. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
	C. Volscius.
Quæstors.	Sex. Julius Iulus.
	Q. Fabius Vibulanus.
76. *Consulship, Year* 323.	C. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.
	L. JULIUS IULUS.
Tribunes of the People.	Sex. Titinius.
	M. Sellius.
	M. Silius.
	L. Sicinius Bellutus.
	P. Lætorius.
	L. Volscius Fictor.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
	C. Pompilius.
	L. Cæditius.
	C. Terentius Arsa.
Ædiles.	L. Volscius.
	M. Decius.
77. *Consulship, Year* 324.	L. SERGIUS FIDENAS, a second time.
	HOSTUS LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Petillius.
	C. Poetelius.
	Sp. Mælius.
	L. Cæcilius Metellus.
	M. Volscius Fictor.
	C. Numitorius.
	Sp. Mælius Capitolinus.
	C. Lætorius.
	Sp. Antius.
	M. Trebonius.
Ædiles.	M' Marcius.
	L. Ælius Pætus.

Quæstors.

Quæſtors. Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillensis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

78. *Conſulſhip, Year* 325. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a ſecond time.
A. CORNELIUS COSSUS. Some Authors place *Coſſus*'s Triumph, and the Trophy he made of the Spoils of *Tolumnius* King of the *Veientes*, under this Year.

Tribunes of the People. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
C. Cæcilius Metellus.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of *Publius*.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of *Volero*.
L. Virginius.
M. Furius.
M. Plætorius.
L. Publilius Philo Vulscus.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Ædiles. P. Plautius Proculus.
T. Metellus.

Quæſtors. C. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.

79. *Conſulſhip, Year* 326. L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS, a ſecond time.
SERVILIUS AHALA.

Tribunes of the People. C. Cæcilius Metellus.
Sex. Mamilius.
A. Virginius.
C. Pompilius.
L. Cædicius.
M. Manilius.
M. Silius.
L. Sicinius.
P. Lætorius.
P. Licinius.

Ædiles. C. Terentius Arsa.
M. Sellius.

Quæſtors. P. Antonius Merenda.
L. Papirius Mugillanus.

5. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 327. T. Quinctius Pennus Cincinnatus.
C. Furius Pacilus.
M. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
A. Cornelius Cossus.

Dictator. MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS, a third time. He triumphs over the *Veientes* and *Fidenates*.

Gen. of Horſe. A. Cornelius Cossus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Cæcilius Metellus.
C. Lætorius.
Sp. Mælius Capitolinus, the Son of *Spurius*.
L. Ælius Pætus.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Publilius Philo.
Spurius Mælius Capitolinus, the Son of *Caius*.
M. Oppius.
M. Claudius Cicero.
K. Duilius.

Ædiles. C. Numitorius.
M. Volscius.

Quæſtors. L. Servilius Structus.
T. Quinctius Capitolinus.

6. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 328. A. Sempronius Atratinus.
L. Furius Medullinus, a ſecond time.
L. Quinctius Cincinnatus, a ſecond time.
L. Horatius Barbatus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Fulcinius.
L. Virginius.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of *Volero*.
C. Popilius.
P. Numitorius.
Sex. Titius.
Q. Poetelius Libo Visolus.
P. Publilius Philo, the Son of *Publius*.
M. Plætorius.
M. Titinius.

Ædiles. Cn. Sicinius Bellutus.
L. Mamilius Vitulus.

Quæſtors. M. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.

7. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 329. Ap. Claudius Craſſus Regillensis.
Sp. Nautius Rutilus.
L. Sergius Fidenas, a ſecond time.
Sex. Julius Iulus.

Cenſors. L. JULIUS IULUS.
L. PAPIRIUS CRASSUS.

THE THIRTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. L. VIRGINIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
C. NUMITORIUS.
L. SICINIUS.
C. POMPILIUS.
SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.

Ædiles. SEX. MANILIUS.
M. MANILIUS.

Quæſtors. P. LUCRETIUS TRICIPITINUS.
C. SERVILIUS AXILLA.

80. *Conſulſhip, Year* 330. C. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS.
Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS.

Tribunes of the People. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
SP. MÆLIUS.
L. ALBINIUS.
L. TREBONIUS ASPER.
C. MÆLIUS.
M. CLAUDIUS CICERO.
M. OPPIUS.
M. APPULEIUS.
M. PLÆTORIUS.
P. FURIUS.

Ædiles. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
K. DUILIUS.

Quæſtors. M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
SP. VETURIUS CRASSUS.

8. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 331. L. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.
Q. ANTONIUS MERENDA.
L. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
L. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. HORTENSIUS.
SEX. TEMPANIUS.
L. ANTISTIUS.
A. SELLIUS.
SP. ICILIUS RUGA.
T. ROSCIUS.
M. TERENTIUS.
M. SILIUS.
L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
Q. ROMULEIUS.

Ædiles. C. POPILIUS.
Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.

Quæſtors. T. VETURIUS CRASSUS CICURINUS.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

81. *Conſulſhip, Year* 332. T. QUINCTIUS CAPITOLINUS BARBATUS.
N. FABIUS VIBULANUS.
He gains a Victory over the *Æqui*, and is honoured with an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. SP. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
SP. OPPIUS CORNICEN.
C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
C. RABULEIUS.
N. OTACILIUS.
L. ALBINIUS.
L. ROSCIUS.
L. ALLIENIUS.
P. SILIUS.
C. CLAUDIUS CICERO.

Ædiles. C. JUNIUS BUBULCUS.
L. HORTENSIUS.

Quæſtors. C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS.
CN. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS COSSUS.

9. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 333. T. QUINCTIUS PENNUS CINCINNATUS, a ſecond time.
M. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a third time.
A. SEMPRONIUS ATRATINUS, a ſecond time.

Tribunes of the People. M. ANTISTIUS.
SEX. POMPILIUS.
M. CANULEIUS.
SP. MÆCILIUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
M. APPULEIUS.
L. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
Q. PETILIUS.
L. MARCIUS.
M. POMPONIUS.

Ædiles. SEX. TEMPANIUS.
A. SELLIUS.

Quæſtors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
M. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.

Military Quæſtors. Q. CINCINNATUS.
M. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

10. *Military Tribuneſhip. Year* 334. AGRIPPA MENENIUS LANATUS.
SP. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
C. Servilius Axilla.

Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Bubulcus.
L. Albinius.
L. Allienius.
C. Popilius.
M' Pomponius.
L. Hortensius.
C. Appuleius.
Q. Considius.
C. Marcius.
C. Oppius.

Ædiles. L. Antistius.
Sp. Icilius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Posthumius Albus Regillensis.
L. Menenius Lanatus.

Military Quæstors. M. Horatius Barbatus.
L. Valerius Poplicola.

11. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 335. M. Papirius Mugillanus.
C. Servilius Axilla, a second time.
L. Sergius Fidenas, a third time.

Dictator. Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.

Gen. of Horse. C. Servilius Axilla.

Censors. L. Papirius Mugillanus.
Mam. Æmilius Mamercinus.

The fourteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Mæcilius.
Sp. Metilius.
A. Sellius.
M. Canuleius.
L. Villius.
P. Silius.
T. Pontificius.
P. Villius.
L. Sicinius.
C. Pompilius.

Ædiles. Sex. Pompilius.
M. Antistius.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Cornelius Cossus.
P. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæstors. C. Sergius Nepos.
L. Virginius Tricostus.

12. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 336. P. Lucretius Tricipitinus.
L. Servilius Structus.
Agrippa Menenius Lanatus, all three a second time.

Sp. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Mæcilius.
Sp. Metilius.
L. Antistius.
M. Appuleius.
Sex. Tempanius.
Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Allienius.
M. Allienius.
C. Plautius Proculus.

Ædiles. C. Oppius.
M' Pomponius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Furius Medullinus.
C. Furius Pacilus.

Military Quæstors. Cn. Furius Pacilus.
Q. Fabius Ambustus.

13. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 337. A. Sempronius Atratinus, a third time.
M. Papirius Mugillanus, and Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a second time.
Q. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Mæcilius.
Sp. Metilius.
M. Canuleius.
C. Appuleius.
L. Oppius.
C. Antistius.
Q. Petilius.
Cn. Appuleius.
L. Fulcinius.
M. Juvencius.

Ædiles. C. Marcius Rutilus.
Q. Considius.

Quæstors of Rome. C. Nautius Rutilus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus.

Military Quæstors. Ti. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Sex. Quintilius.

14. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 338. P. Cornelius Cossus.
Quinctius Cincinnatus.
C. Valerius Volusus.
N. Fabius Vibulanus.

Tribunes of the People. C. Junius Bubulcus.
M. Antistius.
C. Oppius.
Q. Mælius.
C. Sextius.
L. Hortensius.
Sex. Pompilius.

C. Ca-

C. CANULEIUS.
T. GENUCIUS.

Ædiles. C. APRONIUS.
M. ANTISTIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. JULIUS IULUS.
PROCULUS GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Military Quæstors. C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.
MAM. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

15. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 339. Q. FABIUS VIBULANUS, a second time.
CN. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
P. POSTHUMIUS ALBUS, who was killed by his Soldiers.
L. VALERIUS POTITUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. SEXTIUS.
SEX. TEMPANIUS.
A. TEMPANIUS.
M. CANULEIUS.
L. OPPIUS.
L. APRONIUS.
T. PONTIFICIUS.
P. TEMPANIUS.
SP. MÆCILIUS.
L. CANULEIUS.

Ædiles. C. PLAUTUS.
M. ALLIENIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. C. SERVILIUS AHALA.
P. SESTIUS CAPITOLINUS.

Military Quæstors. T. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS CÆLIMONTANUS.
C. SERVILIUS STRUCTUS.

82. *Consulship, Year* 340. M. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS.

Tribunes of the People. Q. PUBLIUS.
C. ANTISTIUS.
L. TEMPANIUS.
C. MARCIUS RUTILUS.
L. RABULEIUS.
CN. SELLIUS.
L. CÆDICIUS.
SEX. SEXTIUS SEXTINUS.
T. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
C. APRONIUS.

Ædiles. L. OPPIUS.
L. FULCINIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. N. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COSSUS.

Military Quæstors. C. FURIUS PACILUS.
P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.

83. *Consulship, Year* 341. Q. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
C. FURIUS PACILUS.

Censors. L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS.

THE FIFTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People. L. ICILIUS RUGA.
M. ANTISTIUS.
C. CANULEIUS.
SEX. POMPILIUS.
M. CANULEIUS.
L. SEXTIUS.
C. SELLIUS.
Q. CÆCILIUS METELLUS.
C. SEXTIUS.
M. DUILIUS.

Ædiles. SP. TEMPANIUS.
Q. PETILIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CLAUDIUS CRASSUS REGILLENSIS.
M. GEGANIUS MACERINUS.

Military Quæstors. M' VALERIUS MAXIMUS.
Q. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.

84. *Consulship, Year* 342. M. PAPIRIUS MUGILLANUS.
C. NAUTIUS RUTILUS.

Tribunes of the People. L. JUNIUS BUBULCUS BRUTUS.
Q. SILIUS.
TI. PONTIFICIUS.
K. ATINIUS LONGUS.
T. VOLER. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
Q. TERENTIUS.
C. DUILIUS.
C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
TREBIUS.
L. PETILIUS.

Ædiles. L. CÆDICIUS.
L. OPPIUS.

Quæstors of Rome. P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
T. VETURIUS GEMINUS.

Military Quæstors. M' SERGIUS FIDENAS.
L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.

85. *Consulship, Year* 343. M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS. He defeats the

the *Æqui*, and receives the Honours of an *Ovation*.

Tribunes of the People. M. Mænius.
Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
L. Tempanius.
L. Mæcilius.
A. Tempanius.
C. Apronius.
Q. Publilius.
Cn. Sellius.

Ædiles. L. Icilius Ruga.
Trebius. He, according to *Pliny, B.* 18. distributed Corn among the People *gratis*. They, in Gratitude, erected Statues to his Memory, on the *Capitol*, and the Hill *Palatinus*; and at his Funeral, his Corps was carried on the Shoulders of Citizens.

Quæstors of Rome. M. Furius Fusus.
A. Manlius Vulso.

Military Quæstors. M. Quintilius Varus.
M. Ebutius Elva.

86. *Consulship, Year* 344. Cn. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a second time.

Tribunes of the People. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
L. Icilius Ruga.
C. Icilius Ruga.
C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
C. Volumnius Flamma.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Licinius Calvus.
L. Villius.
M. Pompilius.
Q. Cæcilius Metellus.

Ædiles. Volero Publilius Philo.
M. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome. P. Ælius Pætus.
Q. Silius.

Military Quæstors. P. Puppius.
K. Fabius Ambustus. The last of these four *Quæstors* was the only *Patrician* among them; the other three, were the first *Plebeians*, who enjoyed the *Quæstorship*.

16. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 345. C. Julius Iulus.
P. Cornelius Cossus.
C. Servilius Ahala.

Dictator. P. CORNELIUS RUTILUS COSSUS.

Gen. of Horse. C. Servilius Ahala.

Tribunes of the People. M. Genucius Aventinensis.
L. Icilius Ruga.
L. Sicinius Bellutus.
Trebius.
P. Decius Mus.
Sex. Titinius.
L. Manilius.
C. Sicinius Bellutus.
K. Atinius Longus.
L. Titinius.

Ædiles. M. Mænius.
C. Duilius.

Quæstors of Rome. Appius Claudius Crassus.
L. Julius Iulus.

Military Quæstors. M. Pomponius.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.

17. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 346. C. Valerius Potitus Volusus.
C. Servilius Ahala, a second time.
N. Fabius Vibulanus, a third time.
Furius Medullinus.

Tribunes of the People. L. Junius Bubulcus Brutus.
Q. Mucius Scævola.
P. Mucius Scævola.
Volero Publilius Philo.
Q. Publilius Philo.
Sex. Sextius Sextinus.
M. Manilius.
L. Cædicius.
Q. Decius Mus.
C. Titinius.

Ædiles. Sp. Icilius Ruga.
Q. Silius.

Quæstors of Rome. L. Atinius Longus.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

Military Quæstors. Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

18. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 347. P. Cornelius Rutilus Cossus.
L. Valerius Potitus, a second time.

Cn.

	Cn. Cornelius Cossus.
	N. Fabius Ambustus.
Tribunes of the People.	P. Ælius Pætus.
	Volero Publilius Philo.
	Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
	P. Puppius.
	Trebius.
	M. Pomponius.
	K. Atinius.
	M. Pompilius.
	C. Junius Brutus Bubulcus.
	C. Titius.
Ædiles.	C. Icilius Ruga.
	Q. Decius Mus.
Quæstors of Rome.	P. Mælius Capitolinus.
	P. Mænius.
Military Quæstors.	L. Julius Iulus.
	P. Licinius Calvus.
19. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 348.	C. Julius Iulus, a second time.
	M' Æmilius Mamercinus.
	T. Quinctius Capitolinus.
	L. Furius Medullinus, a second time.
	Q. Quinctius Cincinnatus.
	A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus.
Tribunes of the People.	C. Duilius.
	L. Titinius
	L. Publilius Philo Volscus.
	L. Cædicius.
	C. Popilius.
	M. Duilius.
	L. Atinius Longus.
	C. Ælius Pætus.
	Cn. Pupius.
	C. Volumnius Flamma.
Ædiles.	L. Icilius Ruga.
	M. Genucius Aventinensis.
Quæstors of Rome.	M. Metilius.
	P. Curatius Nepos.
Military Quæstors.	Sp. Furius Medullinus.
	L. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.
20. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 349.	P. Cornelius Maluginensis.
	Sp. Nautius Rutilus, a third time.
	Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a second time.
	C. Valerius Potitus, a third time.
	K. Fabius Ambustus.
	M' Sergius Fidenas.
Tribunes of the People.	Sp. Icilius Ruga.
	Volero Publilius Philo.
	P. Licinius Calvus.
	P. Mælius Capitolinus.
	M. Manilius.
	P. Mænius.
	A. Trebius.
	P. Silius.
	C. Titinius.
	C. Apronius.
Ædiles.	P. Ælius Pætus.
	Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
Quæstors of Rome.	C. Lucerius.
	M. Sulpicius Peticus.
Military Quæstors.	M. Pompilius.
	M. Genucius Aventinensis.
21. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 350.	M' Æmilius Mamercinus, a second time.
	M. Furius Fusus.
	Ap. Claudius Crassus.
	L. Julius Iulus.
	M. Quinctilius Varus.
	L. Valerius Potitus, a third time.
Censors.	M. Furius Camillus.
	M. Posthumius Albinus Regillensis.

The sixteenth Lustrum.

Tribunes of the People.	Q. Silius.
	L. Publilius Philo Volscus.
	M. Genucius Aventinensis.
	C. Titius.
	Cn. Apronius.
	L. Icilius Ruga.
	M. Pomponius.
	M. Pompilius.
	L. Titius.
	M. Cædicius.
Ædiles.	P. Pupius.
	Cn. Pupius.
Quæstors of Rome.	L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
	Sp. Papirius Crassus.
Military Quæstors.	M. Acutius.
	M. Valerius Maximus.
22. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 351.	C. Servilius Ahala, a third time.
	Q. Sulpicius Camerinus Cornutus.
	Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas.

A. Manlius Vulso Capitolinus, a second time.
L. Virginius Tricostus Cælimontanus.
M' Sergius Fidenas, a second time. The two last were forced to abdicate.

Tribunes of the People.
L. Mænius.
M. Popilius.
Sp. Antius.
A. Trebius.
C. Mænius.
L. Atinius Longus.
C. Silius.
C. Icilius Ruga.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
M. Antius.

Ædiles.
C. Popilius.
L. Titinius.

Quæstors of Rome.
L. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.
P. Cornelius Scipio.

Military Quæstors.
A. Posthumius Regillensis.
C. Duilius.

23. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 352.
L. Valerius Potitus, a fourth time.
L. Julius Iulus.
M. Furius Camillus.
M' Æmilius Mamercinus, a third time.
Cn. Cornelius Cossus, a second time.
K. Fabius Ambustus, a second time.

Tribunes of the People.
C. Trebonius Asper.
C. Lucerius.
M. Acutius.
P. Curatius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Fulcinius.
Cn. Minucius Augurinus.
M. Metilius.
L. Icilius Ruga.

Ædiles.
P. Silius.
P. Licinius Calvus.

Quæstors of Rome.
L. Lucretius Flavus.
Ser. Sulpicius Camerinus.

Military Quæstors.
P. Cornelius Cossus.
P. Plautius Proculus.

24. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 353.
P. Licinius Calvus.
P. Mælius Capitolinus.
P. Mænius.
Sp. Furius Medullinus.
L. Titinius.
L. Publilius Philo Volscus.

Tribunes of the People.
P. Pupius.
M. Pontificius.
L. Volscius.
C. Mæcilius.
C. Numitorius.
M. Genucius Aventinensis.
C. Pontificius.
M. Sellius.
C. Antius.
T. Statius.

Ædiles.
L. Mænius.
K. Atinius Longus.

Quæstors of Rome.
T. Menenius Lanatus.
T. Sicinius Dentatus.

Military Quæstors.
Sp. Mælius.
A. Virginius.

25. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 354.
C. Duilius.
L. Atinius Longus.
Cn. Genucius Aventinensis.
M. Pomponius.
Volero Publilius.
M. Veturius Crassus Cicurinus.

Tribunes of the People.
M. Acutius.
L. Lucerius.
L. Statius.
C. Racilius.
M. Considius.
P. Licinius Calvus.
C. Volscius.
M. Mæcilius.
M. Plætorius.
L. Allienius.

Ædiles.
C. Trebonius Asper.
Sp. Antius.

Quæstors of Rome.
C. Æmilius Mamercinus.
Q. Pomponius.

Military Quæstors.
L. Papirius Cursor.
L. Valerius Poplicola.

26. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 355.
L. Valerius Potitus, a fifth time.
L. Furius Medullinus, a third time.
M. Valerius Maximus.
M. Furius Camillus, a second time.
Q. Servilius Priscus Fidenas, a second time.
Q. Sul-

	Q. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS CORNUTUS, a second time.
Censors.	C. VALERIUS POTITUS VOLUSUS.
	M' ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.

THE SEVENTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.	Q. SILIUS.
	P. CURATIUS.
	C. PÆTILIUS.
	C. PLÆTORIUS.
	Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	P. PUBLILIUS PHILO.
	M. METILIUS.
	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	P. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	M. POPILIUS.
Ædiles.	L. ICILIUS RUGA.
	C. LUCERIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
	M' MARCIUS.
Military Quæstors.	M. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	L. FULVIUS CORVUS.
27. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 356.	L. JULIUS IULUS, a second time.
	L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a fourth time.
	L. SERGIUS FIDENAS.
	A. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN REGILLENSIS.
	A. MANLIUS VULSO CAPITOLINUS, a third time.
	P. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS, a second time. Their election was deemed irregular, and they were forced to abdicate.
Tribunes of the People.	L. MÆNIUS.
	T. METILIUS.
	L. VOLSCIUS.
	M. PONTIFICIUS.
	P. PUPIUS.
	L. LUCERIUS.
	M. VOLSCIUS FICTOR.
	M. SELLIUS.
	C. PLAUTIUS PROCULUS.
	M. GENUCIUS.
Ædiles.	M. ACUTIUS.
	C. NUMITORIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN REGILLENSIS.
	Q. SULPICIUS LONGUS.
Military Quæstors.	L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
	M. AULIUS CERRETANUS.
28. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 357.	P. LICINIUS.
	L. ATINIUS LONGUS, a second time.
	P. MÆLIUS CAPITOLINUS, a second time.
	L. TITINIUS, a second time.
	P. MÆNIUS, a second time.
	C. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS, a second time. He was killed in a Battel with the *Falisci* and *Capenates*.
Dictator.	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS. He triumphs over the *Veientes*.
Gen. of Horse.	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
Tribunes of the People.	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
	P. LUCERIUS.
	M. DECIUS MUS.
	SP. MÆLIUS.
	M. FURIUS.
	M. ACUTIUS.
	M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
	C. TERENTIUS ARSA.
	P. LÆTORIUS.
	L. VIRGINIUS.
Ædiles.	M. CONSIDIUS.
	M. PLÆTORIUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
	SER. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS.
Military Quæstors.	L. CORNELIUS LENTULUS.
	AGRIPPA FURIUS FUSUS.
29. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 358.	P. CORNELIUS COSSUS.
	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO.
	M. VALERIUS MAXIMUS, a second time.
	K. FABIUS AMBUSTUS, a third time.
	L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a fifth time.
	Q. SERVILIUS PRISCUS FIDENAS, a second time.
Tribunes of the People.	T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
	A. VIRGINIUS.
	Q. POMPONIUS.
	L. ICILIUS RUGA.
	L. FULVIUS CORVUS.
	C. LÆTORIUS.
	L. CÆDICIUS.
	C. LUCERIUS.
	P. PUPIUS.
	P. CURATIUS.

Ædiles.

Ædiles.	C. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
	Q. POETELIUS LIBO VISOLUS.
Quæstors.	L. MARCIUS RUTILIUS.
of Rome.	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
Military Quæstors.	C. FABIUS AMBUSTUS.
	M. ALBINIUS.
30. *Military Tribuneship. Year* 359.	M. FURIUS CAMILLUS, a third time.
	L. FURIUS MEDULLINUS, a sixth time.
	C. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	SP. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN REGILLENSIS.
	P. CORNELIUS SCIPIO, a second time.
	L. VALERIUS POPLICOLA.
Tribunes of the People.	T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
	Q. POMPONIUS.
	A. VIRGINIUS.
	L. ICILIUS RUGA.
	M. GENUCIUS AVENTINENSIS.
	C. POMPILIUS.
	L. MAMILIUS VITULUS.
	Q. SILIUS.
	L. VOLUMNIUS FLAMMA.
	L. CÆDICIUS.
Ædiles.	C. TREBONIUS ASPER.
	M. MINUCIUS AUGURINUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	L. VIRGINIUS TRICOSTUS.
	C. MARTIUS RUTILUS.
Military Quæstors.	P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, the Son of *Aulus.*
	P. CORNELIUS COSSUS, the Son of *Publius.*
87. *Consulship, Year* 360.	L. LUCRETIUS FLAVUS.
	SER. SULPICIUS CAMERINUS.
Tribunes of the People.	T. SICINIUS DENTATUS.
	C. LUCERIUS.
	P. CURATIUS.
	L. ÆLIUS PÆTUS.
	SEX. POMPILIUS.
	M. TITINIUS.
	C. ACUTIUS.
	C. MÆNIUS.
	M. SILIUS.
	SEX. MANILIUS.
Ædiles.	T. METILIUS.
	M. DECIUS MUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	L. ÆMILIUS MAMERCINUS.
	C. SEXTILIUS.
Military Quæstors.	A. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.
	L. POSTHUMIUS ALBIN REGILLENSIS.
88. *Consulship, Year* 361.	L. VALERIUS POTITUS.
	M. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS. They both abdicate.
Censors.	C. JULIUS.
	L. PAPIRIUS CURSOR. The former died in his Office, and M. CORNELIUS MALUGINENSIS was chosen in his room.

THE EIGHTEENTH LUSTRUM.

Tribunes of the People.	Q. SILIUS.
	L. ICILIUS RUGA.
	C. TITIUS.
	C. CURATIUS.
	P. FURIUS.
	K. DUILIUS.
	C. LICINIUS CALVUS.
	M. CÆDICIUS.
	L. VIRGINIUS.
	C. LÆTORIUS.
Ædiles.	P. LÆTORIUS.
	L. FULVIUS CORVUS.
Quæstors of Rome.	L. JULIUS IULUS.
	L. AQUILIUS CORVUS.
Military Quæstors.	T. QUINCTIUS CINCINNATUS.
	T. MANLIUS CAPITOLINUS.

The end of the Fasti Consulares, *to the Year of* Rome 361. *inclusive, as collected from the* Annals *of* Vinandus Pighius.

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